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THE MODERN LANGUAGE
REVIEW

VOLUME IV.

1908-9

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

London: FETTER LANE, E.C.

C. F. CLAY, MANAGER



Edinburgh: 100, PRINCES STREET

Berlin: A. ASHER AND CO.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS

New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Philo

THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE
AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY
JOHN G. ROBERTSON

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF AN
ADVISORY BOARD

VOLUME IV.



104407
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CAMBRIDGE :
at the University Press

1909

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NEW PUBLICATIONS 133, 277, 564

Whensoever a new edition of *Piers* is issued for the benefit of the general reader, it may be hoped that it will comprise both of the earlier texts. The B-text will in all probability continue to be the popular version; but every genuine student of our literature will desire to have before him the powerful original sketch on which this was based.]

The *Vision* now holds an assured place among the greater treasures of our literature. The form of poetic structure to which it belongs has passed away, but it is that which comprises such imperishable national productions as the epic of *Beowulf*, the Cædmon poems, and that noble fragment *The Battle of Maldon*. But there is no other great work which has come down to us in so widely diverging forms. Apart from minor variations in MSS., which are exceedingly numerous, the poem exists in three leading forms—now generally known as texts A, B and C respectively. The earliest of these, consisting of a Prologue and eleven or perhaps twelve passus, or cantos, and extending to some 2500 lines, was written about 1362 (the A-text). This was enlarged and re-cast probably about fifteen years later; the enlargements comprising ten new cantos, in addition to a considerable expansion of the original work. This is text B. The latest, or C-text, appears from internal evidence to have been issued some fifteen years later still. This is the form of the work reproduced in Dr Whitaker's monumental edition (London, J. Murray, 1813); the publication of which marks the re-emergence of our author after an eclipse of more than two centuries. This recension, based on its two predecessors, though differing widely from both, has been accepted as authentic by the distinguished scholar who has done more for the study of *Piers* than any other man, Professor Skeat, whose opinion is supported by Professor Saintsbury, Dr Garnett, and others. M. Jusserand, too, who has made a special and sympathetic study of the *Vision*¹, leaves the authenticity of the C-text unquestioned. On the other hand, it was ignored by the sixteenth century editors, who printed only the B-text; while Mr Thomas Wright, in the Introduction to his own excellent edition of the same, expresses the opinion that the variations (shown in C) were made 'by some other person, who was perhaps induced by his own political sentiments to modify passages, and was gradually led on to publish a revision of the whole' (Introduction, xli).

The present writer hopes to be able to show that strong internal evidence exists for reconsidering what has hitherto been the generally

¹ *L'épopée mystique de W. Langland*. Paris, 1893.

4 Was 'Langland' Author of the C-text of 'Piers Plowman'?

accepted view; and that not only is the C-text a debasement of the author's own work, but that the nature of many of the changes precludes the supposition of their being from the hand which penned either the original (A) or the enlarged (B) *Vision*.

The more serious changes introduced by the compiler of the C-text may be classed thus:

I. Omissions.

II. Insertions of new matter.

III. Structural changes, involving interference with the author's own plan and arrangement.

I. *Omissions*. These are exceedingly numerous; indeed they are to be noted in almost every part of the work. Some are limited to a few lines, or even to a single line. In other cases entire pages have been suppressed; and only in a few is it easy to account for or justify the excision.

(1) A signal instance occurs in the opening of the poem, where the well-known description of the poet's environment on 'Malverne hilles' is curtailed by the suppression of one whole line and parts of several others. In the two earlier texts this passage reads as follows:

Ac on a Mornynge on Malverne hilles
Me bifel a ferly [a wonder] of fairy me thoughte;
I was very forwandered and went me to reste
Under a brode banke bi a burnes side:
And as I lay and lenede and loked on the wateres
I slombered into a slepyng it sweyed [sounded] so murie.

(*Prol.*, 5—10.)

Compare with this the form which it is made to take in C:

Ac on a May mornynge on Malverne hilles
Me bifel for to slepe for veryness of wanderyng;
And in a launde as ich lay lenede ich and slepte.

Six lines reduced to three, when not one of the six can be spared! For this is surely one of the most delightful morsels in our earlier literature. Do we not feel, too, that in passing from the one to the other we have entered a different and less genial atmosphere? The vague but suggestive mention of a fairy world is withdrawn; the 'brode banke' and with it the 'burn' with its 'murie sweying' are gone; and worst of all, the very attitude of the poet, with eye intent upon the rippling water but feasting itself on a vision of its own, disappears with them. In short we have exchanged poetry for mere verse, and indif-

ferent verse too¹. Is it probable or even conceivable that the author should have made havoc of his own work after this fashion?

(2) Another remarkable omission occurs in the highly dramatic scene where the Lady Mede is pleading her cause before the King. To us the cancelled passage is doubly interesting from its apparent reference to one of the most striking incidents in the Hundred Years' War; when Edward, awed by a terrific storm of thunder and lightning, was moved to consent to terms of peace—the 'Great Peace' of Bretigny, 1360. Mede is retorting on Conscience the charges brought against herself by him:

In Normandy was he nouhte noyed for my sake;
Ac þow þiself sothely shamedest him ofte,
Crope into a caban' for cold of þi nailes,
Wenedest that wynter wolde have lastede evere,
And draddest to be ded' for a dym cloude,
And hiedest homeward' for hunger of þi wombe.

(B, III, 188 ff.)

Here one is at a loss to conceive why so pregnant a passage should have been cancelled by anyone; much more by the author. Rude as it is in style, it is an intensely vivid picture that it presents to us. The seeming endless winter, the menacing cloud, the conscience-stricken king and his men creeping into hovels in the bitter cold, the panic and the hunger, had doubtless stamped themselves upon the minds of men—as in the case of the sufferings of our troops in the Crimea in the winter of 1854.

(3) In Pass. v (C, VI) out of some sixty lines devoted to the confession of Envy, about fifty have wholly disappeared. This is a part of the poem which in the earlier text is highly elaborated. Pale, shivering as one palsied, a knife at his girdle, his lean cheeks suggesting the hue of a leek 'that has lain long in the sun,' Envy bites his lips and clenches his fist; and

Eche a word that he warp' was of a nadder's tonge.

Hardly one of these vivid touches is retained in C, though the portraiture is eked out by some features borrowed from another part of the poem (B, XIII, 326 ff.). The inimitable confession itself is treated in the same unsparing fashion. All the quaint homely tales—how he would be gladder 'that Gibb had mischance' than that he had himself 'won a weye of Essex cheese'—how in the market he had hailed as his friend the man he most hated—'he is doughtier than I; I dare do no

¹ The line, 'Me bifel for to slepe etc.,' is deficient in alliteration and inferior in structure. Compare it with the original, 'Me bifel a ferly, etc.'

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other'—how in church at the moment when all are bidden to pray for others, all his prayer had been for sorrow to befall those who had done him some petty wrong—how, when he turns his eye from the altar and beholds Eleyne 'in her new cote,' he wishes it were his 'and all the web after'—all these absolutely disappear. Can this wholesale destruction be the author's work?

(4) The two following cantos are altered through and through; and the changes include many omissions. In IX much of the discourse of 'Wit' is discarded; and that of 'Dame Study' in X is still more ruthlessly cut down. It is impossible within present limits to speak particularly of these omissions. But much that is of real interest has been discarded. Among the fragments cast aside is the interesting passage in which the author laments the passing away of the fine old custom of common meals in the great feudal halls:

Elyng [wretched] is the halle each day in the wyke
There the lord ne the lady liketh not to sit.
Now hath eche rich a rule to eten by himselve
In a pryvé parlour for pore mennes sake (*i.e.* to shun them).

(B, x, 94 ff.)

(5) In Pass. XII—the discourse of 'Ymaginatif'—we miss a striking autobiographic passage, of which it will be needful to speak under another head. Along with it go some of our author's most vivid and picturesque lines; notably those in which he tells of his eager desire to know the ways of 'Kynd' [Nature]:

Where the flowers catch their colours so clere and so bright,
and notes how

He is the pie's patron & putteth it in here ere
There the thorn is thikkest to buylde & brede.

(B, XII, 220 ff.)

Further, the latter part of Pass. XIII and the whole of XIV, comprising the episode of 'Haukyn,' have been completely transformed, many entire pages being cancelled. With this it will be more convenient to deal in speaking of 'structural changes.' From this point onward both the insertions and the omissions become fewer and fewer, and in the last four cantos there are none calling for special notice.

II. *Additions.* (1) These like the omissions begin with the *Prologue*. Indeed the compiler loses no time in displaying his itch for interpolation; inserting almost at the very beginning an altogether

futile and pithless line¹. Passing over this and the four prosaic lines introduced as a sort of argument to the entire vision, we are presently confronted by an insertion which can scarcely fail to jar on ears attuned to the genial temper of the rest of the *Prologue* (C, I, 94—124). It consists of a fierce diatribe against priests in general, whose devices are unsparingly denounced and who are themselves menaced with a judgment sorer than that which befel the guilty sons of Eli. The whole of this passage savours too much of the partisan; and the author of the *Vision* was no partisan, either in doctrine or in polity. He had a good word to say for the 'pore freres' even when most discredited (B, xv, 320), and would hardly have dealt out this sweeping censure on the order to which he himself appears to have been attached. The passage is further discredited by the total lack of alliteration in parts of it—a feature quite without parallel in the earlier texts—and the remarkable variations which it exhibits in the MSS.²

(2) In Pass. II (B, I) an insertion occurs, the sheer ineptness of which is sufficient to discredit it. Our author, after his wont, had cited in illustration a text from the *Vulgate*: 'Ponam pedem in aquilone, et ero similis altissimo'; 'I will set my foot in the North...' (see *Is.*, xiv, 14). The writer of C must needs turn aside to discuss the question 'why the wretched Lucifer' should have his quarters in the North? He tells us that:

Ne were it for northern men anon ich wolde telle :

and then, telling us after all, wanders still further away to gossip about 'hinds feeling the cold most on holidays.' The real Piers is always homely and sometimes tedious, but he is always to the point.

(3) The most outrageous case of irrelevant insertion occurs in Pass. IV (B, III), where a long scholastic discussion is foisted into the speech of 'Conscience,' in the dramatic trial scene. Actually the king's judgment is held in suspense in order that he may hear a lengthy argument on the nature of Direct and Indirect Relation, and the Concord of Adjective and Substantive, with theological illustrations. And this poor arid stuff runs on for a full hundred lines!

(4) We now come to what, from its bearing both on the authenticity question and on the character of the poet, is the most significant of all the insertions in C. It forms a prologue to Canto VI (B, v), and is professedly autobiographical. In fact it has formed the basis of most

¹ 'And saw many cellis and selkouthe things' (C, *Prolog.*, 5).

² Dr Skeat seeks to restore the true alliterated text by a collation of MSS.

8 Was 'Langland' Author of the C-text of 'Piers Plowman'?

recent portraiture of the author of *Piers*¹. Yet the very first line of it rouses suspicion:

Thus ich awaked, God wot *whanne ich woned in Cornhulle*.

How comes it that when, as all remember, the poet 'slobered into his sleping' on Malvern hills, we have him awaking on Cornhill? Professor Skeat speaks of the adroitness with which the new matter has been adjusted to the old: how would he explain this?

But this is not all. If this be Langland's own account of himself, it would be difficult to defend him from the charge of being himself one of those very idlers and 'lollers' upon whom he has vented his scorn: 'Grete lobies that loth were to swynke' (*Prol.*). For here he is made to confess that when he was hale and strong all his care had been to 'get good fare and shirk hard work. He had 'lymes to labour with,' and yet cared only 'to drynke and to slepe.' When challenged by 'Reason'—'Could he not make himself of use, bind sheaves, or reap, or keep corn from thieves, or mend shoes, or keep cows, swine or geese?'—he had unblushingly replied in the very accents of the idle vagrant:

Certes...and so God me helpe,
Ich am too waik to worche: with sykyl or with sithe;
And too long, leyf me low for to stoupe....

Now that he has reached middle age, he is well content with the life of a clerical loafer, 'hanging about men's hatches,' ready with his venal prayer, looking to be

welcome *whanne ich come other while in a monthe*,
Now with him & now with hure: & thus gate ich begge....

M. Jusserand speaks of our author's 'passionate sincerity.' Can it be then that he here stands self-convicted of palpable hypocrisy? He is a prophet, and one of the main points of his gospel is 'work.' Christ is for him not only the King of kings; he is the Plowman too. He calls in Famine to chastise the idlers, and manifestly enjoys the spectacle, when at the bidding of their pitiless taskmaster, they shorten their skirts and fall to in earnest with shovel and spade. Is this all mere verbiage? Surely the ring of *Piers's* sincerity is too clear. We instinctively trust him. We need not shrink from the thought of our author gaining a livelihood by rendering petty clerical services to such as might choose to employ him. What else was open to him? Literature was no paying profession, and there were no wealthy patrons among the class for whom mainly the *Vision* was written.

¹ Professor Jack of Illinois has ably maintained the opposite view: *Journal of Germanic Philology*, III, 393.

As far as the B-text is concerned, there are passages which help us to form a juster estimate of the author as a man; though it is significant that the greater part of these have been discarded by the compiler of C. One such occurs in Pass. XIII, B, where 'Ymaginatif' is represented as pastorally remonstrating with the author on his past life. But it is noteworthy that, though the monitor speaks of the 'wyld wantonesse' of his youth, the only definite charge brought against him is that very use of his time which for us lifts him out of the obscurity of the past:

And þow medlest þe with makynges [versifying] & myghtest
go seye þi sauter
And pray for hem þat giveth þe bred· for þere are bokes ynowe
To telle men what Do-wel is· Do-bet & Do-best bothe,
And prechours to peuve what it is· of many a peyre¹ freres.

(B, XII, 16 ff.)

It is difficult to think ill of the man who could talk of himself in this frank way. The cheery tone of his reply indeed shows that the charge was not very deeply felt; nay rather, that he is taking this mode of justifying his 'pastime' to the world. He reminds his monitor that wise and holy men before him have solaced themselves as he has done. Still such is his earnestness for Do-wel, that, could he but find a guide,

Wolde I nevere do werke· but wende to holicherche
And there bydde my bedes [prayers]· but whan I eat or slepe.

(*Ib.*, 28.)

Already the man's simplicity has won our hearts; and the impression is deepened by another passage even more significant, of which we give the vital portion:

Ac after my wakyng· it was wonder longe
Ere I coude kyndely· know what was Do-wel.
And so my wit weex and wanyed· till I a fool were:
And some lakkede [chid] my life· allowed [praised] it fewe,
And lete [held] me for a lorel· and loth to reverencen
Lords or ladies· or any lif [living thing] else;
As persons in pelure [fur]· with pendaunts of silver,
To sergeaunts ne to swiche· said I not ones
'God loke [keep] you lordis!' ne loutede faire,
That [so that] folk helden me a fool· & in that folie I raved.

(B, xv, 1 ff.)

Surely it is no mere idler or sensualist that we have here. Pondering these character-sketches of the author we seem to gather that from the beginning he had been unlike others. Imagination had attended him from the cradle. 'Youthful wantonness' had tempted him, we know not

¹ It was part of the rule of the Observant Friars, an order founded in 1373, to pay their visits in pairs as a security against scandals; and there seems to be a reference to this here.

10 Was 'Langland' Author of the C-text of 'Piers Plowman'?

how far; but his chief solace had been in those 'makynges' which to the world seemed mere idleness. He is so earnestly bent on finding the difficult narrow path, that his wits 'wax and wane' with the inward struggle. He is too deeply absorbed to attend to the common courtesies of life. Like the first emissaries of the Gospel, he 'salutes no man by the way'; he has no 'God bless you' for lord or lady or furred officer of the law, but passes as one 'in a mase.' Have we not here the very target of misrepresentation? Idler, fool, fanatic, are the ready labels of the world for such men. But a deeper and truer characterization may perhaps be discerned in the words the poet has put into the mouth of 'Ymaginatif':

I am Ymaginatif, quoth he *ydel was I nevere*
Though I sitte by myself in sikeness & in helthe.

(B, XII, 1.)

III. *Structural changes.* (1) Under this head, the first thing to strike the reader is a needless and vexatious alteration of arrangement. In the earlier texts the opening section appears as the *Prologue*; and a prologue it is. In it the author, as it were, spreads his canvas, and boldly sketches in his scenery and his characters. Earth, heaven, hell, king, lords, commons, churchmen, pilgrims, jongleurs, hawkers, vagabonds—all the *farrago libelli* is here. Text C counts this as Pass. I, thus throwing out the enumeration of the following cantos, and at the same time obscuring the structure of the whole. This is surely more like the doing of one who imperfectly grasped the intention of the author rather than that of the author himself.

(2) The compiler of C shows great freedom in quarrying blocks out of the earlier fabric and working them into the new. Thus Pass. VI, C (B, v) has been enriched with spoil from the discourse of 'Clergy' (B, x) and from the episode of Haukyn; and 'Langland's' famous prophecy becomes a part of the discourse of 'Reason'—suffering loss in the transfer. The earlier form of this remarkable prediction is this:

Ac there shall come a kyng & confesse you religiouses
And bete yow as the bible telleth for brekyng of youre reule.
And thanne shall the Abbot of Abingdon and alle his issue for evere
Have a knok of a kyng & incurable the wounde. (B, x, 317 ff.)

In the C-text the last two lines read:

For the Abbot of Engelonde and the abbesse his niece
Shal have a knok on here crounes and incurable the wounde.

(C, VI, 177.)

Professor Skeat acknowledges that Langland has 'considerably spoiled his famous prophecy' (vol. III, lxx).

(3) Passus x. This section of the poem has been treated with very great freedom, not to say roughness, in C. In the earlier text, the poet, after listening to a lengthened homily from 'Clergy,' declares himself 'little the wiser' for it, and gives frank expression to his perplexities. His sense of justice is outraged by a scheme of salvation which declares Aristotle and Solomon, both of them approved masters of 'sapience,' eternally damned. His audacity draws down upon him the anger of 'Scripture' who rebukes him smartly:

Then Scripture scorned me... (B, xi, 1 ff.);

so much so that he is moved to tears.

This honest frankness on the part of the poet seems to have proved too strong meat for the editor of C, who takes the overbold speech from him and assigns it to a character labelled as 'Rechelesness'—or 'Profanity.' But in doing so he has overlooked the fact that one change mostly necessitates another, and has left the rebuke administered to the poet (or his hero) still standing as in the earlier text without anything to justify it! There are other incongruities resulting from the changes made in this part of the poem, less glaring but no less real, which the careful reader will note. Taken together they form a body of evidence which cannot be ignored by anyone desirous of forming a sound judgment as to the *provenance* of the later text.

(4) The episode of Haukyn. In the earlier text this occupies the whole of one canto and half of another (B, XIII, XIV), and extends to no fewer than 550 lines. In C a considerable portion is detached and worked in elsewhere (C, VI), and the remainder abridged and deprived of all its individuality. The very name 'Haukyn,' which marks the most real and lifelike of all the characters in this part of the work, is suppressed, and only a pale abstraction labelled *vita activa* is left¹. Haukyn is the average man of the world, honest in the main and well-meaning, but with small leaning towards a spiritual life. By trade he is a 'waferer' or baker; and he is not a little vain of his services to the community in that line. But it is soon apparent that all is not well with him; and he, too, has to learn his 'Do-wel' or 'Do-bet' if not 'Do-best.' The world is no very clean place, and Haukyn's 'moled' garments afford plain proof of this. The rebuke of 'Conscience' marks the awakening of his spiritual sense, and the picture of his ultimate humiliation and penitence is in Langland's best vein (B, XIV, 320 ff.).

¹ It is to be regretted that Professor Manly, by ignoring the homely name of Haukyn and harping on the scholastic phrase *vita activa*, has obscured the dramatic force of this section of the *Vision*.

12 Was 'Langland' Author of the C-text of 'Piers Plowman'?

We search for it in vain in C. It is difficult to believe that the author could have dealt so destructively with his own workmanship—the fruit, be it remembered, not of his unripe youth, but of his mature age.

Professor Skeat finds in the duplication of the confession scene (cf. v and XIII, B) an explanation of the treatment to which this section of the poem has been subjected. But the recurrence of a confession scene will hardly seem a blemish if it is borne in mind that the 'vision' of which the earlier one forms parts ends with Pass. VII. Although the cantos are numbered in succession for convenience, the poem of 'Do-wel,' to which the episode of Haukyn belongs, is a distinct work. In the MSS. its first passus is styled 'passus octavus de visione et *primus de Do-wel*.'

The argument derived from all the above considerations is confirmed by certain obvious dialectic peculiarities of C. The language of Langland as seen in the B-text is standard English of his day—the English of Wicliff and of Chaucer. How then, except on the theory of a different writer or editor, are we to account for the fact that in the latest text there are to be found numerous provincial forms which are absent from the earlier version? The most marked of these are the regular use of *ich* for 'I'; of *heo* or *hue* for 'she,' with a possessive form *hure* for 'her'; also of *hus* for 'his'; and of such plurals as *clerk-us* for *clerk-es*; none of which forms occur in the B-text as edited by Professor Skeat himself. The course of sound-change is ever onward. He who has learned to say *I* does not return to his earlier *ich*. The difficulty disappears on the hypothesis of a later editor who habitually used the provincial form himself and lived among those who were conversant with no other.

Such are the chief grounds for questioning the authenticity of the C-text, and their cumulative weight seems to the writer to be overwhelming. It may be added that the compiler of it would seem to have been a man of somewhat different temperament and convictions from his predecessor or predecessors. He is more vehement in his denunciation of the vices of the priestly and monastic classes, and, as we have seen, withdraws 'Langland's' memorable testimony to the good done by the friars. Like him he is full of pity for the poor, but he is sterner towards the unworthy, even counselling the rich not to concern themselves though such persons starve (C, xv, 101). The author of B is more penetrated with the sense of human weakness, and in one of his most winsome appeals—also cancelled in C—he pleads even for them 'that nedý ben and *naughty*.'

Love hem (he says), and lakke [chide] hem not...
Theigh [though] thei don yvel let God worthe. (B, vi, 194.)

Moreover, the compiler of C is essentially a schoolman and a moralist, with little imaginative sensibility. Hence his remorseless handling of 'Langland's' work generally, and his obliteration or disfigurement of some of his best lines. He must have been an admirer of the work, though his treatment of it is unsympathetic. No doubt he thought his changes improvements and conducive to greater edification. The seemingly loose structure of alliterative verse lays it open to facile change; and no printing-press existed to confute the forger with its myriad witnesses. The author of C has here and there a good thing of his own, but the value of his work as a whole is antiquarian rather than literary.

THEOPHILUS D. HALL.

BOWDON, CHESHIRE.

NOTES ON CHAUCER.

Prologue, ll. 177—181 :

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That seith that hunters beth nat holy men,
Ne that a monk, whan he is recchelees,
Is likned til a fish that is waterlees,
This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloistre.

It may fairly be said, I think, that the reading of the Harleian MS. 'cloysterles' for 'recchelees' cannot possibly be right. Chaucer could not have written this and then have added so feeble an explanation of what was obvious, 'This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloistre.' The word 'recchelees,' moreover, is quite appropriate. It means 'careless,' and especially 'regardless of duty or obligation,' whether of religion, morality or gratitude. ('Cupido the reccheles' in *Hous of Fame*, 668, is 'Cupid who is regardless of merit or service done.') To the examples given in the Oxford Dictionary under 'reckless,' may be added these from the Middle English *Rule of St Benet* (E.E.T.S.). In the prose version we have, with reference to the discipline of the disobedient, 'þa þat ere fraward and recles, lede þaim þe straiter' (p. 6, l. 14); and in the metrical version, with regard to the admission of a nun to the order after a year's probation :

In hirself þen sal scho know
þat scho sal neuer for godes aw
Fro þat rewle rekliisly gang.

So in *Piers Plowman*, C, XIII, 64, 'a recheles caitif' is one who roams the country to escape the control of his lord.

So Chaucer, in writing 'whan he is recchelees,' meant 'when he is careless of his rule.' But as the saying which he quotes is meant here to apply especially to a particular form of carelessness, namely, absence from the monastery on worldly business, he adds the explanation 'This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloistre.' It was possible of course for a monk to be 'recchelees' in other ways than this, but this was the

most obvious and flagrant form of negligence. The alteration to 'cloysterles' is exactly the kind of change which might be made by a rather unintelligent reviser.

ll. 525 ff.:

He waited after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
But Cristes love, etc.

The word 'spyced' has been quite rightly explained to mean 'highly refined' or 'scrupulous,' and passages to illustrate this meaning were quoted by Todd, *e.g.*, Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Mad Lover*, III, 1:

Priestess. Fy! no corruption.
Cleanthe. Take it, it is yours;
Be not so spiced.

It is obvious that here at least the English expression had nothing to do with the French 'épices' in the sense of presents made to judges, as in the poems of Coquillart (ed. Tarbé, I, 31), referred to by Professor Skeat, where the judge says to the suitor,

Mais il faut payer les espices,
Ce sont les droitz de noz offices,
Et puis on vous appointera.

There is no doubt about this use of the word in French, but with all deference to Professor Skeat, I do not think that it ought to be alleged in explanation of Chaucer's expression. The phrase 'spiced conscience' is quoted by Todd from Massinger, *Emperor of the East*, I, 2:

Fool that I was to offer such a bargain
To a spiced-conscience chapman!

and *Bashful Lover*, IV, 2:

will it please you to put off
Your holy habit and spiced conscience?

But the sense in which Massinger and others used the phrase 'spiced conscience,' *i.e.*, 'highly-refined (or scrupulous) morality,' does not suit well with our passage of Chaucer, where it is certainly not meant that the parish priest was lax in his morality. Chaucer's use of the word 'conscience' requires attention here. In the character of the Prioress (l. 142) he had written,

And for to spoken of hire conscience,
She was so charitable and so pitous, etc.;

and again (l. 150),

And al was conscience and tendre herte,

where 'conscience' seems clearly to mean 'feeling' rather than either 'moral sense' or 'consciousness,' and I am disposed to understand it so also in l. 398, where it is said of the Shipman,

Of nyce conscience took he no keep.

It is more natural, with a view to the balance of the sentences, to connect this line with what follows than with what goes before, and in that case it would mean that the Shipman had no very delicate feelings of humanity, such as might prevent him from throwing his prisoners overboard. If we suppose that in the case of the Parson 'a spyced conscience' means 'highly refined (or fastidious) feelings,' it would have reference here not to feelings of humanity, but to the sense of personal dignity,

He waited after no pompe and reverence,

and would naturally be connected with what has already been said of him:

He was to synful man nat despitous,
Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne

(where 'daungerous' of course means 'repellent': cp. *Cant. Tales*, D, 1090, 'Is every knight of his so dangerous?'). The passage would mean then, 'He demanded no pomp or reverence, nor did he cultivate highly-refined feelings; but he taught the Gospel simply, and set an example by first following its rules himself.' Chaucer uses the phrase also in *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, l. 435:

Ye sholde been al pacient and meke,
And han a swete spiced conscience,
Sith ye so preche of Jobes pacionce,

where it seems to refer to delicacy of feeling as regards the relation of husband and wife.

Knight's Tale, l. 297:

For *par amour* I loved her first er thow.

The meaning of this expression has been rather obscured than elucidated by the editors. The French '*aimer par amour*' meant 'to be in love with,' and here 'to love *par amour*' is opposed to that very different kind of love which is associated with religious worship. Arcite is arguing that Palamon's feeling had been only 'affeccioun of hoolynesse,' for he admitted that he had taken Emilie for a goddess,

And myn is love, as to a creature.

He admits that Palamon saw and loved her first, but he maintains that he was himself the first to be in love with her.

Knight's Tale, ll. 309 f.:

And therefore positif lawe and swich decree
Is broken al day for love in ech degree.

It has not been noted, so far as I know, by any editor, that the expression 'positif lawe' is here used in the technical sense, 'lex positiva,' the 'positive' as opposed to the 'natural' law. The 'positive' law is that which depends solely upon man's decree, and the term was most commonly applied to the rules laid down by ecclesiastical authority. This may be usefully illustrated from Gower's utterances on the subject in his three principal works. In *Vox Clamantis*, III, 237 ff., he condemns the system under which unnecessary rules are laid down by the Church, in order that money may be obtained for dispensations, with the heading, 'Hic loquitur de legibus eorum positivis, que quamvis ad cultum anime necessarie non sunt, infinitas tamen constitutiones quasi cotidie ad eorum lucrum nobis graviter inponunt.' He pursues the same theme in *Mirour de l'Omme*, 18469 ff.,

Ne puet descendre en ma resoun
Q'ils du propre imposicioun
Font establir novel pecché, etc.,

and he proceeds to refer particularly to the question of the forbidden degrees of marriage, in respect of which the 'positive law' of the Church most obviously affected society:

Du loy papal est estably,
Qe tu ne serras point mary
A ta cousine, etc.

It is with reference to the same subject that the 'positive law' is referred to in *Confessio Amantis*, III, 171 ff., where treating of the incestuous love of Machaire and Canace, the author says that they were guided by Nature, who

tebeth every lif
Withoute lawe positif,
Of which sche takth nomaner charge,
Bot kepth hire lawes al at large.

This special application of the term to the ecclesiastical rules about marriage gives us the key to the meaning of the Chaucer passage: 'Love is a greater law than any other, and therefore positive law and its decrees are constantly broken for love'; that is to say, love pays no regard to the artificial restrictions which human discipline endeavours to place upon marriage. It is possible that 'in ech degree' may mean 'in every

degree of kinship,' but the expression is also used generally, as *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, l. 404,

Atte ende I hadde the bettre in ech degree,
that is 'in every case.'

Hous of Fame, II, 421 ff.:

For in this regioun, certain,
Dwelleth many a citezein,
Of which that speketh dan Plato

This reference to Plato has never, I think, been rightly explained. It has been taken to be a casual allusion to Plato's *Republic*, suggested by the word 'citezein'; but this cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Chaucer, of course, was not acquainted with Plato at first hand, but when he wrote the *Hous of Fame* he was evidently fresh from reading Dante, and this reference to Plato depends probably upon *Paradiso*, IV, 22:

Ancor di dubitar ti dà cagione
Parer tornarsi l'anime alle stelle,
Secondo la sentenza di Platone.

Dante refers to the doctrine of Plato in the *Timæus* to the effect that souls proceed from stars and return to them.

Legend of Good Women, ll. 285 ff.:

And after hem com of women swich a traas,
That sin that god Adam had mad of erthe,
The thridde part of mankynd or the ferthe,
Ne wende I nat by possibilitee,
Had ever in this wyde world y-be.

For l. 287 the so-called A-text, given by the Cambridge MS., has

The thredde part of wemen ne the ferthe.

The meaning here seems clear, but the form of expression surely needs some elucidation. The author means evidently that there was such a multitude that it could hardly be believed that even as many as the third or the fourth part of it could have existed in the world since the creation of Adam. But what are we to make of the expression 'of mankynd' or 'of wemen'? This, I think, must be separated in sense from 'The thridde part or the ferthe' and connected with 'y-be,' however awkward the construction may seem: 'such a multitude, that not even the third or fourth part of it could have been born, as it seemed to me, of human kind,' or according to the other text, 'of woman kind.' The sense would be made a little clearer if we punctuated

The thridde part, of mankynd, or the ferthe.

Legend of Good Women, ll. 298 ff. :

Hele and honour
To trouthe of womanhede and to this flour,
That berth our alder pris in figuringe !

The last line is explained to mean, 'That bears away the prize from us all in external beauty or figure.' This I am sure is wrong. It means rather, 'That displays the glory of us all in a figure or emblem.' It is not that the daisy surpasses all women in external beauty, but it is an emblem of their spiritual graces, of purity and of truth. The expression 'in figuringe' is equivalent to 'in figure,' as used, for example, in Bacon's *Essays* (quoted in the Oxford Dictionary): 'The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis,' etc.

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ESPRONCEDA.

I.

THOUGH centenary celebrations may sometimes have an air of being organized as much to glorify the living as to honour the dead, they have their uses; they serve to stimulate interest in great personalities, they arouse or quicken the historic sense, and they occasionally spur admirers to researches which would otherwise not be undertaken. It is true, indeed, that so far as immediate positive additions to knowledge go, centenary celebrations are prone to be barren. Striking discoveries are rarely made at the most dramatic moment. Of the Calderón bicentenary held in 1881, nothing survives but an admirable course of lectures by Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, and a suggestive treatise by Sr. Rubió y Lluch. We have had to wait a quarter of a century before Dr Pérez Pastor, the happiest of investigators—but, in these matters, fortune commonly favours the most deserving—began to do for Calderón what he had done so successfully for Cervantes. It is now Espronceda's turn. The centenary of his birth occurred last March; it is a little more than sixty-seven years since he died. We can see him in his right perspective, and we are beginning to learn something definite concerning the life of the most popular lyric poet that Spain produced during the nineteenth century.

Our information hitherto has been obviously incomplete; it has also been, as Sr. Cortón shows in his interesting monograph¹, in many respects erroneous. All men, even the best, have their frailties, and it is a wholesome, pious sentiment which withholds us from peering too curiously into the lives of eminent authors. But reticence may easily be so misplaced as to defeat its object. We can all see now that the respectable scruples which led to the concealment of the Valladolid *proceso* did more harm to Cervantes than publication would have done; we can all see now that it was a fatal error of judgment to suppress

¹ *Espronceda* par Antonio Cortón. Madrid, n.d.

Lope de Vega's compromising correspondence. The truth leaks out at last, but not till tittle-tattle has done its worst. Espronceda's case is, naturally, on a very different footing. In the interest of survivors it needed handling with tact; but the generation that knew Espronceda personally has passed away with Valera and Cheste, and, though an unnecessary pretence of mystery is still kept up about trifling details, something like the real story can now be told. Furtive tactics are once more shown to be the worst in the world. The legendary Espronceda was a profligate, sinister figure, the incarnation of rebellion against the established order in politics and morals. According to the new version, he was of unimpeachable orthodoxy, and, after sowing his wild oats, he was on the point of settling down to a life of humdrum respectability when death took him prematurely. The facts may be left to tell their own tale¹.

We had hitherto been led to suppose that Espronceda was the only child of his parents, and that he was born at Almendralejo de los Barros on the line of march during the Peninsular War in 1809 or 1810. This is a tissue of mistakes. Espronceda had a brother² and a sister³ (both older than himself) who died young. He was born on March 25, 1808—before the Peninsular War began,—and, according to local tradition, his birth took place in a shepherd's hut at a spot called Pajares de la Vega near Villafranca de los Barros⁴. However that may be, he was baptized the same day in the church of Our Lady at Almendralejo, received the names of José Ignacio Javier Oriol Encarnación, and is described in the certificate as the legitimate son of Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Espronceda (of the Bourbon cavalry regiment) and his wife Doña María del Carmen Delgado y Lara. He is next heard of in July, 1820, when his father took steps to have him admitted to the artillery school at Segovia. The boy entered as a cadet in June, 1821, but was shortly afterwards removed to the Colegio de San Mateo in Madrid when

¹ For biographical information, the student should consult, in addition to Sr. Cortón's monograph, two articles by Sr. D. José Cascales y Muñoz in *La España Moderna* (May and June, 1908), and Sr. E. Rodríguez Solís, *Espronceda: su tiempo, su vida, y sus obras* (Madrid, 1883).

² Francisco Javier Diego, born at Reus on May 13, 1805.

³ María del Carmen Agustina Tadea Teresa Javiera Eulalia, born at Barcelona on February 12, 1807, and died on March 24, 1807.

⁴ Colonel Juan Espronceda's regiment was stationed at Villafranca de los Barros. He and his wife resided at 8, Plaza Vieja (now Plaza de Fernando Ceballos); the disturbances following upon the mutiny at Aranjuez and the fall of Godoy caused them to leave hurriedly for Badajoz, and José Espronceda was born soon after the journey began. This is the version given by Sr. Cascales y Muñoz; but, according to Sr. Cortón (p. 17), Espronceda was born at Almendralejo de los Barros where, unquestionably, he was baptized.

Alberto Lista and José Gómez Hermosilla were among his masters; from the outset he was a favourite with Lista whose affection for him never wavered, but he had no taste for plodding, and the official school-reports speak of him as an exceedingly clever, idle, lovable lad. He soon began to dabble in literature and politics. A member of *El Mirto*, a literary society formed by the boys of San Mateo, he joined *Los Numantinos*, a political club founded at the suggestion of a school-fellow slightly his senior, Patricio de la Escosura. It is amusing to find in the list of members—there were but twelve—the names of Ventura de la Vega, Roca de Togores, and Plazuela; these three exasperated young revolutionists were destined to become pillars of society: Vega was appointed secretary to Isabel II, Roca de Togores is more easily recognizable as the Marqués de Molins¹, and Plazuela—better known as the Conde de Cheste—died, almost a centenarian, as the Director of the Spanish Academy.

Meanwhile the *Numantinos*, the eldest of whom was barely twenty, met in unfrequented fields, or in obscure holes and corners, to plot for the cause of liberty. The juvenile conspirators took themselves very seriously, and it is fair to say that they did more than talk. Espronceda soon had an opportunity of showing that he was in earnest, and in 1822 he was under fire for the first time. A boy of fourteen, he enlisted in the National Militia, helped to put down an absolutist rising at Madrid, and celebrated the triumph of constitutional liberty in a poem *Al Siete de Julio* which was warmly praised by Lista. But constitutional liberty did not triumph for long. The Duc d'Angoulême and his 'hundred thousand sons of St Louis' crushed the Liberals in 1823, and on November 7 Rafael Riego, the figure-head of the revolution, was executed in the Plaza de la Cebada at Madrid. The young *Numantinos* were present in the crowd, held a meeting afterwards, and swore to avenge their chief—'beginning with the highest.' This amounted to passing sentence of death on Ferdinand VII. Unfortunately for themselves the youthful enthusiasts made their vows in writing. The melodramatic document fell into the wrong hands, and was used against them. Espronceda was arrested with some of his friends, and was sentenced to five years' confinement in the Franciscan monastery at Guadalajara where his father was then stationed. There was evidently no intention of treating him harshly, and he was speedily released. He returned, bringing his sheaves with him, to Madrid, where Lista had

¹ His conversion seems to have been complete; he was prominent in contriving the fall of Olózaga in 1843.

opened a private school in the Calle de Valverde to supply the place of the Colegio de San Mateo which an unsympathetic Government had closed on the arrest of the *Numantinos*. Espronceda's sheaves consisted of the manuscript of *El Pelayo*, an unfinished epic, which was dutifully admired by the master who had the good sense to see that his turbulent pupil was a much truer poet than he himself was.

But, though Lista contributed forty-seven supplementary stanzas, Espronceda never found time to complete *El Pelayo*. He was not long in discovering that epics were not his calling. He is said to have met with André Chénier's poems shortly after his return from Guadalajara, and to have begun his evolution from classicism to romanticism. On the closing of Lista's school in 1826, Espronceda found it convenient to leave Madrid, made for Gibraltar, and thence sailed for Lisbon. He has told us how he was put in quarantine, how the sanitary authorities pestered him for their fee, how he offered them the only *duro* which he possessed, and how he threw the two *pesetas* which he received as change 'into the Tagus, as I did not wish to enter so great a capital with so little money'. There seems to be no doubt that Espronceda's parents kept him well supplied with cash, but his story may be true enough, and at all events his *beau geste* is quite in the high romantic manner. He was no more at peace in Lisbon than in Madrid. Portugal was in a state of civil war, and the Spanish refugees were regarded with suspicion. Possibly Espronceda, not content with literature, became entangled in local politics; at any rate, he was arrested, and imprisoned in the Castle of St George. It was a fateful experience, for here he first met the celebrated Teresa whose name is so tragically associated with his life, but to whom he owes his finest inspiration:

Aún parece, Teresa, que te veo
Aérea como dorada mariposa,
Ensueño delicioso del deseo,
Sobre tallo gentil temprana rosa,
Del amor venturoso devaneo,
Angélica, purísima y dichosa,
Y oigo tu voz dulcísima, y respiro
Tu aliento perfumado en tu suspiro².

¹ 'En fin, llegamos á Lisboa, que yo creí que no llegáramos nunca. Hicimos cuarentena, que fue también divertida; visitónos la sanidad, y nos pidieron no sé que dinero. Yo saqué un duro, único que tenía, y me devolvieron dos pesetas, que arrojé al río Tajo, porque no quería entrar en tan gran capital con tan poco dinero.'

² The quotations throughout are from the *Obras poéticas y escritos en prosa*. Colección completa enriquecida con varias producciones inéditas encontradas entre los papeles autógrafos del autor, ordenada por Don Patricio de la Escosura Académico de la Española; publicala Doña Blanca Espronceda de Escosura, hija única y heredera del insigne poeta. Madrid: Eduardo Mengibar, 1884. The second volume has not appeared. It is discreditable that no complete edition of Espronceda's works is available.

At this time Teresa was fifteen, daughter of a hectoring Andalusian colonel whom we know only as Don Epifanio M. The idyll was cut short by the Portuguese Government; Teresa and Don Epifanio M. were hurriedly shipped off to England, and Espronceda was unable to follow them till a year or two later. He then found that Teresa had been forced into a marriage with a well-to-do Spanish merchant, established in London, whose identity is disguised under the initials G. B.¹ Espronceda was twenty, and Teresa was seventeen; their heads were aflame with romantic nonsense, they were thrown in each other's company once more, and things fell out as might be expected. Teresa left her husband and child, disguised herself in boy's clothes, and eloped with Espronceda to Plymouth; there the couple embarked for Cherbourg, and took up their residence at Paris. Among the colony of Spanish refugees in London, Espronceda had attracted no notice; absorbed by his passion, he lived in obscurity. He does not seem to have written in either of the journals issued by the refugees,—*El Momo* and *Ocios*,—and it has been remarked with some acerbity that his name is not even mentioned by Alcalá Galiano in the *Recuerdos de un anciano*. There is no reason why it should be, for Espronceda had as yet done nothing to distinguish him from the crowd of exiles who preferred to run the risk of starvation in Somers Town rather than be within reach of Ferdinand VII and his camarilla. Two of Espronceda's poems belong to this period: the *Serenata* is dated 'Londres, 1828,' and the elegy *Á la patria* is dated 'Londres, 1829.' The *Serenata* has touches of conventional prettiness likely enough to appeal to a young girl like Teresa (who appears as Elisa), and there is a vibrating note of patriotic anguish in the elegy. But in neither of these poems do we find the authentic Espronceda. He had not yet found himself: he was to do so in Paris.

There literature and politics were in a ferment of revolution. The publication of the *Orientales* (1829), and the performance of *Hernani* at the Théâtre Français (February 25, 1830), filled the literary conservatives with dismay. Espronceda may not have known Victor Hugo, Musset and Gautier personally, but it is clear that he read them as assiduously as he had read Byron in England, and during his stay in Paris he must often have met with wild Bohemians like Pétrus Borel (*Le Lycanthrope*, as he chose to call himself), the most amazing figure in the amazing

¹ The practice of referring by their Christian names, or by initials, to the tragic comedians in this drama, is not solely due, as might be imagined, to a superfine discretion. Sr. Cortón hints broadly (p. 166) that Teresa's surname would have been given to the world long ago, if it had happened to be pleasing.

group of *Bousingots*, who curdled the blood of the middle-classes with their romantic extravagances. Baffled by a Bourbon in Spain, Espronceda helped to dethrone a Bourbon in France, and fought at the barricades in July, 1830. For some time Ferdinand VII refused to recognize the new French monarchy; Louis-Philippe retaliated by encouraging the *emigrados* who were flocking to the frontier, preparing to provoke a series of local insurrections against absolutism. This was the kind of argument that Ferdinand could understand, and he gave way as usual when his personal interests were threatened. Deprived of French support, the expeditions marched to disaster, and Espronceda marched with them. He served under Colonel Joaquín de Pablo—otherwise Chapalangarra—who advanced into Spain with a band of one or two hundred volunteers. Chapalangarra was killed in the first encounter, and, after a desperate struggle against superior numbers, his force was compelled to retreat. Espronceda, who had shown great gallantry in the engagement, commemorated his leader's fall in a copy of impressive verses :

Llorad, vírgenes tristes de Iberia,
Nuestros héroes en fúnebre lloro ;
Dad al viento las trenzas de oro
Y los cantos de muerte entonad :
Y vosotros ¡ oh nobles guerreros,
De la patria sostén y esperanza !
Abrasados en sed de venganza,
Odio eterno al tirano jurad.

Chapalangarra's defeat took place in October; towards the close of the year, José María Torrijos left Gibraltar and advanced upon Málaga in the belief that he would be joined by the regulars. The information was misleading; Torrijos and his handful of supporters were trapped; they were induced to surrender, and were then murdered. The massacre was branded in an indignant sonnet by Espronceda who, at about this period, volunteered to join an expedition to Russian Poland where an insurrection was in progress. Like Ferdinand VII, Nicholas I had refused to recognize Louis-Philippe; the French Government pursued the same policy towards Russia as towards Spain, and, when he saw expeditions being fitted out against him with the connivance of the French Foreign Office, Nicholas surrendered as meekly as Ferdinand. No more was heard of 'divine right' as against 'revolutionary principles'; Louis-Philippe was duly recognized by the Tsar, the service was repaid, and the volunteers for Poland were arrested.

The year 1830 was eventful and discouraging for Espronceda. He had failed in his effort to raise Spain; he had failed in his attempt to

follow the example which was always before his eyes, and to do for Poland what Byron had done for Greece. It is reported that envoys from London visited Teresa, and sought to induce her to return to her child and the mysterious G. B.; if so, the overture was rejected. The pair removed to Passy¹, where they lived in tranquil obscurity till the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, and the subsequent amnesty, opened Spain to them once more. Espronceda had left Spain as a 'classic'; he returned a full-fledged 'romantic,' with all the inconsistencies and extravagances of the school. Exile had been less hard for him than for most of his comrades, for his father and mother seem to have supplied him with sufficient means. The prodigal found friends at court when he returned. His father was now a brigadier, his uncle—the future Patriarch of the Indies—was Bishop of Córdoba, and through their influence he was given a commission in the Guardia de Corps². But he was still untamed, and could not in a moment forget his revolutionary theories, nor his obligation to shock the Philistines by his eccentricities. He attended a political banquet, delighted the guests by reading a copy of *décimas* condemning the Government which had appointed him³, was cashiered, and sent into exile at Cuéllar. His expulsion must have been painful to his father (who died the year following), but it was well-deserved, and need not be regretted. Literature gained much more than the army lost.

Yet the first result of Espronceda's enforced seclusion was not happy. At this distance, when our own enthusiasms have cooled, it is difficult to imagine how great the influence of Sir Walter Scott was on the continent; on the other hand, we have no difficulty in believing that what we now think to be his inferior novels were precisely those which were most admired abroad. It takes time to sift the chaff from the grain, and a generation which was capable of ranking *Lalla Rookh* above *Adonais* was naturally incapable of discriminating between the relative merits of *Old Mortality* and *Ivanhoe*. We cannot expect foreigners to be more infallible in these matters than ourselves. Espronceda had been brought up in the strictest sect of admirers. His old master Lista was enthusiastic for 'Gualtero Escoto.' Trueba

¹ Espronceda would seem, however, to have visited London again. At least, the poem *Á Matilde* (on pp. 226–8 of the *Obras poéticas y escritos en prosa*) is dated 'Londres, 1832.'

² But compare the note appended to the *Octavo real* on p. 226 of the *Obras poéticas y escritos en prosa*. Here Espronceda is described as belonging to the Guardia on October 10, 1831. This seems to be a misprint.

³ So far as appears, these verses have not been preserved; yet it might be thought that they would be embodied in the official report of the court-martial. Nor have I seen the juvenile poem *Al Siete de Julio* which Lista is said to have praised, and which helped Espronceda to ingratiate himself at Lisbon with Colonel Epifanio M.

y Cosío, one of the *emigrados*, had produced two historical novels written in English—*Gómez Arias* (1828) and *The Castilians* (1829)—while Espronceda was in London, and about the time that Espronceda went to Passy *Notre-Dame de Paris* appeared (1831). In 1831 also Trueba y Cosío's *Gómez Arias* had been translated into Spanish by Mariano Torrente, and other imitators of Scott had come forward in different parts of Spain. Among these were two intimate friends of Espronceda: in 1833 José García de Villalta had published *El golpe en vago*¹, and Escosura had published *El Conde de Candespina*. Espronceda followed the fashion; in 1834 he brought out *Sancho Saldaña ó El Castellano de Cuéllar: novela histórica original del siglo XIII*—a romance in six volumes² dedicated to his mother. It is readable inasmuch as it deals with a picturesque historical period, and it contains a few brilliant descriptive passages; but it is a literary exercise, not specially characteristic of the author.

I have assumed that Espronceda was attached to the Guardia de Corps immediately on his return to Madrid in the autumn of 1833, and that he was cashiered and sent to Cuéllar within a very short time of joining his regiment; but it is right to say that this is mere conjecture. We are almost forced to assign his exile to this period by the statements of his biographers who allege that he helped to found *El Siglo*, a liberal newspaper of which the first number appeared on January 21, 1834³. If he really took any active part in launching *El Siglo*, it is plain that his stay at Cuéllar must have been very short. But, assuming that he was still at Cuéllar when *El Siglo* first appeared, it seems highly probable that he was free again before April 26, 1834, on which date the managers of the Teatro de la Cruz produced *Ni el tío ni el sobrino*, a piece which he wrote in collaboration with Antonio Ros de Olano,

¹ Sr. Cortón states (p. 221) that García de Villalta, like Trueba y Cosío, wrote novels in English; they do not appear under his name in the catalogue of the British Museum Library, but may have been published anonymously. García de Villalta is known also as the author of an excellent translation of *Macbeth* which was hooted off the stage at the Teatro del Príncipe in 1838; see Enrique Piñeyro, *El Romanticismo en España* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 170-1.

² Are there two editions of *Sancho Saldaña*, issued in 1834? Sr. Cortón describes (p. 219) a mysterious edition published by Repullés as being in the form of an octavo volume 'de muy escasas hojas,' and again (p. 242) as 'un tomo en 8º, flaco y raquítico.' The only edition which I have seen was published at 'Madrid: Imprenta de Repullés. Año de 1834.' The arrangement is as follows: vol. i, pp. 1-178, vol. ii, pp. 1-188, vol. iii, pp. 1-205, vol. iv, pp. 1-186, vol. v, pp. 1-181, vol. vi, pp. 1-212.

³ Sr. Cortón (p. 219) states that Espronceda was banished to Cuéllar at the beginning of 1834, and he may possibly be right. But, in that case, Espronceda can scarcely have had any great share in founding *El Siglo*. No doubt discipline in the Spanish army was lax at this time; but it is difficult to think that any ensign on the active list would have been allowed to found a journal for the avowed purpose of overthrowing the Government under which he served.

like himself a founder of *El Siglo*. *Ni el tío ni el sobrino* attracted little notice: *El Siglo* attracted too much notice for Espronceda's convenience. He was arrested on July 25 and, after a week in jail, was ordered to Badajoz, and told not to return to Madrid. In a letter dated from the City Prison on August 7, and published in the newspapers, he protested against not being sent for trial, and renewed his protest in a letter to the Queen-regent on August 12. From these circumstances it would appear that he had refused to leave the Madrid jail, and that the Government shrank from removing him to Badajoz by force. His letter to the Queen-regent proved effectual¹; he was released, and flung himself into the political fray again.

He was in constant and aggressive opposition. In 1835 he joined the National Militia, and on August 15 took part with them in their armed demonstration against Toreno's Cabinet. In 1836 he published a pamphlet against the much more advanced Government of Mendizábal; on August 3 he again 'demonstrated' in the streets with the National Militia against Mendizábal's successor Istúriz, and narrowly escaped from the police who were in search of him. He found shelter in the unlikeliest spot—in the house of a police commissary—and there is said to have written *El Mendigo* and *El Verdugo*, which were duly published in the *Revista Española*. Coming out of his hiding-place, he carried on his political campaign in the columns of *El Español*, and travelled through Andalusia, organizing supporters at Granada, Seville and Cádiz. He collaborated with Eugenio Moreno López in a prose play entitled *Amor venga sus agravios*: the piece, ascribed on the programme to D. Luis Senra y Palomares, was produced without much success at the Teatro del Príncipe on September 28, 1838. In 1839 Espronceda visited Granada once more, and there gave the local literary society the *primeur* of part of his *Estudiante del Salamanca*.

Not content with his notoriety as a poet and political agitator, he had adopted the pose of a dandy, and his adventures led to scenes and quarrels with Teresa. The picturesque details which are given of these outbursts are uncorroborated, and are probably false. It seems, however, to be fairly certain that Teresa fled to Valladolid in a fury of jealousy, and was forcibly brought back by Espronceda; a complete rupture

¹ Espronceda's manifest reluctance to leave Madrid, and his personal appeal to the Queen-regent—an action very unlike him—may be explained by the fact that his daughter Blanca was born during the course of 1834. It may be convenient to mention at this point that, after Espronceda's death, Blanca was adopted (or, at least, educated) by her father's friend, the Conde de las Navas. She married Narciso de la Escosura, younger brother of Patricio de la Escosura, a leading spirit among the *Numantinos*.

followed¹, and no more is heard of Teresa till her premature death on September 18, 1839. This tragic incident made no apparent difference in the poet's mode of life. In 1840 his mother died. His domestic troubles would seem to have invigorated his energies, instead of checking them. He wrote his patriotic poem *Al Dos de Mayo*, commemorating the popular movement of 1808 against the French, contrasting past and present, and branding the subserviency of contemporary place-hunters to Louis-Philippe. He made a bid for fame as an orator by delivering a speech at the bar in defence of Patricio Olivarría, who was prosecuted for mildly advocating republican theories in *El Huracán*. In this same year, 1840, Espronceda published his *Poesías*², a slim volume which established his reputation, and was reprinted at Paris within a short time of its appearance at Madrid³. The loyal Lista came forward to lead the chorus of applause, and, though he could see nothing to praise in *El Reo de Muerte* nor (strangely enough) in *El Verdugo*, was enthusiastic in his appreciation of the book as a whole. He was perhaps rashly enthusiastic when, in speaking of Elvira, he invited a comparison between Espronceda and Milton.

His literary success seems to have encouraged and steadied Espronceda, and the political situation favoured his ambition. The first canto of *El Diablo Mundo* was issued early in October, 1840⁴; and, shortly afterwards, Espartero succeeded the Queen-mother as Regent. Espron-

¹ We are not told when this rupture occurred, but 1836 seems a probable date.

² Sr. Cortón states (p. 29) that not a single copy of this first edition is now in existence. This is, I think, a misapprehension. There is a copy in the British Museum with the press-mark 1464. h. 13. *Poesías de D. José de Espronceda*. Madrid. En la Imprenta de Yenes, Calle de Segovia, Núm. 6, 1840. A private collector in this country has another copy.

³ *Poesías de D. José de Espronceda*. Paris, Imprimerie de H. Fournier, 1840. This appears to be an exact reprint of the Madrid issue, not very intelligently executed. At the end of the *princeps* there is the following *Advertencia*: 'Al poner en limpio los borradores se omitieron involuntariamente las cuatro octavas siguientes de Fragmento 1º del poema Pelayo, que deben leerse á continuación de la II, en la página 14.' Then follow the stanzas numbered III, IV, V and VI in the modern editions:

(III) Al blando son de la armoniosa lira...

(IV) Toledo, que de mágicos jardines...

(V) Allí con ojos lánguidos respira...

(VI) El ruido crece del festín en tanto...

This *Advertencia* and the four stanzas are reproduced in the Paris reprint. Unfortunately in the Paris edition p. 14 is a blank, and *El Pelayo* begins on p. 17. It may be worth remarking that the title is generally given (though not by Sr. Cortón) as *Poesías varias*: the word *varias* does not occur on the title-page of the 1840 editions. The Madrid *princeps* was advertised in May, 1840; but the book was probably ready considerably before this date, for the *Prólogo* by José García de Villalta is dated June, 1839.

⁴ *El Diablo Mundo* appears to have been issued by Boix in parts published at irregular intervals. I have not seen it in this form: the earliest issue known to me is the two volume edition (containing six cantos) brought out by Boix in 1841. Modern reprints include fragments of what was to be the seventh canto. These verses were recited—wholly or in part—at Espronceda's funeral by the celebrated actor Julián Romea, himself a skilful versifier.

ceda's friends were now in power; he was nominated Secretary of Legation at The Hague, and left to take up the appointment towards the end of 1841. His absence was short. The Government needed parliamentary supporters, and—by methods too familiar to students of Spanish politics—Espronceda became deputy for the province of Almería. He did not resign his post at The Hague, but came back to Madrid, and took the oath on March 1, 1842. His speech on behalf of Olivarría is said to have been impressive, and the ministry may well have hoped to find in him a valuable recruit; but, if he had the talent of oral eloquence, he was careful to hide it. Conscious of his physical disadvantages, he doubtless perceived that he could not compete with such brilliant rhetoricians on his own side as Joaquín María López and Salustiano de Olózaga. He made no attempt to rival them; yet he showed none of the diffidence which is usually thought to be becoming in a new member. Espronceda, who was officially described as a 'moderate progressist,' knew how electioneering was conducted in Spain; his denunciations of the system leave no doubt on this head, and the system has never varied, whatever party may have been in power. He was, therefore, well aware that he owed his seat to official pressure, not to the electors of Almería, who, like the electors in most other Spanish constituencies, were merely so many 'honorary voters.' However, he appears to have taken the position seriously, was assiduous in attendance, sat on various committees, spoke fairly often (though without much distinction) in debates on financial or mercantile questions, was sensible but rather commonplace in substance, and, so far from proving irreconcilable, gave promise of mellowing into an adroit opportunist. His friend, Olivarría, whom he had defended in the *Huracán* case, soon found that the Cortes was no place for a sincere republican, and resigned his seat. Espronceda had no such doctrinaire difficulties or scruples. All traces of the old revolutionary had vanished; he debated prosaic practical questions in a prosaic practical way; and his latest biographer makes the alarming suggestion that, had his life been prolonged, he might have suppressed his poems, followed the example of other *Numantinos*, and declined into an embassy or a marquessate.

Incredible variations constantly occur in the unstable kaleidoscope of Spanish politics, but it is useless to discuss what might have been. Espronceda was at the end of his career. He was present at the Cortes for the last time on May 17. He had become engaged to Bernarda Beruete, went to visit her at Aranjuez, hurried back to his parliamentary duties, caught cold, and on May 20 wrote a note to the President of

Congress apologizing for his absence on the plea of severe illness. It was no formal excuse. His health, never strong, had been failing for some months; he was noticeably weaker when he returned from The Hague, and it is said that his parliamentary speeches were delivered in so low a tone as to be inaudible to most of the deputies. Though he had some of the habits of a valetudinarian, he was generally careless in his manner of life, had taxed his constitution severely, and had no reserve of strength. His friends thought later that the doctors had mismanaged his case. A proposal to perform the operation of tracheotomy was rejected first of all by a majority, and, when it was finally determined to resort to it, the opportunity had gone by. Espronceda died at 19, Calle de la Greda, Madrid, on Monday, May 23, 1842, at nine o'clock in the morning. He was in his thirty-fourth year. According to the medical certificate, he died of inflammation of the larynx. His death was duly reported the same day to the President of Congress: Luis González Bravo, one of the most sinister figures in the history of Spanish politics, attempted to express his grief at the loss of one who had been his friend. He broke down, and resumed his seat in tears: for once, he was evidently sincere¹. Espronceda was buried on May 24, in the cemetery of San Nicolás. In one of his most famous poems occurs the line:

¡ Sólo en la paz de los sépulcros creo !

Even this slight act of faith proved excessive. Sixty years later, on May 24, 1902, Espronceda's remains were disinterred, and removed to a spot in the cemetery of San Justo set apart, at the suggestion of Núñez de Arce, for the 'illustrious dead.'

II.

The most important events of Espronceda's life are now known to us as completely as they are ever likely to be, and there is a tendency to interpret the facts in a way which leaves him a less interesting and less romantic figure than he appeared in the light of legend. Scarcely any hero is as great and good as he seems to his impassioned admirers. The gods will give us some faults to make us men, and it is only too easy to point to many blemishes in Espronceda's character and conduct. But there is some danger of his being treated unjustly by the new school of critics. He was so powerfully influenced by external conditions that the details of his biography must be kept constantly in mind by anyone who

¹ González Bravo spoke with more self-command next day, following the celebrated Joaquín María López who delivered the formal funeral oration.

wishes to form a fair judgement. Pampered by a fond mother, flattered by an appreciative schoolmaster, educated at hazard, never submitted to any stern moral or intellectual discipline, he was brought up in most unfavourable circumstances. It is not astonishing that he committed many extravagances; the wonder is that with such training—or rather want of training—he committed so few. Extravagance was in the air he breathed. It is easy for us in our armchairs to smile at the boy-conspirator of fifteen swearing with his fellow-Numantines to bring Ferdinand VII to justice. It is easy to show that Espronceda's material sacrifices for his political views were slight, and that in London—if not in Lisbon—his egotism overcame his principles. It is easy to ridicule him for profiting by an amnesty to join the fashionable Guardia de Corps, for defending republican theories yesterday and accepting a post under the Regency to-morrow, for posing as a gloomy misogynist in print one spring, and exerting all his fascinations to please the visitors at Carratraca next autumn¹. These contradictions are flagrant, but politicians and poets are chartered libertines. Espronceda made no pretension to consistency, and had not the strength of will to retreat into a tower of ivory, like Alfred de Vigny. He was not consciously insincere, but his feelings were more violent than deep, and as a purely intellectual force he may be disregarded. Let us remember that, as he himself tells us, he was next to uneducated:

¡ Mis estudios dejé á los quince años,
Y me entregué del mundo á los engaños !

He was swayed more by emotion than argument, his temper was naturally irreflective, and he did not attain the years that bring the philosophic mind. Sensitive and untrained, he never ceased to be a creature of impulse, tossed to and fro by instincts which (it is bare justice to say) were, more often than not, ardent and generous. To expect from this inconstant, elfin spirit a reasoned consistency in conduct or in utterance is to be blind to facts and their consequences.

We think of Espronceda mainly as a poet of the Revolution, and who can deny that he was a romantic Liberal? Yet it is doubtful if he had any grasp of political doctrine. Shelley noted 'the canker of aristocracy' in Byron, and symptoms of this disorder are discernible in Espronceda. He was taught by his parents to despise the unpatriotic reaction embodied in the person of Ferdinand VII, and, like all honest

¹ In September, 1840—just a year after Teresa's death, and shortly before the publication of the *Canto á Teresa* in *El Diablo Mundo*—Valera, then a mere boy, met Espronceda during the fashionable bathing-season at Carratraca. He has given an amusing, cynical account of the poet's demeanour in the *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1902), vol. v, p. 204.

Spaniards, he hated the Ugartes and Chamorros who disgraced the Court. His association with Lista lent a tinge of mild liberalism to his incoherent opinions, and, in common with most literary men of his time, he fought against a particularly stupid, capricious and vindictive form of tyranny. But there is no reason to suppose that he had ever thought out a system of political doctrine, or even that he was capable of thinking out such a system for himself; and to charge him with contemplating apostasy is to impute to him a gravity and deliberation of purpose foreign to his nature. The only ground for this view is that he satirizes a certain type of National Militiaman in the First Canto of *El Diablo Mundo*, and a certain type of rationalist in the Third Canto:

¡ Oh gloria ! ¡ oh gloria ! ¡ lisonjero engaño
Que á tanta gente honrada precipitas !
Tú al mercader pacífico, en extraño
Guerrero truecas, y á lidiar le excitas ;
Su rostro vuelves bigotudo, huraño,
Con entusiasmo militar le agitas,
Y haces que sea su mirada horrenda
Susto de su familia y de su tienda....

Leyendo está las *Ruínas de Palmira*
Detrás del mostrador á aquellas horas
Que cuenta libres, y á educarse aspira
En la buena moral,
Y á la patria á ser útil en su oficio,
Habiendo ya elegido en su buen juicio,
En cuanto á religión, la natural ;
Y mirando con lástima á su abuelo,
Que fue al fin un esclavo,
Y el mezquino desvelo
De los pasados hombres y porfías,
Rinde gracias á Dios, que el mundo al cabo
Ha logrado alcanzar mejores días.

It is impossible to draw any wide inferences from such humoristic stanzas, except that Espronceda disliked tradesmen, thought them out-of-place away from their counters, and was of Voltaire's opinion that incredulity was the privilege of gentlemen. He enforces this view in an earlier passage :

... ahora que un sastre es *esprit fort*,
No hay ya visión que nos inspire horror.

There is no reason for believing that Espronceda was more in earnest here than in his description of a typical Spanish Cabinet :

Basta, silencio, hipócritas parleros,
Turba de charlatanes eruditas,
Tan cortos en hazañas y rastros
Como en palabras vanas infinitos :
Ministros de escribientes y porteros,
De la nación eternos parasitos :
Basta, que el corazón airado salta,
La lengua calla y la paciencia falta.

These lines, and many more like them, are the petulancies of a spoilt child of genius who feels that the world is out of joint, whose impressions are singularly vivid, whose misconception of practical difficulties is vast, and who avenges his own impotency to set matters right by ridiculing all conditions of society. Espronceda is everything by turns and nothing long. It is extremely difficult to penetrate through his armour of affectations, of indifference, cynicism, and pessimistic humour to the real man, who is genuine enough, if not deep. And it is scarcely more easy to estimate his literary achievement.

His prose works may be neglected. It would be unkind to say that *Páginas olvidadas*¹ is an appropriate title for a collection of stray papers (on miscellaneous subjects) which do not deserve to be remembered. They contain some happy touches, and relate some interesting personal experiences; but they add nothing to the author's fame. So also with respect to *Sancho Saldaña*: it gives no promise that a great novelist was lost in Espronceda. Nor need we pause to consider his dramatic work. His most ambitious effort, *Blanca de Borbón*—the manuscript of which is now in the British Museum²—may take place beside Byron's *Sardanapalus*, and the question whether the first two acts are classical and the rest (said to have been written during, or after, his exile) romantic is scarcely worth determining. Nor would Espronceda be remembered by the unfinished *Pelayo*. Except perhaps by Victor Hugo, no great epics were produced in the nineteenth century—not even by the cleverest of schoolboys. *El Pelayo* has vigorous and impressive passages, but they are not specially characteristic of Espronceda. Take, for instance, the eighth stanza:

Abre la flor naciente el lindo seno,
Y recibiendo el encendido rayo,
En la esmeralda del otero ameno
Vierte su dulce olor, gloria del mayo:
Pasa el arroyo plácido y sereno,
Solfeito besándola al soslayo,
Ella en vivos colores se ilumina
Y al dulce beso la cabeza inclina.

This is an excellent stanza in its place, is perfectly appropriate, and perhaps indistinguishable from the rest of the poem. But, as it

¹ *Páginas olvidadas de Espronceda* (Madrid, 1882). This, however, is the second edition. A note in *Obras poéticas y escritos en prosa* (p. 245) gives the title as *Páginas perdidas*: possibly this refers to the first edition which I have not seen.

² Add. MSS. 28972. See Pascual de Gayangos, *Catalogue of the Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. II, p. 533. Gayangos is mistaken in saying that this drama was acted and printed in 1835 as the composition of Antonio Gil y Zárate: the two plays are independent of one another. It is generally stated that Espronceda's *Blanca de Borbón* is unpublished, but it appears to have been published at Madrid in 1870: see Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín's valuable essay in *La España Moderna* (June, 1908).

happens, it was written by Lista, and why Espronceda should have incorporated it some sixteen years afterwards in the substance of *El Pelayo* is not easy to explain except on the hypothesis that he had forgotten who wrote it, or that he thought his master's manner and his own were identical. Despite its fitful brilliancy *El Pelayo* is no longer to our taste; but some of Espronceda's personal friends regarded it as his masterpiece, and, in the funeral oration delivered at the poet's grave, Joaquín María López declared that *El Pelayo* entitled the author to a place beside Homer. This freakish judgment survives only as a curiosity of criticism.

We are on surer ground when we come to Espronceda's lyrical verse, though here he is under suspicion as being a mere imitator of Byron. Most of us have heard, and some of us in our ignorant good faith have repeated, the story of Espronceda's poems being read by the Conde de Toreno, who is reported to have said that he 'preferred the originals.' This would explain the insertion of two virulent stanzas in the First Canto of *El Diablo Mundo*:

No es dado á todos alcanzar la gloria
De alzar un monumento suntuoso
Que eternice á lo siglos la memoria
De algún hecho pasado grandioso:
Quédele tanto al que escribió la historia
De nuestro pueblo, al escritor lujoso,
Al Conde que del público tesoro
Se alzó á sí mismo un monumento de oro.

Al que supo, erigiendo un monumento
(Que tal le llama en su modestia suma),
Premio dar á su gran merecimiento,
Y en pluma de oro convertir su pluma,
Al ilustre asturiano, al gran talento,
Flor de la historia y de la hacienda espuma,
Al necio audaz de corazón de cieno,
Á quien llaman el CONDE DE TORENO.

According to Sr. Cortón, the current story is apocryphal; the verses were written to satirize the boastful vanity of a political opponent, and Toreno, we are assured, never made the sarcastic remark ascribed to him. Yet he might have made it, had he had the bad manners and the wit. Espronceda's relation to Byron has not escaped notice since Toreno's time. Valera, one of Espronceda's most ardent partisans, observes vague points of resemblance between *The Corsair* and the *Canción del pirata*:

Con diez cañones por banda,
Viento en popa á toda vela,
No corta el mar, sino vuela
Un velero bergantín:

Bajel pirata que llaman
 Por su bravura el *Temido*,
 En todo mar conocido
 Del uno al otro confín.

Doña Elvira's letter at the end of the Second Part of *El Estudiante de Salamanca*¹ is, as Valera points out, an admirable (though rather sentimentalized) translation of Julia's letter in *Don Juan* (Canto I, st. cxcii—cxcvii), and the humoristic digressions are obviously in Byron's manner. But similar resemblances to Byron are frequent in poets of Espronceda's generation; they may be found equally in Musset, and Leopardi, not to speak of Heine and Pushkin. Like all young poets, including Byron himself, Espronceda began by being imitative; he makes no secret of his indebtedness to predecessors, and even admits it with quixotic generosity. *Oscar y Malvina* is frankly described as an 'imitación del estilo de Osián,' and a mutilated quotation from *Don Juan* at the beginning of the Second Part of *El Estudiante de Salamanca* might easily suggest that the relation between the two poems is much closer than it actually is. Valera traces to Béranger the source of the *Canción del cosaco*, and as the influence of *Faust* has been detected in *Manfred* so Valera detects the influence of *Faust* in *El Diablo Mundo* which—so he was intrepid enough to say—exceeds the model in imaginative force and verbal splendour. And no doubt, if it were worth while, it might be shown that Espronceda derived occasional inspiration from many diverse writers—from Quintana, perhaps from Quinet's *Ahasvérus*, of which faint reminiscences seem to echo in certain stanzas of *El Diablo Mundo*. Readers of Espronceda are always on the watch for resemblances to Byron, and doubtless the resemblances are there; but Espronceda goes much further afield. The famous poem *Á Jarifa en una orgía* is not more nearly related to Childe Harold's 'unpremeditated lay' (*To Inez*) than the hymn *Al Sol* is related to Ossian.

But these are the tithes of mint and anise and cummin. The influence of Byron on *El Diablo Mundo* is as unquestionable as is the influence of Pulci on *Beppo* and *Don Juan*. The mere borrowings of Espronceda from Byron are unimportant, but there is a striking resemblance in the temperament and attitude of the two poets, and both have suffered from the violent reaction against their individual

¹ The poem is based on an old popular legend: see the romances entitled *Lisardo el estudiante de Córdoba* in Agustín Durán, *Romancero General*, Nos. 1271–2. As Sr. Piñeyro has pointed out in *El Romanticismo en España* (pp. 179–180), Zorrilla deals with the same legend in *El Capitán Montoya*.

type of histrionic romanticism. Byron has, of course, lost more than Espronceda, for he had far more to lose. Many have said in their haste that Byron was not a great poet, and some that he was not even a true poet. Espronceda has not been dethroned so peremptorily. Never so idolized as Byron, he has never been so belittled. Again, he had no contemporary rivals so formidable as Keats and Shelley, as Coleridge and Wordsworth: in saying this we do no injustice to the troubadouring Zorrilla, nor to the Cuban poetess Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda who—though much more than satellites—came under his spell. Lastly, his successors in the next poetic generation—the iridescent Becquer, the hedonistic Campoamor, and the unquiet Núñez de Arce—were not precisely Tennysons, Brownings and Arnolds. Valera maintained that in natural endowment Espronceda was not inferior to Byron and Goethe; but Valera was a master of paradox whose sallies are not to be taken too solemnly. No one else, at any rate, pretends that Espronceda was Byron's match in momentum and luminous wit, and, though he has escaped eclipse, criticism has not spared him. He has been charged with scepticism, misanthropy, and immorality, and unquestionably he did not write for young people; his workmanship has been pronounced defective, and, though he wrote so little, he certainly published too much; and those who hold him to have been unequal to a prolonged flight are careful to remind us that *El Diablo Mundo* remains, like *El Pelayo*, a torso. There is substance in this elaborate indictment. Chaotic in thought, Espronceda is apt to be erratic in execution, as he ingenuously admits:

Terco escribo en mi loco desvarío
Sin ton ni són, y para gusto mío...
Sin regla ni compás canta mi lira
¡Solo mi ardiente corazón me inspira!

He drops headlong from the flaming clouds to earth, and his pathos too often modulates into a dulcet sentimentalism. The shadow of the amateur lies upon his page. And he offends against our conventional code of reticence: we expect fewer rhetorical professions of disdain for public opinion, and fewer appeals to middle-class sympathy.

But when all is said, when every due deduction is made, enough remains to justify Espronceda's eminent position among Spanish poets. It is no fault of his that the uncritical have admired his defects more than his good qualities. It is not wholly his fault that we are out of harmony with him; the canons of taste vary continually. He is not to be exhibited in a series of elegant extracts, but some idea of his variety,

his strength and weakness, his poignant note of personal emotion, and his brilliant metrical design may be gathered from the hackneyed but justly famous address to Jarifa¹:

Yo me lancé con atrevido vuelo
Fuera del mundo en la región etérea,
Y hallé la duda, y el radiante cielo
Vi convertirse en ilusión aérea....

¡Oh! cesa: no, yo no quiero
Ver más, ni saber ya nada:
Harta mi alma y postrada,
Sólo anhela descansar.
En mí muera el sentimiento,
Pues ya murió mi ventura,
Ni el placer ni la tristura
Vuelvan mi pecho á turbar.

Pasad, pasad en óptica ilusoria
Y otras jóvenes almas engañad:
Nacaradas imágenes de gloria,
Coronas de oro y de laurel, pasad.

This is but one example—not the best, but perhaps the most characteristic—of Espronceda's manner. His variety of tone, his metrical mastery, his flashing humour, his poignant tenderness, his interpretation of life are exhibited on a larger scale in *El Diablo Mundo*, a masterpiece which is also a fantastic medley of

Batallas, tempestades, amoríos,
Por mar y tierra, lances, descripciones
De campos y ciudades, desafíos,
Y el desastre y furor de las pasiones,
Goces, dichas, aciertos, desvaríos,
Con algunas morales reflexiones
Acerca de la vida y de la muerte,
De mi propia cosecha, que es mi fuerte.

En varias formas, con diverso estilo,
En diferentes géneros, calzando
Ora el coturno trágico de Esquilo,
Ora la trompa épica sonando,
Ora cantando plácido y tranquilo,
Ora en trivial lenguaje, ora burlando,
Conforme esté mi humor, porque á él me ajusto,
Y allá van versos donde va mi gusto.

And he keeps his promise: it is a great thing to say, but it can be maintained. Though cut off at the moment when his incomplete, impetuous and turbid genius was on the point of clarifying and maturing, Espronceda has bequeathed us a series of poems which, despite imper-

¹ Jarifa is not, as some have supposed, a pseudonym of Teresa. Jarifa, who long survived Espronceda, is the theme of a poem by Espronceda's friend, Miguel de los Santos Álvarez: see Sr. Piñeyro, *El Romanticismo en España*, pp. 359—360.

fections of art, admirably express his exciting personality, and the feverish turmoil of his age. Notwithstanding his burden of disillusion, he imposed himself on his contemporaries by what Théophile Gautier called his 'énergie passionnée et farouche.' He still stirs us with his elemental force, his resonant music, his prodigal potency of phrase, his communicative ardour for noble causes. A less rare combination of qualities would vindicate his renown¹.

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

LONDON.

¹ While the last pages of the above were passing through the press, Mr Philip H. Churchman has reissued *Blanca de Borbón* in the *Revue Hispanique* (vol. xvi. no. 52), and has appended to his reprint a very useful bibliography of Espronceda's works.

THE TEXT OF CHAPMAN'S CONSPIRACY AND TRAGEDY OF CHARLES DUKE OF BYRON.

THE date of Chapman's double play on the fall and death of the famous Duc de Biron may be established within comparatively narrow dates. It is based upon Grimeston's *General Inventorie of the History of France*—a translation and compilation of the works of Jean de Serres, P. Matthieu and Palma Cayet, which appeared in 1607¹—and the verbal coincidences are so close that it is quite certain that Chapman used the English translation and not the French originals. The first mention of the play is in the despatch of La Boderie (not Beaumont, as Fleay says, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, vol. I, p. 62), the French Ambassador at the Court of James I. This despatch, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MSS. fr. 15984, p. 240 sqq.), was first printed by F. von Raumer (*Briefe aus Paris zur Erläuterung der Geschichte des sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1831, vol. II, p. 276) under the date, April 5, 1608². The English translation of these letters (*History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries illustrated by Original Documents*, by F. von Raumer, London, 1835, vol. II, p. 219) misprinted the date April 5, 1605, a mistake which has found its way into the account of Chapman's life, prefixed to the reprint of his plays (Pearson, 1873, vol. I, p. xxi, footnote) and into the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (vol. x, p. 51), where, as a result, the Byron plays are said to have been produced in the year 1605. I have not seen the original despatch, but a friend who examined it for me in Paris (Mr Clemens, now Reference Librarian at Princeton University) assures me that Raumer's translation though 'both free and condensed' is accurate in substance.

I append the English translation as given in the work referred to above: 'April 8, 1608, I caused certain players to be forbid from acting

¹ Entered S. R. March 3, 1606, under the name of *The French Inventory*, to George Eld.

² Apparently it should be April 8.

the history of the Duke of Byron; when, however, they saw that the whole court had left the town, they persisted in acting it; nay, they brought upon the stage the Queen of France and Mademoiselle de Verneuil. The former, having first accosted the latter with very hard words, gave her a box on the ear. At my suit three of them (*i.e.* the players) were arrested, but the principal person, the author, escaped.'

No such scene as that here referred to appears in Chapman's play, but as there is an evident allusion to the quarrel between the queen and Henry's mistress in the masque which occurs in the mutilated second act of the *Tragedy of Byron*, we are safe in concluding that it was struck out of the copy by the censor before the play was allowed to be printed. Other omissions or alterations in the play will be referred to later. That the despatch refers to Chapman's play there can be no reasonable doubt.

The play is entered in the Stationers' Registers on June 5 (not May, as Fleay gives it, *English Drama*, vol. I, p. 62), 1608, as follows:

'Thomas Thorp entered for his copie under thandes of Sir George Buck and the wardens A booke called *The Conspiracy and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron* written by Georg Chapman.'

There is no hint in this entry that the publication of the play was to be stayed. Probably the initial difficulties had been already overcome and the copy entered for Thomas Thorp had been censored, or 'dismembered' to use Chapman's own phrase, by the official licenser. It is to these difficulties, and to the long delay of the licenser in giving his permission, that Chapman refers in the extremely interesting letter discovered by Mr Dobell among a collection of letters apparently by Chapman, which he published in the *Athenaeum* for April 6, 1907.

The plays were published some time in 1608 with the following title-page: The | Conspiracie | And | Tragedie | of | Charles Duke of Byron, | Marshall of France. | Acted lately in two playes, at the | Black-Friers. | *Written by George Chapman.* | Printed by *G. Eld* for *Thomas Thorppe*, and are to be sold at | the Tygers head in Paules Church-yard. | 1608. The second part has a half-title: The | Tragedie | of Charles | Duke of Byron. | By George Chapman. | Two copies of this edition are to be found in the British Museum (C. 30. e. 2, and C. 12. g. 5). In case of difference I will refer to these as A₁ and A₂ respectively. Copies are also found in the Bodleian (Malone 241) and in the Dyce collection at the Albert and Victoria Museum.

The Byron plays alone of Chapman's dramas achieved the honour of republication in the poet's lifetime. The second edition appeared in

1625 with the following title-page: The | Conspiracie, | And | Tragœdy of | Charles | Duke of Byron, | Marshall of France. | Acted lately in two Playes, at the | Blacke-Friers, and other publique Stages. | Written by George Chapman. | London: | Printed by N. O. for Thomas Thorpe. 1625. The second part has a separate title-page with the same imprint except that the words 'Conspiracie and' are omitted. Two copies of this edition are in the British Museum, C. 45. b. 9, and 644. d. 46.

The latter is a mutilated copy lacking signatures H₄—I₂ inclusive, i.e. the last two pages of the *Conspiracy*, the title-page and first page of the *Tragedy*. The first copy contains MSS. notes, said in the Museum Catalogue to be by Philip Earl of Pembroke, but Mr Herbert of the MSS. department of the Museum assures me that the handwriting cannot be identified as Pembroke's, though it is a seventeenth century hand. The assignment to Pembroke is made on the authority of Mr Kerslake of Bristol, apparently a former owner of the book. Some of the MSS. corrections are valuable and I will refer to them as MS.

There is a copy in the Bodleian (Malone 206); and copies are also in the Dyce collection, in the library of Cambridge University, and in the library of Princeton University (U.S.A.). The British Museum also possesses a copy of *The Tragedy of Byron*, 1625, bound separately. That this is a genuine edition, and not a mere reprint of the first, will appear from the numerous variants which will be pointed out. Unfortunately, however, the poet was unable to restore the passages which had been struck out of the copy originally sent to the printer and the play remains in its mutilated form. The changes introduced into Q₂ are almost always for the worse, and in most cases appear to be either errors, or alterations by some proof-corrector. Here and there, however, I fancy that I see the poet's hand, and it is not impossible that Chapman may have marked a few changes in the copy sent to the printer for the second edition. That Chapman sometimes read the proofs of his plays we know from a remark in his *Masque of the Middle Temple* on the 'unexpected haste' of his printer who had not sent him a proof of that work till he had passed certain speeches (Sig. A reverse). I shall hereafter denote the second quarto by B.

The two plays were dedicated in an elaborate prose epistle to Sir Thomas Walsingham, the friend and patron of Marlowe and of Chapman, and to his son Thomas Walsingham. This dedication probably suggested to J. P. Collier¹ the name of the patron to whom he should address the dedication in sonnet form which he forged in

¹ See my letter on this forgery in the *Athenaeum*, June 27, 1908.

Chapman's name and inserted in his own copy of *All Fooles*. The opening words of the epistle seem to me plainly to imply that Chapman had never previously dedicated a printed book to Walsingham: 'You ever stood little affected to these unprofitable rites of Dedication (which disposition in you hath made me hetherto dispenche with your right in my other impressions).'

After the republication of the Byron plays in 1625 they apparently fell into complete oblivion. They were not reprinted, either singly or in any collection of Elizabethan plays, for nearly two centuries and a half. Lamb quoted largely from them in his *Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets*—the extracts from these plays cover five and a half pages in the first edition (1808). Shelley prefixed four lines from the third act of the *Conspiracy* to his *Laon and Cythna*, but as these occur in one of Lamb's extracts, it is doubtful whether Shelley had ever read the whole play. As late as 1845 Lowell, when writing his enthusiastic appreciation of Chapman in *Conversations on Some of the Old Poets* (p. 167), was obliged to confess that his knowledge of the Byron plays was confined to the 'copious and judicious extracts in the "Retrospective Review" (vol. IV, 1821),' as they were quite inaccessible in America.

The plays were first reprinted in *The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman*, London, Pearson, 1873, vol. II. The editor, whose name does not appear on the title-page, but who is known to have been the late R. H. Shepherd, states, p. 184, that 'a few corrections, chiefly clerical, of the edition of 1625 have been, for the most part silently, adopted in the following reprint.' This would imply that the reprint except for these corrections was based upon the edition of 1608. But a careful collation of the reprint with the originals has convinced me that the editor made a transcript of the second quarto, compared this with the first quarto, and introduced certain first quarto readings, relegating the second quarto readings in these lines to the foot-notes. As a consequence, this reprint is quite unsatisfactory, for one is often unable to discover whether one has a first or second quarto reading before one in any given passage. I shall in the following article denote this reprint by P.

This reprint was quickly followed by another by the same editor in *The Works of George Chapman—Plays*. London, Chatto and Windus, 1874. This is a modernised version of P. I shall denote it by S. The next, and up to the present date, the latest reprint is that by Professor Phelps in the 'Mermaid' edition of Chapman (1895). This is founded on the Pearson reprint (P.) and on the modernised version

44 *Text of Chapman's Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron*

thereof (S.). It has therefore no critical value, and, in fact, reproduces some glaring mistakes of P. and S. I shall, when necessary, refer to it as Ph.

In the following notes I shall attempt to record all variants between A and B, except mere variants of spelling or such changes in punctuation as do not affect the sense, and shall also note alterations made by P., S. and Ph., and consider emendations proposed by various students of the text. I shall cite from Pearson's reprint by page, and also by act, line, and scene from my forthcoming edition of Chapman's plays.

BYRON'S CONSPIRACY.

The list of *Dramatis Personae* was first printed by Ph.

I, i, 22 (p. 188). Qq. *long-tong'd Heraulds*. So P.; but S. has *loud-tongued*. I do not believe this change is needed.

I, i, 41 (p. 188). A *Franch County*; B *French Bounty* (emended in MS. to *County*). I modernise to the more intelligible *Franche-Comté*.

I, i, 43 (p. 188). The punctuation of this line differs in the Qq. A₁ has a comma after *Savoy*, but A₂ has a semicolon, as have the Malone copy, and B. P. follows A₁ which to my mind confuses the sense. S. and Ph. make matters worse by placing a semicolon at end of line. I place a colon after *Savoy* and drop the comma at the close of the line.

I, i, 54 (p. 189). A *projection*; B *protection*, a plain misprint as the context shows.

I, i, 112 (p. 190). A *my traine*; B *any traine*, corrected in MS. to *my*.

I, i, 116 (p. 190). A *their Arts*; B *the arts*, an evident misprint.

I, i, 124 (p. 191). Qq. *mutuall rites*. Mr P. A. Daniel suggests *rights*.

I, i, 145 (p. 191). A *Licentiate Justice*; B *Licentiary Justice*. P., S., and Ph. all follow B; but A seems to me better both for sense and metre.

I, i, 163 (p. 192). All Qq. that I have seen read *Sunne be judge*. P.'s *Sunne to judge* is a misprint.

I, i, 178 (p. 192). Qq. have *defies*. S. alters to *denies*. This is unnecessary, as *defy* has here the obsolete sense of 'reject, renounce.' See *N. E. D.*, *sub* DEFY, † 5.

I, i, 184 (p. 192). A *Farre farre*; B *Farre faire*, a plain misprint.

I, i, 203 (p. 193). A *traitrous*; B *traytors*. P., S., and Ph. follow B. The alteration is tempting as it supplies an antecedent for *their* in the

next line. But the loose construction is quite characteristic of Chapman, and I think the alteration is more likely the work of a proof-reader than of the poet. Mr Daniel prefers *traitors*.

I, i, 206 (p. 193). A *neighbor*; B *neighbours*, a mere misprint.

I, i, 212 (p. 193). A *peace now made*; B *peace I now make*. P., S. and Ph. follow B which is smoother metrically, but I prefer to follow A. The change does not seem to me to be Chapman's.

I, ii, 55 (p. 195). A *enmitie*; B *emnity*, a misprint.

I, ii, 64 (p. 195). A *Though it offends*; B *Though it offend*. P., S. and Ph. follow B. I do not believe the change is by Chapman.

I, ii, 95 (p. 196). A *And so, 'tis nothing*; B *And so, 'tis nothing else*. The word *else* appears to me to have been inserted by a puzzled proof-reader. The reference is to *servile loyalty* which Picoté pronounces a mere privation, a nothing.

I, ii, 98 (p. 197). A *Which carve*; B *Which crave*, a misprint.

I, ii, 127 (p. 197). A *th' others boat*; B *th' other boat*, a mere misprint which reappears in l. 131, where B has *th' other* for *th' others*.

I, ii, 134 (p. 197). A *flourishes of forme*; B *flourishes of fame*. I follow A, which suits the context much better.

I, ii, 142 (p. 198). A *continueate*; B *continually*, a misprint, I think, or mistaken attempt at correction.

I, ii, 175 (p. 199). A *my uttermost answere*; B *my utmost answere*. P., S. and Ph. follow B, which is smoother metrically, but may be a proof-reader's change.

I, ii, 221 (p. 200). A *Ile hold*; B *Is held*. P., S. and Ph. follow B; but A seems to me to suit the context better.

II, i, 11 (p. 201). Qq. *guardlike*. P., S. and Ph. follow Qq. This word does not appear in the *N.E.D.*, and I cannot see that it would give a fit sense in this passage. I have therefore emended it to *guardless*, a word used by Chapman in his *Iliad*, v, 146. It has there a somewhat different meaning, *i.e.* 'unguarded,' from that which is required in this passage, *i.e.* 'heedless,' but such an extension of meaning is not uncommon in Chapman.

II, i, 16 (p. 201). A *might have smokt*; B carelessly omits *have*.

II, i, 51 (p. 202). Qq. *your service*. P., S. and Ph. follow Qq. The phrase seems to me almost unintelligible, and I have therefore emended *service* to *servant*, for which it might easily be misread.

II, i, 52 (p. 202). After this line Qq. have *Exit Savoy*. It is plain, however, that all the Savoyards leave the stage, so I have added *cum suis*.

II, i, 68 (p. 203). Qq. *fleade carcase*. S. and Ph. modernise *flea'd*. I am not sure what meaning they attach to this; strictly it should mean 'cleared of fleas.' The proper modern form, of course, is 'flayed.'

II, i, 70 (p. 203). A *an intelligencing Lord*; B *an intelligencing instrument*. P., S. and Ph. follow B, which seems to me the better reading, for I can hardly believe that any one but the author would have altered the simple, and metrically more satisfactory, *Lord* to the more vigorous, but less regular, *instrument*.

II, i, 73 (p. 203). A *desperate*; B *desperatd*, a misprint.

II, i, 90 (p. 204). A *dares not shew it*; B *dares no shew it*, a misprint.

II, i, 102 (p. 204). A *But what good*; B *By what good*, a misprint.

II, i, 105 (p. 204). Qq. *And dare assume it*. Mr Daniel suggests the emendation *affirm*. This is tempting, and *affirm* might easily be misread *assume*. But *assume* in the sense of 'arrogate, lay claim to' gives a good sense, and need not, I think, be altered.

II, i, 122 (p. 204). A *earths driest pallms*; B *palms*. I take A to be a misprint for *plains*, which B has still further distorted. Mr Daniel first suggested this reading to me.

II, i, 133 (p. 205). A *makes me so skornd*. B carelessly omits *so*.

II, i, 145 (p. 205). Qq. *How fit a sort*. In the Malone copy the long *s* looks very like an *f*, and I was at first tempted to read *fort* (cf. I, i, 104, *the...fortress of Byron*), which would go well with the verb *win* in the next line. But probably *sort* in the sense of 'lot' (cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, I, iii, 376) is right.

II, i, 149 (p. 205). Qq. *dull shore of East*. P., S. and Ph. follow Qq. Mr Daniel suggests *ease*, which seems to me a most happy emendation. There can be no sense in applying the epithet *dull* to the East, whereas the antithesis between the *dull shore of ease* and the *industrious seas* in the next line is quite in Chapman's manner. The fact that this emendation introduces a rhyme into a passage of blank verse need not give us pause, for Chapman is rather fond of an occasional rhyme, or short rhymed passage.

II, i, 151 (p. 205). A *Scamanders flood*; B *Scamander*, another instance of a dropped *s*.

II, ii (p. 206). In the direction at the beginning of this scene A misprints *Roisieau*; B correctly *Roiseau*.

II, ii, 29 (p. 207). A *And are like to*; B misprints *end are like to*.

II, ii, 47 (p. 207). A *further from those*; B alters *from* to *then*. This seems to me the change of a hasty proof-reader.

II, ii, 68 (p. 208). A *Argosea*; B misprints *Agrosea*.

II, ii, 93 (p. 208). A *Fortune? to him was Juno*; B drops the question mark after *Fortune*. P., S. and Ph. follow B; but I am not sure that the question mark, which is perhaps equivalent here to an exclamation mark, should not be retained. In that case the subject to *was* needs to be supplied from the context, *viz.*, she, Fortune.

II, ii, 97 (p. 208). A *was not forc't*; B *not was forc't*.

II, ii, 143 (p. 210). A *yet must not give*; B *yet you must not give*. This seems to me another instance of a change for the worse made by a hasty proof-reader attempting to better the text. Henry's speech, *must not give him all the honor*, or words to that effect, is interrupted by Savoy. There is no need for any change except to put a dash at the close of the line.

II, ii, 187 (p. 211). A *beates him into route*; B misprints *beares*.

II, ii, 216 (p. 212). A *My Lor. Norris*; B *My Lord Norris*. P. follows B; but both S. and Ph. print *Mylor*. I prefer *My Lor'* (cf. III, ii, 55, p. 217 where this form appears in A).

II, ii, 220—223 (p. 212). The punctuation of this passage in the Qq.—accurately reproduced by P.—is rather confusing. I take lines 221—222 to be parenthetical and inclose them accordingly; on *any sudden* = 'upon any sudden call'; there should be a comma after *ground*; and *As ready* (l. 223) goes back to the phrase *in command* (l. 220).

III, i, 8 (p. 213). Qq. *Asterisims*; P. silently corrects to *Asterisms*.

III, ii, 6 (p. 216). Qq. *Thats sought*. S. and Ph. alter to *fought*, which is manifestly wrong.

III, ii, 68 (p. 218). Qq. *stopt*. P. misprints *sept*.

III, ii, 84 (p. 218). A *smoke*; B misprints *smokt*.

III, ii, 90 (p. 218). Qq. *What had his armes beene without my arme*. S. and Ph. emend *his armies*, a tempting alteration, but not, I think, necessary.

III, ii, 113 (p. 219). All Qq. have the misprint *prefect*. S. corrects to *perfect*.

III, ii, 121 (p. 219). Qq. *the purfle rare*. P., S. and Ph. follow Qq., Ph. glossing *purfle* as 'adornment.' Specifically 'purfle' means 'a decorated, or embroidered border,' and I do not think this gives any sense here. It could hardly be applied to the frame of a picture, even if the picture on which the painter is engaged in this scene had a frame. And it is not the frame but the portrait which the Savoyards are flattering. I therefore propose to read *profile*.

III, ii, 194 (p. 221). In the stage direction after this line Qq. have

Soisson for *Soissons*. So also throughout both plays, except in the stage direction at the beginning of *Tragedy*, act v.

III, ii, 196 (p. 221). Qq. *our streame*; P. misprints *over streame*.

III, ii, 201 (p. 221). Qq. have a comma after *My Lord*. S. and Ph. delete it, making *My Lord* agree with the following words. But I think it is plain that it is addressed to Byron, to whom Savoy now speaks aloud, introducing, as it were, Nemours and Soissons. I therefore follow the old punctuation.

III, ii, 214 (p. 222). A *And we will turne these torrents, hence. The King. Exit Laffi.* B *And we will turne these torrents, hence. En. the King. Ex. Laf.* In A the words, *The King*, are in italics and are immediately followed by the stage direction *Exit Laffi*. Evidently the proof-reader of B took them to be part of the stage direction, and wishing to make this clear, he inserted the word *En.* for *Enter*. And he did this in spite of the fact that the change spoiled the metre, and was quite unnecessary, for the next line in both Qq. has the stage direction *Enter Henry, etc.* This gross blunder has been followed by P., S. and Ph. The two latter make matters worse by deleting the comma after *torrents*. Any one who examines the first Quarto will see at a glance that the true reading is: *And we will turn these torrents. Hence! The King!* Byron wishes to get the obnoxious *La Fin* away before the King enters.

III, ii, 218 (p. 222). In A the final *s* in *houses* is blotted out; B gives *houses* which is required by both sense and metre.

III, ii, 224 (p. 222). Qq. *Of femall mischiefs*. So P., S. and Ph. Ph. glosses 'Female, mischief brought on by the Fates.' This seems to me a rather wild guess. I take *femall* to be a misprint for *feral*, i.e., *deadly*. Practically the same misprint occurs in another play by Chapman, *The Gentleman Usher*, II, i, 286 (P. vol. I, p. 279), where for *female* we should read *feral* with the sense 'wild, savage,' referring to the beast-like figure of the Sylvan¹.

III, ii, 254 (p. 223). A *and led it by a rule*; B misprints *let*.

III, ii, 256 (p. 223). Qq. *his head is napt with baies*. The sense is plain—the poet's head is crowned with bays—but this seems a peculiar use of the word *napt*. I can find no exact parallel to it in the *N. E. D.*, but take it to be connected with the 'nap' of cloth.

III, ii, 258 (p. 223). Qq. *Are of the great last*. Deighton (*Old Dramatists*, 1895) proposes to read *blast*. I do not understand what

¹ This emendation was suggested to me by Dr Bradley too late to be included in my edition of *The Gentleman Usher* in the *Belles Lettres* Series.

meaning he attaches to this. *Last* has here the sense of 'model,' 'pattern'; the poet's feet are said to be of the great, *i.e.*, the heavenly, pattern.

III, ii, 259 (p. 223). Qq. *puff with*. P. misprints *wirh*.

III, ii, 260 (p. 223). Qq. *Full merit, eas'd, those passions*. Deighton suggests *caus'd*, a tempting emendation. But I believe *eas'd* in the sense of 'gave ease to,' 'gave vent to,' may be retained. The punctuation of the Qq. is, of course, quite wrong.

III, ii, 269 (p. 223). *A treading on their noises*; B misprints *noses*.

III, ii, 284 (p. 224). In the stage direction after this line Qq. have *Exit Hen. & Sau*. But Savoy, I think, must have left the stage after l. 209 (p. 222) where the stage direction *Exit. manet Byr*: (B *Byron*) *Laffin*, must mean *Exeunt all but Byron and La Fin*. I therefore alter the direction here to *exit Henry [with Lords] i.e.* Epernon, Vitry, Janin. Possibly Chapman wrote *Hen. cum suis* which was misprinted & *Sau*.

III, ii, 291 (p. 224). *A fayning I am sent*; B misprints *saying I am etc.*

III, iii, 13 (p. 224). *A in that imitation*. B misprints *intimation*.

III, iii, 64 (p. 226). Qq. *What safely thou must utter*. S. and Ph. alter to *mays't*, which is a very plausible emendation. But I think *must* should be retained. Byron means that La Brosse *must* speak the secret if it is to be discovered with safety. If he will not speak, Byron will knock out his brains and search for the secret in them (ll. 62, 63).

III, iii, 84 (p. 227). Qq. *Remedy of pity*. The text seems to me certainly corrupt here, but I have not been able to hit upon an emendation. Mr Daniel suggests *Thou remedy of pity, i.e.*, Thou reason for discarding all pity. This hardly seems satisfactory.

III, iii, 124 (p. 228). Qq. *More then I use, that my weake braine will beare*. I suggest reading *than* for *that*. I am not sure that the emendation is absolutely necessary, but it makes the passage much clearer, and *that* for *than* is a common misprint.

III, iii, 145 (p. 228). After this line Qq. have *Exit*. Apparently Byron goes out leaving La Brosse prostrate, in which case a traverse must have been drawn to allow him to rise and depart unseen. This is one of several instances in these plays that suggest the use of a curtain capable of concealing some part of the stage. See note on last line of *Byron's Tragedy*.

IV, i. The fourth act has been, as Fleay pointed out (*Chronicle English Drama*, vol. I, p. 63), very roughly handled by the censor. It consists at present of 222½ lines, a long dialogue between D'Aumont and

Crequi as to Biron's famous visit to the Court of Elizabeth. It is, of course, incredible that this should have been the original form of the act. We must, I think, accept Fleay's view that in the original, Elizabeth herself appeared on the stage and spoke the words that are in the present version reported as hers. Whether the very striking scene in which Elizabeth pointed out the mouldering heads of Essex and other traitors to Biron and sent a warning to her brother of France appeared in the original form of the play, as Koeppel thinks (*Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXXII, p. 25, 1897), seems to me doubtful. It is told at full length by Matthieu (*Histoire de France*, tome 2, pp. 47 a—49 a) but does not appear in Chapman's immediate source, Grimeston's *General Inventory*. Grimeston cuts the visit of Biron to Elizabeth rather short and goes on at once to the birth of the Dauphin (pp. 945, 946, ed. 1607). Unless, therefore, Chapman consulted the French original, a supposition for which we have no proof, it seems unlikely that the play once contained a scene which would have shocked not only the sensibilities of the censor, but even, one fancies, the poet's as well, whose patron the dead Earl of Essex had been¹.

IV, i, 25 (p. 230). Qq. *And we had thought that he, etc.* I have ventured, on the authority of the sources, to introduce the word *not* after *had* into this line. It is plain from the context that a negative sentence is wanted, and Grimeston (p. 945) from whom Chapman is borrowing freely here has: 'That she could not say that a courage which feared nothing but the falling of the pillars of Heaven, should fear the Sea, or not trust unto it for a passage of seven or eight hours.' Matthieu (vol. II, p. 46) also has the negative: 'Qu'elle n'osoit pas dire qu'un courage,' etc.

IV, i, 38 (p. 230). A *And led in nature*; B misprints *let*.

IV, i, 40, 41 (p. 230). Qq. *for that Christall Sheds with his light his hardnesse etc.* The use of *Christall* in this passage seems to me peculiar; and there is nothing in the sources to explain it. I thought at one time of proposing to read *Christ*, on the supposition that Chapman had heard some report of the Queen's speech in which she was represented as saying that Christ had defended as well as enlightened her land. But this seems somewhat daring, and it is probably better to read *crystal* and interpret in the sense of the crystalline sphere, or Heaven; cf. v, i, 130 (p. 239) where it has something of the same sense.

IV, i, 112 (p. 232). A *royaltie*: B misprints *royally*.

¹ Chapman had dedicated his first efforts at a translation of the *Iliad* (*Seaven Bookes of the Iliades and Achilles Shield*, both 1598) to Essex.

iv, i, 156 (p. 233). A *Crequie*: B *Cerquie*. MS. corrects to *Crequie*.

iv, i, 184 (p. 234). A *fill*; B misprints *fili*.

iv, i, 213 (p. 235). A misprints *maver*: B correctly *waver*.

iv, i, 216 (p. 235). A *overrules*; B *over-rule*, perhaps an alteration of the proof-reader to make the verb agree with its supposed subject, *starres*. The true subject is *whom*.

iv, i, 223 (p. 235). The mutilated act breaks off in the middle of this line. It is interesting to note that from about l. 58 Chapman, who so far has been paraphrasing Grimeston, departs entirely from this source. Yet the speeches of Byron (ll. 60—100, 106—121) and of the Councillor (ll. 164—169, 174—213) have every air of being versified from reports of the actual speeches. Some contemporary account of Biron's visit to Queen Elizabeth may yet be found as a source of these lines.

v, i, 13 (p. 235). Qq. *in the fresh meate*. Brereton (*Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1907, p. 60) suggests *mead*. This is very plausible, and should perhaps be taken into the text. Yet *meat* may be retained, I think, in the now obsolete sense of 'meal,' 'repast.'

v, i, 37—39 (p. 236). *D'Auvergne's* speeches in these lines are assigned in B to *D'Aum.*, a mere misprint.

v, i, 136 (p. 239). A *Then his kind thoughts*; B misprints *then this kind thoughts*.

v, ii, 5 (p. 240). There is an interesting variation in the Qq. in this line. One of the Brit. Mus. copies (C. 30. e. 2) reads *So long as as such as he* which P. gives as the 1608 reading in a footnote. All copies of B that I have seen print the line: *So long as idle and rediculous King* (corrected by MS. to *Kings*). There can be no doubt that this latter is the true reading, and, as a matter of fact, it appears in at least two copies of the first quarto, the Malone copy and Brit. Mus., C. 12. g. 5. Evidently it was struck out as the first edition was going through the press by a proof-reader who had the fear of the censor before his eyes, and was restored, perhaps by the poet himself, in the second edition.

v, ii, 22 (p. 241). Qq. *Drowne the dead noises of my sword*. Deighton proposes *the dread noises*. This seems to me rather tame. I think *dead* should be kept, either in the sense of 'past,' 'extinct,' or of 'deadly.' I prefer the former.

v, ii, 38 (p. 241). In the stage direction after this line Qq. have *Exeunt* (A *Exieunt*). S. drops the direction altogether; Ph. retains it but notes 'as they are going out, Henry reappears.' I think for *Exeunt* we may safely read *Exiturus* as elsewhere in Chapman.

v, ii, 84 (p. 242). A *Which not another deluge*; B carelessly drops *not*.

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v, ii, 103 (p. 243). Qq. *I lockt it*; perhaps we should read *locke* to correspond with the present tense *presse* in l. 105.

v, ii, 110 (p. 243). A *flattery*; B misprints *flatteay*.

v, ii, 115 (p. 243). The Malone copy misprints *Acaron* for *Alcaron* as in other Qq.

v, ii, 116 (p. 243). The stage direction *Enter Savoy with three ladies* occurs in the Qq. after l. 110 in connection with *Enter Epernon, etc.* (Qq. *Esp.*). As often in old texts the entrance is set too early.

v, ii, 154 (p. 244). A *I should then have*; B omits *then*.

v, ii, 155 (p. 244). A *long age*. A₁ misprints *gae*, A₂ and B correct.

v, ii, 179 (p. 245). A *treasury*; B misprints *treasure*.

v, ii, 197 (p. 246). A *articles*; B *articlesl*.

v, ii, 210 (p. 246). A *care*; B misprints *eare*, corrected by MS.

v, ii, 254 (p. 247). A *most absolute*; B *absolut'st*, apparently a change by the compositor to save space.

BYRON'S TRAGEDY.

The list of *Dramatis Personae* was first printed by Ph.

I, i, 37 (p. 252). A misprints *beaveries*; B correctly *braveries*.

I, i, 123 (p. 254). A *overmacht*; B *overmatcht*. S. and Ph. emend *overwatched*, i.e. worn out with watching. But we had better, I think, keep *over-matcht* in the sense of 'beaten,' and so 'worn out.'

I, i, 124. Qq. *When guilty* [*Ã gultie*], *made Noblesse, feed on noblesse*. The line is evidently corrupt. S. reads: *When guilty mad noblesse, feed on noblesse*. Ph. reads: *When guilty, made noblesse feed on noblesse*. Neither of these seems to me intelligible. Deighton suggests: *When guilty mad noblesse fed on noblesse*. Mr Daniel: *When guilt-made noblesse fed on noblesse*. Of these two I should prefer the former. But Chapman almost invariably accents *noblesse*, and I am inclined to think that a word has simply dropped out of the line after *guilty*. I suggest, with some diffidence, *lust*, i.e. 'lust of power,' 'ambition,' which was certainly the cause why noblesse fed on noblesse in the civil wars of France.

I, i, 141 (p. 255). Qq. *Let him by vertue, quite out of from fortune*. S. emends *quite cut off*, etc., a very happy correction which is corroborated by a parallel passage in *Caesar and Pompey* (II, iv, 134—140. P. vol. III, p. 155).

I, ii, 4 (p. 255). A misprints *necllected*; B *neglected*.

I, ii, 20 (p. 256). A *his fixed place*; B misprints *her*.
 I, ii, 22 (p. 256). A *distinguisht*; B misprints *destinguish*.
 I, ii, 38 (p. 256). Qq. *how short of this is my*. MS. proposes *his* for *this*, a rather plausible suggestion.

I, ii, 45 (p. 256). Qq. *more then humane winde*. Deighton suggests *mind* for *wind*, and in v, iv, 71 (p. 314, third line from bottom), this common misprint (*wind* for *mind*) certainly occurs. But I think that in the present passage *wind*, i.e. 'spirit,' 'temper,' may be retained; cf. the phrase *give ayre* in l. 44.

I, ii, 57 (p. 257). Qq. *ravish*; and *my soule*. MS. notes in margin *mee*, probably suggesting the reading *ravish me*. But this seems uncalled for.

I, ii, 67 (p. 257). A *the onely Cyment*; B misprints *Clyment*, which MS. corrects.

I, iii, 32 (p. 259). A *Justice*; B misprints *Justic*, which MS. corrects.

I, iii, 55 (p. 260). A *levies*; B misprints *leaves*, which MS. corrects.

I, iii, 73 (p. 260). Qq. *Which are not those that must conclude against* (B '*gainst*') *him*. Here the source, Grimeston, enables us to restore the true reading. On p. 963¹ Grimeston has: 'Of many papers...they made choise of 27 peeces: which wére not those which concluded most against the Duke of Biron, but which made mention onely of him,' etc. I think it is plain that *must* of the Qq. is a mere misprint for *most*. I prefer A *against* to B '*gainst*'.

I, iii, 102 (p. 261). There is no break in the Qq. after this line, which is at once followed by the direction Enter *Esper. Soisson, Vitry, Pralin, etc.*; but four pages further on [sig. L verso, K 4 verso in B] we find *Finis Actus Secundi*, although no note of the beginning of the second act has been given. I think it is clear that these four pages of the Qq. contain all that is left of the censored second act, from which the scene that offended the French ambassador has been ruthlessly shorn away. The masque that remains has no purpose except to represent the reconciliation between Henry's queen and his mistress.

II, 26 (p. 262). A misprints *saftety*; B corrects.

II, 65 (p. 263). Qq. *play the prease*; A₂ looks rather like *pray* with a blot over the *r*; MS. corrects *pray*. This is certainly correct, yet S. prints *play the press*, and Ph. *play; the press* which is unintelligible.

II, 101-2 (p. 264). A *she likes it*; B misprints *like*. MS. corrects.

II, 102 (p. 264). A *the vertue*; B *vertue*. The context shows, I think, that B gives the correct reading.

¹ In the 1607 edition this page is wrongly numbered 941.

II, 125-6 (p. 265). B carelessly drops the words, and then attend *Your heighnes will*.

III, i, 57 (p. 267). The Qq. do not indicate the entry of La Brunel after this line, but simply assign the next speech, ll. 58-9, to *La Brun*. So also after l. 165 (p. 270) I have supplied an exit for La Brunel in order to prepare for his entrance marked by the Qq. after l. 230 (p. 272).

III, i, 130 (p. 269). Qq. *every Pursivant brings*. P. misprints *bring*; S. and Ph. correct.

III, i, 148-9 (p. 270). Qq. *not the Syrian starre That in the Lyons mouth undaunted shines*. So P., S. and Ph. But read *Sirian star* and *Lion's month*. The reference, as the next lines show, is to the heliacal rising of Sirius in July, the Lion's month. The emendation proposed gives a perfect sense to a passage which was unintelligible before.

III, i, 195 (p. 271). A *That hath but two staires*; B *two starres*. Either reading will make sense. With P., S. and Ph. I follow A.

III, i, 206 (p. 271). Qq. *by laying out*. So S. and Ph. I do not quite understand the sense, and fancy that there may be some corruption, but I am not prepared to make an emendation. *Flying out* would make sense, but seems to me somewhat daring.

III, i, 209 (p. 271). A *Not to be quencht, nor lessend*; B inserts *no* before *nor*. This sounds like the interpolation of an actor, spoiling the rhythm to secure greater emphasis.

III, i, 235-7 (p. 272). Qq. print these lines as prose.

III, i, 239 (p. 272). A *all scruple*; B *scruiples*. I prefer A.

III, ii, 43 (p. 274). A *Province by Province*; B misprints the second *Provice*. MS. corrects.

III, ii, 56 (p. 274). Before this line A needlessly repeats the name of the speaker, *Hen*. B omits. In the stage direction after this line Qq. include the word *brother*. This character is perhaps meant to represent one of Biron's brothers-in-law; he takes no part in the play.

III, ii, 60 (p. 275). A *Jelouse of mine honor*; B misprints *Jealousie*. MS. corrects.

III, ii, 69 (p. 275). Qq. *Be what port it will*; MS. inserts *it* after *Be*, a rather tempting correction. But as Chapman often omits the subject when it may be understood from the context, I have not thought it necessary to insert *it*.

III, ii, 88-90 (p. 275). Qq. print these three lines as two; *Resolving ...in, And had...son*.

III, ii, 111 (p. 276). A *an open expedition*; B *exhebiton*. Either reading will make sense, but I prefer to follow A.

III, ii, 112 (p. 276). A *In which*; B misprints *I which*.

III, ii, 113 (p. 276). Qq. *fouly foyld*. P misprints *foyld*, and S. and Ph. read *soil'd*. But *foil'd*, in one of its meanings, 'trampled down,' 'defeated,' or 'defiled,' is certainly the true reading.

III, ii, 116 (p. 276). A *as perfect roundnes*; B misprints *a perfect*.

III, ii, 129 (p. 277). A *Ile tell you as your friend*; B reads *as a friend*. P., S. and Ph. follow B. I prefer to retain the reading of A.

IV, i (p. 277). In the stage direction at the beginning of this scene B prefixes *Enter the Duke of* to A's *Byron, D'Avuergne*.

IV, i, 2 (p. 277). A *I meane*; B misprints *meant*. MS. corrects.

IV, i, 3 (p. 277). A *much better themselves*: B correctly inserts *then* after *better*.

IV, i, 31 (p. 278). A *their diverted eares*; B misprints *delivered*.

IV, i, 33 (p. 278). A *must like*; B *most like*, probably a misprint.

IV, i, 46 (p. 279). A *But he is most loth*; B carelessly omits *most*.

IV, i, 66 (p. 279). A *fare you wel*; B carelessly drops *you*.

IV, i, 68-69 (p. 279). Qq. print the words from *They keepe* to *King* as one line.

IV, i, 76 (p. 279). A *losse to lose*; B misprints *losse, to losse*. MS. emends the second *losse* to *loose*, a variant of *lose*.

IV, i, 80-84 (p. 280). The compositor of this passage in B seems to have been more than usually careless. He misprints *n're* for *n'ere*, l. 80; *keepe* for *kept*, l. 82; *spects* for *aspects*, l. 83; and *Barke* for *Brake*, l. 84.

IV, i, 101 (p. 280). Qq. *He wills us to retire*. P. misprints *He will us*, a mistake followed by S. and Ph.

IV, i, 114 (p. 281). Qq. *the wilde ducke*. This line is a clear proof, I think, that Chapman followed the English translation (Grimeston) not the French original (Matthieu). Grimeston, p. 966¹, says: 'A Ducke came into his cabinet, etc.'; but Matthieu (vol. II, p. 123) has: 'un oyseau qu'on appelle Duc, etc.' Now 'Duc' is a species of owl. If Chapman had read the French and understood its meaning, he would hardly have substituted the wild duck, thus anticipating Ibsen, for the conventional bird of ill omen, the owl.

IV, i, 125 (p. 281). A *fel-mad*; B correctly *fell mad*.

IV, i, 139 (p. 282). Qq. *That die*. P. misprints *hie*.

¹ In the 1607 edition this page is wrongly numbered 944.

iv, i, 152 (p. 282). A *my apprehendor*; B misprints *apprehennor*. MS. corrects.

iv, i, 153 (p. 282). The stage direction *Exeunt* is wanting after this line, but it is clear that Byron and his friends are not on the stage in the following scene.

iv, ii, 25 (p. 283). A *resolution, what were fit*; B *that were fit*. P., S. and Ph. follow A; but I think B is the better reading. A is probably a misprint due to some contraction in the MS.

iv, ii, 34 (p. 283). A *manadage*; B misprints *manadage*.

iv, ii, 61 (p. 284). A *and on D'Auvergne*; B omits *on*.

iv, ii, 69 (p. 284). A *Passions*; B misprints *Pssiaons*.

iv, ii, 85 (p. 284). I have inserted the name, *Montigny*, in the stage direction here to prepare for his speech, ll. 156—162 (p. 287).

iv, ii, 90 (p. 285). The direction *Exit D'Auvergne* is wanting in the Qq. I have supplied it here to prepare for his re-entrance after l. 172 (p. 287).

iv, ii, 110 (p. 285). Qq. *lessons of mortallitie*; MS. apparently tries to alter to *moralitie* and notes in margin: '*A morall man, A civill man.*' S. and Ph. read *morality*, an emendation which Deighton also suggests. It is certainly a tempting conjecture, and possibly correct. Yet I think *mortality* in the sense of 'human life,' 'human nature,' may be retained.

iv, ii, 119 (p. 286). A *the worthy King of Hearts*; B alters to *that worthy*.

iv, ii, 128 (p. 286). A *as before*; B *as be before*. MS. adds in margin *they did*.

iv, ii, 139 (p. 286). Qq. *He sought for gold, and Empire*. MS. notes in margin: *Hee fought [for] gold, not em[pire]*. The letters enclosed in brackets have been cut off when this copy of Q₂ was rebound.

iv, ii, 155 (p. 287). Qq. *the magnanimity*. MS. in margin *this mag[nani]mitye*. Byron's speech is interrupted by Montigny; I therefore place a dash instead of the period of the Qq. at the close of this line.

iv, ii, 170—171 (p. 287). Qq. have *unmov'd* and *beloved* as the last words of these lines. I think it is plain that a rhyme is intended and therefore print *unmov'd* and *belov'd*.

iv, ii, 177 (p. 287). Qq. *on Strong Barre*. MS. corrects *one*.

iv, ii, 183 (p. 288). Qq. *Trust that deceives our selves in treachery*. S. emends *is*, which is, no doubt, correct.

iv, ii, 184 (p. 288). A *an open lie*. B misprints *and open lye*.

iv, ii, 194 (p. 288). Qq. *All this...is misery*. MS. notes in margin

Mysterye, anticipating S's and Deighton's *mystery*. The context, cf. l. 195, shows, I think, that *mystery* is the true reading. I have noted the misprint *misery* for *mystery* in Fletcher's *Valentinian*, III, i (F₂, p. 368, 2nd col.). In l. 195 I have followed S. in putting a question mark after *it*. The Qq. have a semicolon and a comma respectively. In this line A misprints *enouge*; B corrects *enough*.

IV, ii, 197 (p. 288). A has *Exit* after the speech of Varennes. B drops it, and accordingly it does not appear in P., Sh., or Ph.

IV, ii, 201 (p. 288). I have inserted the stage direction *Exeunt all but Byron and Henry* in this line, since it is plain that the court retires here and leaves these two alone.

IV, ii, 227 (p. 289). A *Aske life*; B misprints *As life*.

IV, ii, 256 (p. 290). Qq. *my person*; *wich is as free*. MS. corrects *person with as free*. This emendation, which I think very happy, is followed by S., but Ph. returns to the reading of the Qq.

IV, ii, 258 (p. 290). A *the merits of your valors*; B misprints *or your*. MS. corrects. P. follows B; but S. and Ph. revert to A.

IV, ii, 263 (p. 290). A *I am asham'd to bragge thus*; *where envy*. B transfers *envy* to the beginning of the next line. I have ventured to introduce *but* before *envy* which restores the metre and, I think, is called for by the sense.

IV, ii, 272 (p. 291). Qq. *others honors*; P. misprints *other*.

IV, ii, 273 (p. 291). A *A property*; B *Properties*. The reading of B seems to me better rhythmically, but I have preferred, as in all doubtful cases, to follow A.

IV, ii, 286 (p. 291). A *And trample ou't*; B *So, trample out*. The reading of B makes no sense unless we suppose *So* a misprint for *To*. In any case I would follow A. P., S. and Ph. follow B.

IV, ii, 294 (p. 291). Qq. *Shooes ever overthrow*. After a good deal of hesitation I have ventured on the emendation *shows*, i.e. pageants, taking *overthrow* in the intransitive sense recorded in *N. E. D.* (OVERTHROW † 5). A confusion between *shoes* and *shows* is not uncommon in Elizabethan spelling. In *King John*, II, i, 144, Theobald's emendation *shows* for the Ff *shooes* is, I think, pretty generally accepted. I have also noted in Middleton's *Family of Love*, I, iii (sig. B₃ reverse), *showes* misprinted for *shoes* (see Dyce's note in his edition of Middleton, vol. II, p. 127), and in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (p. 129, Grosart's edition) I find *shooes* misprinted for *shows*. Admitting, then, the possibility of a confusion between *shooes* and *shows*, it seems to me that the latter is what Chapman wrote. The homely figure 'too big shoes upset their

wearer,' would not be at all in his 'heightened style,' and the context, I think, shows that an intransitive verb is required: 'an exhalation falls, cannons burst, and pageants overturn,' not 'shoes upset their wearer.' I am reluctant to introduce emendations into the text where the original will make sense, but I can only say that I feel fairly confident after a long study of Chapman that *shows* not *shoes* was what he meant.

iv, ii, 307 (p. 292). Qq. *Are coullors, it will beare*. MS. corrects that *will beare*, which is no doubt correct. But S. and Ph. have *it*. Deighton like MS. emends *that*.

iv, ii, 308 (p. 292). A *to adverse affaires*; B misprints *advise affaires*.

iv, ii, 309 (p. 292). A *his state still his best*; B corrects the second *his* to *is*.

iv, ii, 310-311 (p. 292). For *That*, the first word in both these lines in A, B has *As*.

v, i, 2 (p. 292). A *That*; B *Which*.

v, i, 9 (p. 292). A *And*; B *For*.

v, i, 12 (p. 293). A *as*; B misprints *at*.

v, i, 16 (p. 293). A *lately levied*; B drops *lately*.

v, i, 38 (p. 293). A *Till*; B *Untill*.

v, i, 68 (p. 294). A *Take*; B *Have*.

v, i, 70 (p. 294). A *lothes*; B *hates*.

v, i, 82 (p. 295). A *feared*; B *sacred*. P., S. and Ph. follow B. Grimeston (p. 970) has the phrase 'to break the Javelins one after another'; Matthieu (vol. II, p. 129 reverse) 'de rompre les javelots l'un apres l'autre.' Since the epithet is original with Chapman, we must choose between the Qq. I think *feared* more likely to be a misprint for *sacred* than *vice versa*, and therefore follow B.

v, i, 88 (p. 295). A *impartiall*; B *imperiall*. P. and Ph. follow B; S. follows A. I think A should be retained.

v, i, 91 (p. 295). A *Duke Byron*; B *Duke of Byron*.

v, i, 92 (p. 295). A *command it*; B drops *it*.

v, i, 99 (p. 295). A *evermore slack*; B *evermore make slacke*. P. and S. follow B; but A seems to me preferable.

v, i, 102 (p. 295). A *merry*; B misprints *many*.

v, i, 112 (p. 296). Qq. *in the best sort*. So P., S. and Ph. But the passage seems to me unintelligible. I take *best* to be a misprint for *lest*, the usual spelling of *least* in these Qq., and emend accordingly, as also in l. 115 where Qq. have *best*.

- v, i, 116 (p. 296). A *That*; B *So*.
- v, i, 118 (p. 296). A *Byrde*; B misprints *Bryde*.
- v, i, 119 (p. 296). A *unwares*; B *unawares*. P., S. and Ph. follow B; but A gives a better rhythm.
- v, i, 122 (p. 296). A *not out*; B *nor out*. For *out* Deighton suggests *it*; but *out* (i.e. out of the room) stands in contrast to *down*.
- v, ii, 15 (p. 297). A *My Lord La Fin*; B *Me Lord*. MS. corrects.
- v, ii, 20 (p. 297). A *Till*; B *Until*.
- v, ii, 20-22 (p. 297). A misprints *Hen*. as the name of the speaker, although the catchword at the bottom of the preceding page is *Har*. B corrects. l. 21. A *sees*; B misprints *soes*. MS. corrects.
- v, ii, 27 (p. 298). A *arraignd*; B misprints *arignd*.
- v, ii, 60 (p. 298). A *The fourth is*; B *Fourthly*.
- v, ii, 73 (p. 299). A *Seurre*; B *Seuerre*. B's misprint led to the reading *Severre* in S. and Ph. The proper name of the town is *Seurre* in the Côte d'Or.
- v, ii, 76, 82, 89, 100 (p. 299). Before these lines A has 2., 3., 4. and 5. respectively. B omits the numerals.
- v, ii, 76 (p. 299). A *treaties*; B *treaty*. P., S. and Ph. follow B.
- v, ii, 87 (p. 299). A *for him*; B *from him*. I think B represents the correction of a proof-reader, who thought *him* meant Savoy. It means Henry, and *for* is correct.
- v, ii, 117 (p. 300). A *hyrelings then*; B omits *then*.
- v, ii, 122 (p. 300). A *What will you say?* Byr. *I know it cannot be*. B inserts *then* before *say*, and drops *I know*. This looks like an actor's change for the sake of emphasis.
- v, ii, 154 (p. 301). A *Trumpe*; B badly blotted, but looks like a cancelled *t* at the end of the word. MS. adds *t* (*Trumpet*). I follow A.
- v, ii, 172 (p. 302). A *simply trusted treason*; B misprints *simple trusted reason*.
- v, ii, 194 (p. 302). Qq. *Mindes must be sound*. P. misprints *found*, and is followed by S. and Ph.
- v, ii, 197 (p. 302). A *desarts*; B *deserts*. P. misprints *desart*. S. and Ph. accordingly *desert*.
- v, ii, 201 (p. 302). A *What I have done*; B *What have I done*. P., S. and Ph. follow B; but A is plainly right, since the clause is not interrogative, but in apposition with *This*, l. 203.
- v, ii, 231 (p. 303). Qq. *And I were but one*. S. inserts *though* before *I*; but this is not needed. The line begins with the syncopated first foot.

v, ii, 244 (p. 303). Qq. *from the kingdoms*. So S. and Ph. I think *the* is a misprint for *their*, though it may perhaps be a case of the article standing for the possessive pronoun.

v, ii, 258 (p. 304). Qq. *Saturnals*. Deighton suggests *Saturnalians*. But the form *Saturnals* occurs in Jonson, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (p. 607, col. 1, Gifford's one volume ed., 1846), and may well be retained.

v, iii, 1 (p. 305). Qq. give this speech to *Vit.*, an evident misprint for *Vid[ame]*.

v, iii, 14 (p. 306). A *made my judges*; B drops *my*.

v, iii, 28 (p. 306). Qq. *Though we may*. Deighton suggests, *metris causa, Although*. But the syncopated first foot is common in Chapman.

v, iii, 43 (p. 307). Qq. *to moisture hang'd*. S. emends *chang'd*, which is certainly right.

v, iii, 66 (p. 307). A *sits smoothe*; B misprints *sets*.

Qq. *engazd*; so P., S. and Ph. I can see no meaning in this, and propose to read *englaz'd*, i.e. painted upon.

v, iii, 73 (p. 307). The stage direction *Within*, wanting in A, is supplied by B.

v, iii, 102 (p. 308). Qq. *to which I summon*. MS. improperly adds *you* after *summon*.

v, iii, 131 (p. 309). A has *Flen.* as the name of the speaker, a misprint for *Fleu[ry]*; B *Fle*.

v, iii, 135 (p. 309). A *that injures me*; B *and injures me*. The change is due to the fact that B alters the position of the parentheses, within which A includes the words from *most* to *given*, so as to include only from *most* to *is*. The alteration in B is evidently deliberate, but not being sure that it is the poet's own, I retain A.

v, iii, 137 (p. 309). A *restaines*; B, correctly, *restraines*.

v, iii, 154 (p. 310). A *And loves men, for his vices, nor for their virtues*; B *And loves men, for their vices, not for*, etc. I believe that, except the misprint *nor* for *not*, A has the better reading, and that the change in B was made by a proof-reader. But P., S., and Ph. follow B.

v, iii, 160-161 (p. 310). *That had then the wolf To fly upon his bosom*. I cannot quite see the sense of this passage, and suspect some corruption. No source for it appears in Grimeston.

v, iii, 181 (p. 311). A *Tis but a*; B misprints *put*; MS. corrects.

v, iii, 184 (p. 311). I supply the wanting stage direction *Exit Byron* after l. 184.

v, iii, 185-6 (p. 311). *Never saw I...at death*; Qq. make but one line of these words.

v, iii, 210 (p. 311). A *gilded*; B misprints *guided*.

v, iii, 217 (p. 312). Qq. *render the kingdoms dome*. Deighton's emendation *under* for *render* seems to me very happy, and I have incorporated it in the text, which, as it stands, is unintelligible.

v, iii, 226 (p. 312). A misprints *Authoriy*; B correctly *Authority*.

v, iii, 240 (p. 312). I have supplied the *Exeunt* after this line. As there is no division into scenes in the Qq., it is probable that the five characters on the stage at this point remained there through the rest of the act and witnessed the execution of Biron.

v, iv, 16 (p. 313). Qq. *That can be wrought*; P. misprints *he*.

v, iv, 23 (p. 313). Qq. give *Arch[bishop]* as the speaker of the words beginning *Good my lord*. But this does not accord with the stage direction a *Bishop or two* above, nor with the facts. Garnier, Bishop of Montpellier, attended Biron at his death. I have therefore altered *Arch.* to *Bishop*.

v, iv, 39 (p. 314). Qq. *And what sayd all you*. Deighton proposes *say you*, but the change does not seem necessary.

v, iv, 45 (p. 314). Qq. *I bring a long globe and a little earth*. This line is manifestly corrupt, yet S. and Ph. retain it. Deighton proposes *being a blown globe of a little breath*, which seems to me too daring. Brereton (*Mod. Lang. Review*, Oct., 1907) suggests *lone* for *long*. This does not, to my mind, improve the sense very much. I venture the suggestion *being a large globe and a little earth*, taking *globe* in the sense of the round representation of the world. Byron, then, calls himself, in an antithesis quite in Chapman's manner, at once 'a large map and a microcosm.'

v, iv, 58 (p. 314). I have supplied this speech of Vitry's from Grimeston. In Q₁ the last word on sig. Q₄ reverse is *Blancart*. Then comes the catchword *Vit.* (i.e., Vitry). But the next page begins *Byr. Do they flie me?* It is plain that half a line has dropped out. And Grimeston, p. 988, gives the answer to Biron's request to see La Force and Blancart, viz. 'They tould him they were not in the city.' B has no indication of a loss as the passage comes in the middle of a page, Q₄ reverse.

v, iv, 71 (p. 314). Qq. *When I have lost my armes, my fame, my winde*. The last word is of course a misprint for *minde*. Cunliffe (*Influence of Seneca, etc.*, p. 48) pointed out that the whole passage was taken from Seneca (*Herc. Furens*, 1265-8), and gave the proper

reading *mind*, corresponding to *mentem*. Yet S. and Ph. have *wind*, and Brereton (*l.c.*, p. 60) thinks that *wind* (*i.e.*, 'the imaginative spirit of a man') should be retained.

v, iv, 77 (p. 315). A *yee*; B *you*. P. and S. follow B.

v, iv, 88, 89 (p. 315). A $\begin{cases} \textit{depositions} \\ \textit{deposition} \end{cases}$; B misprints $\begin{cases} \textit{dispositions} \\ \textit{disposition} \end{cases}$.

MS. corrects and notes in margin *by ye depositions and forgeries*.

v, iv, 100 (p. 315). Qq. *treason in a sentence*. P., S. and Ph. follow the Qq. But the word *in* makes nonsense of the passage, and has evidently crept in by mistake. Grimeston, p. 986, reads 'Against Charles...accused of treason...A sentence was given, etc.' I have therefore dropped *in*.

v, iv, 136 (p. 316). Qq. *They had bene three yeares since, amongst the dead*. So P., S. and Ph. But *They* is unintelligible. Brereton (*l.c.*, p. 61) proposes to omit *They* and take *had* as equivalent to *H'ad*. Grimeston (p. 988) has the words 'if he would have undertaken it, the King had not beene living three yeares since.' I think we may assume that the printer misread *He* (*i.e.*, the King) and set up *They*.

v, iv, 137 (p. 316). A *his safety in her owne*; B *his safety in his owne*, a mere misprint.

v, iv, 137 (p. 316). I insert the direction *Exeunt the Chancellor and Harlay* after this line. Grimeston, p. 988, records the departure of these two immediately after Biron had spoken the words in ll. 131-136.

v, iv, 149 (p. 317). A *Make even right with the Mountains?*; B omits *the*. P., S. and Ph. follow B; but I see no reason for thinking the change to be an authorised one.

v, iv, 162 (p. 317). I insert the stage directions *He mounts the scaffold*, and *Enter the Hangman* after this line.

v, iv, 157 (p. 317). Qq. *like low straines*. Sh. emends *streams* which is no doubt correct, as the context shows.

v, iv, 171 (p. 317). Qq. give *Arch* as the name of the speaker. See note on l. 23 *supra*.

v, iv, 178 (p. 318). A *Thou seest I see not? yet I speake as I saw*. B alters the question mark to a comma. The line is unintelligible, but is given, in the A reading, by P., S. and Ph. Deighton suggested changing the second *I* to *you*; Brereton (*l.c.*, p. 61) would drop *I*. Grimeston, p. 990, has 'Thou seest that I see nothing, and yet thou shewest mee as if I did see plainly.' It is evident that Chapman wrote *speaks't* or *speaks*, that the compositor misprinted it *speake*, and that a proof-reader thinking to improve matters put in the *I*.

v, iv, 200 (p. 318). A *And force the rest to kill me*; B carelessly drops *kill*.

v, iv, 215 (p. 319). Qq. *beneath the burthen*. P misprints *beneaih*.

v, iv, 227 (p. 319). A *His hearty ills*; B misprints *hearts*.

v, iv, 259 (p. 320). Qq. print this line as two ending *strike* and *soule*. It is just possible that Chapman meant Byron's speech to terminate with the word *strike*, and gave the last words of the play to another speaker. Grimeston says (p. 991) that Biron's head was struck off while he was still speaking. The Qq. contain no stage direction for the bearing off of Biron's body, nor indeed for any exit of the characters. It seems as if we had here a clear instance of an Elizabethan play closing with a tableau and of the curtain's falling, or rather being drawn, upon a group of actors standing on the stage. Mr Archer in his recent admirable article¹ on the Elizabethan stage has stated that only a few, and these perhaps doubtful, instances of such final tableaux occur in Elizabethan drama. I am inclined to think that if we examined the plays produced at the so-called private theatres, where the arrangement of the stage seems to have differed somewhat from the common type of the public theatre, we should find a number of such cases. In Chapman for example *All Fools* (the quarto represents the production of the play at Blackfriars) closes with practically all the figures of the play upon the stage, and with no direction for their leaving it. *The Gentleman Usher* (probably also a Blackfriars play) ends in the same way. The first quarto of *Bussy* (1607) which represents the original performance of the play by Paul's Boys, in a private theatre, apparently closes with the figure of the Umbra standing over the fallen corpse of Bussy, a striking instance of a tableau. Both the Byron plays lack a final *exeunt* for the characters on the stage, and these plays were produced at the Blackfriars. *Caesar and Pompey* appears to end with a tableau of the surviving actors about the body of Cato, but we know nothing as to the production of this play. That it was meant for the stage, in spite of Chapman's disclaimer in the Dedication, we may be very sure from the elaborate stage directions for exits and entrances, for costuming, etc. I do not believe Chapman had any hand in *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*; but this play, performed at Blackfriars, certainly closes with a corpse on the stage, and a grouping of the surviving actors around the new Emperor.

In the case of *Byron's Tragedy* in particular, it seems to me evident that the play closed with a tableau, or perhaps a 'semi-tableau,' a

¹ *Quarterly Review*, April, 1908, p. 454.

curtain being drawn to conceal Byron kneeling on the scaffold and the hangman standing over him with raised axe. The other characters may have been left outside the curtain and gone off in a funeral procession. The question is where the scaffold was placed upon the Blackfriars stage. It is rather difficult for me to picture a raised scaffold in the 'alcove' or 'rear stage' which is the only part of the lower stage that Mr Archer will allow to be curtained off. Possibly it was set upon the balcony, which we know could be cut off by a curtain, but in this case there must have been some device enabling Byron to ascend to the balcony from the front stage, and I am not aware of any proof that such a device existed. The setting of this scene would certainly be more easily understood, if we could assume here the existence of a 'middle curtain' cutting off a part of the main stage, such as Professor Baker (*The Development of Shakespeare*, chapter on 'The Stage of Shakespeare') believes in and Mr Archer denies. But wherever the scaffold was placed it is plain enough that this striking, and in its time popular, play closes with a very effective tableau or 'curtain.'

T. M. PARROTT.

PRINCETON, N. J.

SPENSER'S 'AMORETTI' AND DESPORTES.

THE *Amoretti* of Spenser are generally considered to be the best Elizabethan sonnets next to those of Shakespeare. It is not our purpose in the present note to dispute this verdict, though we may perhaps be allowed to hazard the opinion that for a collection of sonnets composed in the heat of personal passion and in honour of the lady whom Spenser was afterwards to wed, if indeed this traditional assumption is the correct one¹, not a few abound in stale conceits and trite comparisons of the usual type found in the courtly and conventional sonnet sequences then in vogue, which shows their relative inferiority as compared to Spenser's other work. This lends to many of them a certain note of artificiality which leaves the impression that we are in presence of a literary exercise rather than a spontaneous and natural outpouring of pre-marital affection. This impression is reinforced, and to a certain extent corroborated, when Spenser's methods are looked into, and when his originality, in this species of composition, is found to be not much greater than that of the general run of Elizabethan sonneteers. Not that Spenser can be charged, like Lodge or Daniel, with descending to wholesale literary piracy. Yet his indebtedness is not inconsiderable, and just because Spenser is so great a poet, it is all the more striking.

Spenser is usually stated to have sought his inspiration for the *Amoretti* in Petrarch; this assertion is true in the general sense that practically all the sonneteers of the sixteenth century followed Petrarch; his action did not require the apology of his friend Gabriel Harvey. But they did so more or less directly; some followed the master more particularly, and others his disciples. Spenser was one of the latter, and instead of going directly to the author of *Laura* he preferred to

¹ On this point compare Mr Percy W. Long's article in the *Modern Language Review* (April, 1908).

borrow second-hand from Philippe Desportes, whose last sonnet-collection *Cléonice* had appeared in 1583. This statement of course is not meant to be so absolute as to preclude the possibility, or even the probability, that many a turn or conceit in the *Amoretti* was transplanted without any intermediary from Petrarch's *Rime* which by that date Spenser had certainly read in the Italian original. But the general proposition stands and, we venture to think, resists all scrutiny that the Petrarchism of the *Amoretti* has its main source not directly in the sonnets of Petrarch. It was not the first time, to borrow Mr Sidney Lee's felicitous expression, that the author of the *Faerie Queene* had travelled to the Italian shrine through France.

This infatuation of the Elizabethan sonneteers for the productions of the Abbé de Thiron is one of the most curious things in literature; it demonstrates that the critical instinct of great writers for what is base or noble in literature is not always unerring. Why of French poets did Spenser pick out Desportes as a model, rather than Du Bellay from whom he had drawn his first literary sustenance, or Ronsard who was still at the height of his fame? It also adds further evidence that the influence exercised by French literature on Spenser was greater than is generally supposed.

The credit of having first pointed to Desportes as the model for certain sonnets of the *Amoretti* belongs to Mr Sidney Lee; in the Introduction (pp. xcii ff.) to his *Elizabethan Sonnets* (1904), he has traced back to Desportes two of the sonnets of the *Amoretti* (Sonnets xv and LXVIII), and ventured the opinion that, in spite of his genuine poetic force, the greater part of Spenser's sonneteering efforts abound in strange conceits which are often silently borrowed from foreign literature. For this statement he has been rather rudely taken to task by certain critics. They could not bear that one of the greatest of English poets, the 'poet's poet,' should be shown to owe anything more to foreign creditors. They did not even allege the usual 'je prends mon bien là où je le trouve.' There was nothing new in this attitude; it was merely a repetition of what had already been heard when somebody else had ventured to assert that the original of much in the *Faerie Queene* was to be found in the *Orlando Furioso*¹.

As a matter of fact Mr Sidney Lee has considerably understated the extent of Spenser's debt, in the *Amoretti*, to Desportes, and we will now

¹ Nothing can be more effective in a like case than the accumulation of facts, and all students of literature owe a debt of gratitude to Mr Neil Dodge for having settled the question of Spenser's dependence on Ariosto in his admirable study in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xii, No. 2 (Baltimore, 1897).

proceed to show that a considerable number of examples must be added to those instanced by him :

Sonnet XVIII is a condensation of Sonnet LI of *Les Amours d'Hippolyte* (*Œuvres*, ed. Michiels, p. 151):

The rolling wheel, that runneth often round,	L'eau tombant d'un lieu haut goutte à goutte a puissance
The hardest steel in tract of time doth tear:	Contre les marbres durs, cavez finablement;
And drizzling drops, that often do redound,	Et le sang du lion force le diamant,
The firmest flint doth in continuance wear:	Bien qu'il face à l'enclume et au feu resistance.
Yet cannot I, with many a dropping tear	La flamme retenüe enfin par violence
And long entreaty, soften her hard heart;	Brise la pierre vive, et rompt l'empeschement;
That she will once vouchsafe my plaint to hear,	Les aquilons mutins, soufflans horriblement,
Or look with pity on my painful smart;	Tombent le chesne vieux, qui fait plus de defiance.
But, when I plead, she bids me play my part;	Mais moy, maudit Amour, nuict et jour souspirant,
And, when I weep, she says, 'Tears are but water,'	Et de mes yeux meurtris tant de larmes tirant,
And, when I sigh, she says, 'I know the art';	Tant de sang de ma playe, et de feux de mon ame;
And, when I wail, she turns herself to laughter.	Je ne puis amollir une dure beauté,
So do I weep, and wail, and plead in vain,	Qui, las! tout au contraire accroist sa cruauté
Whiles she as steel and flint doth still remain.	Par mes pleurs, par mon sang, mes soupirs et ma flame.

Sonnet XXII is a close paraphrase of Sonnet XLIII of *Diane* I (*Œuvres*, p. 31):

This holy season, fit to fast and pray,	Solitaire et pensif, dans un bois ecarté,
Men to devotion ought to be inclined:	Bien loin du populaire et de la tourbe espesse,
Therefore, I likewise, on so holy day,	Je veux bastir un temple à ma fiere déesse,
For my sweet saint some service fit will find.	Pour apprendre mes vœux à sa divinité.
Her temple fair is built within my mind,	Là, de jour et de nuit, par moy sera chanté
In which her glorious image placed is,	Le pouvoir de ses yeux, sa gloire et sa hauteesse;
On which my thoughts do day and night attend,	Et devot, son beau nom j'invoqueray sans cesse,
Like sacred priests that never think amiss!	Quand je seray pressé de quelque adversité.
There I to her, as th'author of my bliss,	Mon œil sera la lampe ardant continuelle,
Will build an altar to appease her ire;	Devant l'image saint d'une dame si belle;
And on the same my heart will sacrifice,	Mon corps sera l'autel, et mes soupirs les vœux.

Burning in flames of pure and chaste
desire:
The which vouchsafe, O goddess, to
accept,
Amongst thy dearest relics to be kept.

Par mille et mille vers je chanteray
l'office,
Puis, espanchant mes pleurs et coupant
mes cheveux,
J'y feray tous les jours de mon cœur
sacrifice.

With the exception of the first quatrain, Sonnet XI of *Cléonice* (*Œuvres*, p. 184) reappears, in a somewhat modified guise, as Sonnet LXIX of the *Amoretti*:

The famous warriors of antique world
Used trophies to erect in stately wise;
In which they would the records have
enroll'd
Of their great deeds and valorous em-
prize.
What trophy then shall I most fit de-
vise,
In which I may record the memory
Of my love's conquest, peerless beauty's
prize,
Adorn'd with honour, love, and chastity!
Even this verse, vow'd to eternity,
Shall be thereof immortal monument;
And tell her praise to all posterity,
That may admire such world's rare
wonderment;
The happy purchase of my glorious
spoil,
Gotten at last with labour and long
toil.

Si trop en vous servant, ô ma mort
bien-aimée!
L'ardant feu de mon cœur éclaire et se
fait voir;
Si l'on dit qu'à son gré vostre œil me
fait mouvoir,
Et que de vous sans plus ma vie est
animée;
Une si pure ardeur, qui n'a point de
fumée,
Devant tous peut reluire et monstrar
son pouvoir.
Tant de vers, qui si loin mes douleurs
font sçavoir,
Sont des arcs que je dresse à vostre
renommée.
Jadis entre les Grecs, quand l'hon-
neur y vivoit,
Le vainqueur des vaincus maint trophée
élevoit,
Fait d'étoffe legere et de peu de durée.
Mais moy que ma défaite a rendu
glorieux,
Bien que je sois vaincu, j'éleve en divers
lieux
Maint trophée immortel pour vous
rendre honorée.

Sonnet L was certainly suggested by Sonnet LIII (*Œuvres*, p. 153) of *Les Amours d'Hippolyte*, though the resemblance in particulars is not very close:

Long languishing in double malady
Of my heart's wound, and of my body's
grief;
There came to me a leech, that would
apply
Fit medicines for my body's best relief.
Vain man, quoth I, that hast but little
prief
In deep discovery of the mind's disease;
Is not the heart of all the body chief,

Bien qu'une fièvre tierce en mes veines
bouillonne,
De cent troubles divers mon esprit agi-
tant,
Médecins abusez, ne dites pas pourtant
Qu'une humeur cholerique ces tempestes
me donne.
Je suis trop patient, je n'offence per-
sonne,
Et vay de mes amis le courroux sup-
portant,
Tout paisible et tout coy, sans qu'en
me despitant

And rules the members as itself doth please?	Je remasche un venin, qui le cœur m'empoisonne.
Then, with some cordials, seek first to appease	Celle dont l'influence altere mes hu- meurs,
The inward languor of my wounded heart,	Qui fait par sa rigueur qu'avant l'âge je meurs,
And then my body shall have shortly ease:	Est cause de ma fièvre, et non pas la colere.
But such sweet cordials pass physician's art.	Las! je n'ay point de fiel! car je voudroy donner
Then, my life's leech! do your skill reveal;	Cent baisers, en mourant, à ma belle adversaire,
And, with one salve, both heart and body heal.	Pour monstrier que ma mort je sçay bien pardonner.

The same may be said of Sonnet XLVIII ('Innocent paper; whom too cruel hand') and of Sonnet LXXV of *Diane* II ('O vers que j'ai chantez en l'ardeur qui m'enflamme'), and of Sonnet LX ('They, that in course of heavenly spheres are skilled') and Sonnet IV of *Cléonice* ('D'une douleur poignante ayant l'ame blessée').

In other sonnets the imitation is confined to the quatrains or to the tercets, as in the following:

Leave, lady! in your glass of crystal clean,	Pourquoy si folement croyez-vous à un verre,
Your goodly self for evermore to view:	Voulant voir les beautez que vous avez des cieux?
And in my self, my inward self, I mean,	Mirez-vous dessus moy pour les con- noistre mieux,
Most lively like behold your semblance true.	Et voyez de quels traits vostre bel œil m'enferme.

Lastly Desportes' fondness for similes taken from battles or sieges finds a striking parallel in several sonnets of the *Amoretti*, as do, indeed, other conceits and hyperboles affected by the French poet. We should weary the reader by quoting the passages or single lines containing these similes and conceits; we prefer to invite him to read carefully the two sonneteers, and by noting these and other details in their own setting, to see for himself how deeply immersed Spenser is in Desportes' thought and language. At the same time we do not wish to as much as hint that Spenser's versions are not immeasurably superior to those of the French poet, or that the beauty and charm they contain are not emphatically his own.

L. E. KASTNER.

ABERYSTWYTH.

ZWEI ALTFRANZÖSISCHE MARIENGEBETE.

I.

RELIGIÖSE Dichtungen dieser Art, in welchen reuige Sünder mit Berufung auf die freudenreichen Begebenheiten im Leben der Jungfrau Maria und ihres göttlichen Sohnes diese um Hilfe und Beistand im Kampfe des Lebens flehen, waren in Frankreich besonders im XIII. Jahrhundert, dem Zeitalter der eifrigsten Marienverehrung, sehr verbreitet. Am häufigsten wies man auf fünf Ereignisse hin, die Maria zu besonderer Freude gereichten: die Verkündigung, die Geburt Jesu (die Anbetung der Könige) das Wiedersehn Jesu nach seiner Auferstehung, die Himmelfahrt Christi und Mariae. Wir kennen etwa sechs verschiedene Versionen¹ dieses namentlich von Gautier de Coincy behandelten Stoffes, dessen (lateinische) Prosafassung in einzelnen Handschriften dem Bischof von Paris Maurice de Sully († 1196) zugeschrieben wird². Seltenere wurden sieben und neun Freuden³ besungen, erstere von einem Henri de Wallentinnes (Valenciennes)⁴, letztere in einem in zahlreichen Handschriften erhaltenen Hymnus *Reine de pitié Marie*⁵, als dessen Verfasser Rutebuef, Nicole de Bozon und Guillaume de Saint-Amour genannt werden, ferner in einem anonymen noch ungedruckten Gedichte *Esjouï toi, vierge Marie* (Hs. Chartres 1036, fol. 126 v.—XIV. Jahrh.)⁶.

¹ S. die Gedichte, welche zumeist von P. Meyer bekannt gemacht wurden, in *Romania*, x, 623; xv, 307; xxx, 571 und 574; vgl. Reinsch in *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philologie*, III, 202; Gröber im *Grundriss*, II, i, S. 973; Handschriftennachweise bei Naetebus, *Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen im Altfranzösischen* (Leipzig 1891), S. 76, 100, 133, 139.

² Zu den von P. Meyer in *Romania*, xxxv, 571 angeführten Hss. gesellt sich noch Br. M. Harley 2253 (agn.), wo auf fol. 134 v. ein 'dem Bischof von Paris von Maria zugesandtes' Prosagebet mit denselben Worten beginnt wie das a. a. O. gedruckte Reimgebet und zwar: *Glorieuse dame que le fitz Dieu portastes*.

³ Öfter in der lateinischen geistlichen Literatur, die noch Lieder von x und XII Freuden kennt; s. Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, xxxi, S. 176 ff.; *Romania*, xxxv, 571, Anm. 3.

⁴ *Grundriss*, II, i, S. 687.

⁵ S. die Drucke und Handschriften bei Naetebus, S. 163; dazu Hs. Br. M. Additional 16975, fol. 236 r—238 r und ein Fragment mit Noten in der Bodleiana zu Oxford (xiv. Jh.).

⁶ S. *Grundriss*, II, i, S. 973.

Dann verherrlichte man fünfzehn Freuden in gebundener und in ungebundener Rede, besonders in letzterer Form, wovon die *Livres d'heures* des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts (Handschriften und Drucke) Zeugnis geben¹. Diesen Stoff verwertete bekanntlich auch Christine de Pisan in einem Gebete (zehnsilbige Kreuzreime). Auf eine nicht bestimmte Zahl von Freuden (und Leiden) schliesslich berufen sich zwei gereimte Mariengebete in der bekannten anglonormannischen Handschrift 522 des Lambeth Palastes zu London².

Zu der Gattung der eben erwähnten gereimten Gebete mit Hinweis auf die fünfzehn Freuden der Gottesmutter gehören auch die hier zum erstenmal abgedruckten Texte. Die erstere, in der im Mittelalter sehr beliebten Helinandstrophe (Schema aab aab bba bba) verfasste Dichtung ist uns meines Wissens einzig erhalten in Hs. Royal 11 B III (26 × 17,5—Perg.—361 Bl.) des British Museum zu London, einem früher der Abtei Bury St Edmunds gehörigen Sammelbande mit lateinischen, religiösen Traktaten³ in den Schriftzügen des XIII. und XIV. Jahrhunderts. Am Schlusse nun auf Bl. 360 v—361 r findet sich unser Gedicht niedergeschrieben nach alter Weise in Langzeilen, von denen eine jede drei achtsilbige Verse umfasst, so dass, da der Beginn einer neuen Strophe nicht durch einen Absatz oder bunten Buchstaben gekennzeichnet ist, das ganze Stück wie aus paarweis (durch Endreim) gebundenen Langversen mit zweifachem Binnenreim bestehend erscheint. Schreiber und wohl auch Verfasser des Lobgedichtes (*loengette*) war ein Bruder der Abtei, wie der folgende Vermerk am Kopfe des Blattes zeigt: *Frater Martinus me scripsit cui Christus sit propicius. amen.* Die Sprache des im übrigen für einen Anglonormannen des XIV. Jahrhunderts ziemlich korrekt gebauten Gedichtes giebt zu Bemerkungen kaum Anlass. Ich erwähne nur: *e* aus *ie* (*lumere*, v. 4), *u* für *o* (*munde* 6), *aun* für *an* (*plesauntie*, 74); in der Graphie häufige Verwendung des Zeichens *y*, Wechsel von *s* und *z* sowie *s* und *c*, Bewahrung der losen Dentalis (*ad* 168)—lauter wohlbekannte Züge der späten anglonormannischen Periode.

Einer grossen Beliebtheit—besonders im Osten Frankreichs—scheint sich das zweite, in achtsilbigen Reimpaaren verfasste Gebet erfreut zu

¹ S. P. Meyer im *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, Jahrg. 1881, S. 47 und Jahrg. 1901, S. 79. Ich kenne etwa zwanzig handschriftliche *Livres d'heures* im British Museum und der Bodleiana, welche Prosagebete dieser Art enthalten.

² S. *Archiv f. d. Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen*, Bd. LXIII, S. 91 und 93; vergl. Naetebus, S. 174.

³ Die Hs. enthält unter anderen erbaulichen Schriften: *Bonaventurae* († 1274) *Lignum Vitae* (s. *Grundriss*, II, i, 203), *Roberti Grostete* († 1253) *Linc. Episc. de X praeceptis*, *S. Pauli Visio inferni* (s. *Grundriss*, II, i, 143).

⁴ Über die Geschichte der Schweifreimstrophe sehe man Suchier in der Einleitung zur *Reimpredigt*, S. xliv.

haben, nach der Anzahl der Handschriften zu urteilen, in denen es sich erhalten findet. Eine seines Erachtens 'sicherlich unvollständige' Liste¹ hat P. Meyer in der *Romania*, Bd. XXVIII, S. 248 veröffentlicht. Ich bringe diese mit entsprechenden Zusätzen hier nochmals zum Abdruck: (1) Charleville, 90, fol. 22 v. (Ende des XIII. oder Anfang des XIV. Jh.)². Es fehlen die ersten 38 Verse (unseres Textes); v. 39—78 wurden von P. Meyer a. a. O. mitgeteilt. (2) Oxford, Bodl. Douce, 39 (jetzt 21613), fol. 166 r. (Anf. des XIV. Jh.)³. (3) Paris Arsenal, 570, fol. 132 (XIV. Jh.), in Metzger Mundart. Die ersten 16 Verse wurden im Jahre 1901 von P. Meyer gedruckt aus Anlass der ausführlichen Beschreibung der Handschrift im *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* (S. 69). (4) Paris, Bibl. nat., latin 1169, fol. 149 v. (5) Paris, Bibl. nat. 1553, fol. 524 (Jahr 1284). Beginn: *Ave dame tresglorieuse*. (6) Paris, Bibl. nat., 23111, fol. 208 (XIII. Jh.) betitelt: *Dit de Nostre Dame*. Von G. Gröber angeführt im *Grundriss*, II, I. Abt., S. 973, Anm. 5. (7) Troyes, 1905, fol. 176 (XIV. Jh.)⁴. (8) Turin, LV 32, fol. 23 (Ende des XIII. Jh.)⁵.

Da ich mit dieser Publikation nicht beabsichtigte, eine kritische Ausgabe des literarisch wenig bedeutsamen Gedichtes herzustellen, bloß einen weiteren Beitrag zur Kenntnis der geistlichen Poesie des mittelalterlichen Frankreich liefern wollte, so habe ich aus der obigen Reihe nur die beiden lothringischen Reimofficien von Troyes und Oxford herangezogen und zwar die erstere Hs. als die bessere dem Texte zugrunde gelegt. Von O habe ich die Lesarten verwertet und die weitschweifige, von T durchaus verschiedene Schlussstrophe in einem Nachtrag zur Kenntnis gebracht.

Was die Sprache dieses Textes in der uns durch T überlieferten Gestalt betrifft, so ist in erster Linie zu bemerken, dass der den östlichen Mundarten eigentümliche Nachlaut *i* hier nur stets nach *e* in den Entsprechungen der lateinischen Endungen *-atem* und *-atum* (z. B. *poestei*: *manifestei* 229, 230) selten nach den anderen Vokalen (*brais* 92 im Versinnern, *secoirable* 243, *fui* 10, 53) auftritt⁶, während die entgegengesetzte Erscheinung, die Reduktion, häufiger sich findet: *aasier* 93

¹ S. *Bulletin*, 1901, S. 68.

² S. *Romania*, XXVIII, S. 246 ff.

³ S. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, by F. Madan, vol. IV (Oxford, 1897) S. 500. Zur Beschreibung der Hs. ist noch hinzuzufügen, dass auf dem ersten Blatt von einer späteren Hand die Jahreszahl MCCCXIII eingetragen wurde.

⁴ S. *Catalogue général des MSS. des bibliothèques de France*, Bd. II, S. 787.

⁵ Näheres über diese Hs. und deren Mundart (wallonisch) sehe man bei Långfors, *Li Regres Nostre Dame par Huon le Roi de Cambrai*, Einl., S. v ff.

⁶ Die dialekttreuere Oxford Hs. zeigt den Nachlaut stets nach *a* und *e*.

nasement 110, *fasoit* 114, 251, *plasir* 224, *appasier* 276, *ansi* 113, *a* 120 und 273, *mastres* 207, *porra* 338 im Versinnern; *liosse* 169 (: *largesse*) unsicher¹, *jo[o]usse* 75. Sonst sind noch zu beachten die lothringischen, z. T. auch dem Norden nicht fremden Besonderheiten: *ē* = *ā*; *oi* für *ei*, auch wo die lateinische Grundlage gedecktes *ē* zeigt wie in *noite* 171 und *advoice* 26 (im Versinnern); *ou*² für *eu* (in der Endung -or); *s*, das auch intervokalisches im Lothringischen (besonders im Metzischen) stimmlos (ss) war³, wechselt in der Schreibung mit *c* und mit *z* (im Auslaut) und wird auch durch *sc* dargestellt in der Endung -*esce* (z. B. *largesce* : *liesce* 247, 248); lateinisches *l* vor Konsonanten unterdrückt in *damoisés* 201, im Reime auf *bez*—*savaor* 19, *vosis* 24, *miez* 141, *mavais* 174, *ques* 245 (im Versinnern). Endung -*able* < -able.

Zum Versbau, der als recht sorgfältig bezeichnet werden kann, ist wenig zu sagen. Auf die bemerkenswerten Reime *liosse* : *largesse* 169 und *lioisse* : *destresce* 179 wurde schon hingewiesen; bei *suers* : *cuer* 81 und *maladie* : *vie* 257 kommt auslautendes *s* (*z*) nicht in Betracht. Noch *orguil* : *suel* 27. Vortoniges im Hiatus stehendes *e* ist bewahrt geblieben in *heus* : *receus* (21, 22) : *esmeus* (65, 66), *veue* 106, *conceu* 34, elidirt in *resut* : *dut* 159, 160.

Zum Schluss erfülle ich die angenehme Pflicht, meinen herzlichsten Dank zu erstatten: meinem Vetter Robert Priebisch in London, der mir in unermüdlicher Weise seine Unterstützung zuteil werden liess, dem Bibliothekar der Stadtbibliothek zu Troyes Herrn L. Morel für die sorgsam ausgeführte Kopie der nicht leicht leserlichen Handschrift.

I.

fol. 360 v. I Recorder voil' la joie primere,
 Ke veroyment esteit rivere
 Dunt tout li biens nus surhabunde:
 Ceo fu kant l'angle de lumere
 Saluz te dist d'amur entere
 6 De par li rois de tot le munde

¹ Wegen *lioisse* : *destresce* 179 (dessen *oi* die Aussprache *oe* voraussetzt) und zentral-französisch *liesce* 248. Betreffe burgundischen -*oce* < -*itia* sehe man Långfors in der Einleitung zu *Li Regres Nostre Dame*, S. xcvi; dazu die Reimworte *paroce* und *viloce* in *De David li prophete*, v. 1005 u. 1362 (*Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*, Bd. xix, S. 189 ff.).

² Nach Bonnardot (*Guerre de Metz*, S. 438) klang *ou* im Lothringischen wie ein langes und dumpfes *o*.

³ Die in O und anderen lothringischen Hss. übliche Schreibung -*ix* findet sich hier selten: *moix* 90.

Pur tei s'amie pure e munde,
 Ke n'as primere ne secunde,
 A ki nule se compere.
 Pur ceste joie, ke surunde,
 Fai nostre vie bone e munde
 12 E nus defend de mort amere.

II La secunde joie k'avoies
 Kant engrossie te sentoies
 Virginalment de fruit de vie,
 E sêuses bien ke mestroies
 Par celi ke tu portoies
 18 Le tirant plein de felounie.
 Hey, Deus! cum fusses enjoïe
 Kant si te sentis replenie
 Ke plus pure, ke liz estoyes!
 Pur ceste joie fai aÿe
 A cele ke de quer te prie
 24 E ses dolurs turne en joyes.

III La terce joie esteit mut bele,
 Kant mere son seignur tei apele
 Elisabeth la tresené,
 Vers ki tu prens la centele;
 E lors de joie tresaut ele
 30 E sa porture en ly serré.
 E tu ke fus virge sacré
 De chaunter te as apresté;
 E lors trovas chançon novele:
 Magnificat est appellé.
 Pur ceste joie esmerre
 36 Nos quers en t'amur renovele.

IV La quarte joie est ben souveraine,
 Kant enfauntas sans nule paine
 Li rois, ki touz les sens avoye,
 E aletas de douce vayne
 Cely ki tient en sun demeyne
 42 Li ciel, ke touz les sens festoye.
 Douce dame, pur ceste joie
 De ceste doleruse voye

Du mund al ciel lasus nus meyne.
Envers celi ke nus gueroie
La banere ton fiz desploie,
48 Lors averoms victorie certayne.

V La quinte joie est esmeré,
Kant des angles l'asemblé
A toi veneient, mere e pucele,
Chantanz a voiz sanz duré:
"A Deu seit la glorie doné
54 E a genz bone pes novele."
Dame, pur ceste joie bele
De ta face nus renovele
Kant morz trera sa dure espé,
E par ta voiz, ke veint vïele,
A ceste feste nus apele
60 Ou sur tuz es honoré.

VI Dame digne de tutes joies,
Ta joie sime, ke avoies,
Voil par ta grace dire enprendre:
Ce fu, voir, kant de lunges voies
Venoient, si com tu veioies,
66 Les treis reis pur lur present rendre
A ton enfant novel e tendre;
E tu de lur present prendre
Trestot l'entendement savoies.
Douce dame, à nus entendre
Voilez e de tuz maus defendre
72 Pur cel honur ke lors avoies.

VII Ta setime joie est seirie
E plein de grant plesauntie,
Kant tu feseis ta offrende chere
Pur tun fiz, ki est rei de vie,
E Symeon en haut s'escrie:
78 "Joe voy de salu la banere;
Ne me ert grief si mort ere,
Pues ke je enbrace la lumere

De totez joies replenie."
 Dame, pur ceste joie clere
 Kant nus asaudra mort amere
 84 De venir lors ne target mie.

VIII Ta joie utime est treselite:
 Ce fu kant revins de Egite
 En ton païs, virgine Marie,
 E fustes delivere e tote quite
 De la malice k'avoit dite
 90 Li rois Herodes par envie:
 As enfanz tolt la vie.
 Hey! dame, en ki mi quers s'afie,
 En ki plenté de grace habite,
 Pur cele joie tres seirie
 En ceste mer ma nef si guie
 96 Ke vienge au port pur ta merite!

IX La joie novime puis avoies
 Kant ton fiz od tei amenoies
 En Jerusalem a la feste,
 E lors kant tu perdu l'avoies
 Par treis jurs le requeroies.
 102 Puis li trovas tut sanz moleste
 Rendant reson bel e preste
 A mestres de la veile geste,
 Si bone ke te merveiloyes.
 Par ceste joie, mere honeste,
 Gardet ma nef en la tempeste
 108 Tu ki les perillés avoyes.

X Ta dime joie est celestine
 Kant ton fiz par vertu divine
 Feseit l'ewe pure enviner,
 Ceo nus mustranz enterine
 Ke sa vertu tres noble e fine
 114 Deit nostre nature afiner
 E tutes nos dolurs terminer
 E les maus sus raciner,

Ki nus tuz en la mort encline.
 Dame, voillez pur moi finer
 Kant mort vendra mon cors miner;
 120 Ceo frez, voir, je le destine.

XI Dame, quel sen poroit suffire
 A droit cunter e bien dire
 La grandur de ta joie unzime,
 Ke tu avoyes sanz dedire
 Kant morz revifre e pluranz rire
 126 Fesoit ton fiz li tresayntime,
 Ki les cors de mauveis lime
 E les almes getoit d'abime
 Par la force de son empire!
 Pur ceste joie tresayntime
 Le serpent, ke nus envenime,
 132 Fay feble cum en fu la cire.

fol. 361 r. XII La joie duzime est delicez,
 Kant ton cher fiz vëyssez
 De mort ke brusa la barrere,
 De mort ki venquit les malices
 E releva pur nus laver de vices
 138 E de son costé fist rivere.
 Pur ceste joie singulere
 Fay nus lever de la pudrere
 E rumper de la mort les lices,
 Apres ceste mort amere
 Aver resureccion entere,
 144 Dunt ton fiz mustre les primices.

XIII La joie treszime lors sentoies,
 Tredouce, kant veioyes
 En char humeyne sacree
 E prendre vers le ciel les voies
 Ton fiz, lequel tu coveitoies,
 150 De la vowe enluminee,
 Vers la curt de ciel estellé.
 Hey! douce dame honuré,

Pur cele joie ke lors avoyes,
 De mort kant vendra ma vespré,
 Seez de venir apresté apresté;
 156 Kar si tu viens, garri m'averioies.

XIV Dame, de dolurs aleggance,
 Fai nus bien par ta voillance
 Dire la quatorzime joie:
 Ele estoit sanz nule dotance
 Kant li seint espirit, t'aliance,
 162 Les sainz apostles enflamboie.
 En fins armors lor quers avoye
 Ki tuz languages lur otroye;
 Ceo fu noble demustrance.
 Pur ceste joie k'ici cuntoie,
 Dame, nus mettez en droite voie
 168 A la joie ki n'ad faillance.

XV Le sen d'angle ne suffit mie
 Ke ta quinzime joie die,
 Tant est grande e si plenere,
 Kant de ceste mortelc vie
 Fuis élevé od melodie
 174 A ciel de gloire singulere
 En cors, en alme pure e clere,
 Ou ore es dame e conseillere,
 Mere, ancelle, espuse, amie
 Au roy, ki siet en chayere
 E tant te honure e tient chere
 180 Ke toz le ciel a toi s'umlie.

Reyne, a ki li ciel s'encline,
 E ceste löengette afine,
 Prenk ceste petite offrende,
 Ffay mon acord, virge trefine,
 A ton fiz ki toz maus termine,
 186 E de son saunc face l'amende. Amen.

ANMERKUNGEN.

2 *Ke* statt *ki* (vgl. v. 10, 23, 31, 42, 58, 131 u. ö.) häufig in anglonorm. Denkmälern, ist im *Boeve de Haumtone* (Ausg. A. Stimming, Halle 1899) die übliche Form; s. daselbst Einleitung, S. xxv.

5 Anklang an die weltlichen *Saluz d'amors*; s. über diese Dichtungsart P. Meyer in *Bibl. de l'éc. des chartes*, 6^e sér., III (1867), 124 und Gröber im *Grundriss*, II, i, 968 ff.

7 Hs. *par*.

9 Um eine Silbe zu kurz; vielleicht *e* oder *ne* einzufügen.

13 Fehlt das verbum finitum des Hauptsatzes. S. über solche im Altfranzösischen nicht seltene anakolutische Ausdrucksweisen Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, 2. Aufl., S. 248 ff.

16, 19 *seuses, fusses*. Die Konjunktivformen unrichtig verwendet, wohl um die volle Silbenzahl zu erreichen (vgl. *Boeve* S. 159). Sie können in *seustes* und *fustes* geändert werden, da Wechsel der Person auch in v. 71, 84, 107, 118, 120, 155, 167 begegnet. Konsonantvereinfachung findet sich noch in *gueroie* 46, *paroît* 121, *assemblé* 50, Verdoppelung, die im Anglonorm. viel häufigere Erscheinung (s. Stimming, *Boeve*, S. 239) in *appellé* 34, *esmerré* 35, *offrende* 183, *ffay* (!) 184, *garri* 156.

23 Hs. *celuy* in *cele* geändert: das Gebet war also ursprünglich für einen Mann bestimmt.

27, 126, 130 *Tresené, tresayntime*: *tres* mit dem folgenden Worte eng verbunden; vgl. Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.*, III, S. 120 und O. Schultz-Gora, *Zwei altfranzösische Dichtungen* (Halle, 1899), S. 127 sowie Sass, *L'Estoire Joseph*, S. 107. Wegen Verstummen von nachtonigem *e* im Anglonorm. (in unserem Texte noch in den Fem. *serré* 30, *sacré* 31, *appellé* 34, *esmerré* 35, *esmeré* 49, *assemblé* 50, *doné* 53, *espé* 57, *honuré* 60, etc.) vgl. Stimming, *Boeve*, Einl., S. xix und 181 ff.

28 *centele*, Dem. von *sente* 'sentier.' Der Vers ist zu kurz.

52 Besser *dureté*, wodurch auch die erforderliche Silbenzahl erreicht wird.

64 Hs. *lunge v*.

74 Bessere *pleine* der Silbenzählung wegen; s. Anm. 27.

81 *totez, delicez* 133, *veyssez* 134; über Vertauschung von *s* mit *z* im Anglonorm. vgl. Stimming, *Boeve*, S. 225.

84 *target, gardet* 107, 2 pl. (s. Anm. 16) eine Besonderheit des anglonorm. Dialektes; s. Stimming, a. a. O., S. 230.

91 Vielleicht *A tuz e. tollet* (s. Anm. 84) *la v*.

111 *enviner*=zu Wein werden (?), wohl eine Bildung des Bruder Martin dem (leonischen) Reime zuliebe. Vgl. *encline* 117 statt *enclinent*.

125 *revifre*. Vertauschung von *v* mit *f*, eine Eigentümlichkeit des anglonorm. Dialektes; s. darüber Stimming, S. 220.

127 Bessere *mauaise* und vgl. Anm. 74.

135 *brusa*. Vgl. engl. *to bruise*; Busch, *Laut- und Formenlehre der Anglonormannischen Sprache des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Greifswald, 1887) belegt noch *bruseroy, debrusé, debruserent, debrusa* (stets in unbetonter Silbe) aus Waddington und Urkunden der Zeit.

137 Der Vers ist um zwei Silben zu lang.

146 Etwa *dame* einzufügen.

147 Nach *humeyne* ist *e* einzufügen.

157 *aleggance*, für *alejance* 'allégeance, allégement.' Wegen *g* (hier geminiert, s. Anm. 27) zur Bezeichnung des Lautes *dz* vgl. Stimming, *Boeve*, S. 237.

163 *armors* zeigt (wenn nicht Versehen des Schreibers) unorganisches *r*, das sich nicht selten in anglonorm. Hss. findet; s. Stimming, *Boeve*, S. 215.

178 Das *y* in *chayere* ist hiatustilgend; vgl. Stimming, *Boeve*, S. 237.

J. PRIEB SCH.

WIEN.

(Fortsetzung folgt.)

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

BEN JONSON AND THE CARDINAL DUPERRON.

BEYOND a scandalous anecdote equally discreditable to all parties concerned, our knowledge of Jonson's visit to France in 1613, as tutor to young Raleigh, is confined to two brief sentences of the *Conversations*. The more important of these (§ IV) reports him as having declared 'That he told Cardinal de [*sic*] Perron, at his being in France, anno 1613, who shew [*sic*] him his translations of Virgill, that they were naught.' No further light has been thrown, so far as we know, by the biographers of either Jonson or the Cardinal upon the intercourse of these two eminent scholars, or upon the interview which this lively declaration not improbably brought to an abrupt close. The following facts, however, indicate a special reason for the Cardinal's readiness to 'show' his translations, and this particular translation, to his English visitor.

Duperron, then at the height of his power, was on friendly terms with the great Huguenot scholar, Isaac Casaubon, then a refugee in England, and high in the favour of James. Though now the most redoubtable champion of Catholic orthodoxy in France, he had been born and bred a Huguenot; and if it could by no means be said of him, as of Jonson, that he was 'for any religion as being versed in both,' yet he had thus much claim to be called tolerant, that he sought to annihilate his opponents by argument and not by fire, and pending their annihilation was quite willing to converse with them civilly, discuss the merits of a pretty conjecture in the classics, and accept or reciprocate good offices with persons in power. There is much in his record which suggests a seventeenth century Blougram—a Blougram who never 'apologised,' but who had had, as a young man, his imprudent moments, in which a not dissimilar intellectual detachment may be discerned. Casaubon had been the subject of his repeated and

sustained assaults, which had so far succeeded that the shy and peace-loving recluse had withdrawn from many of the positions held by Calvinistic orthodoxy, and was freely branded as a weakling or even a traitor by the Huguenot stalwarts. But a substantial residuum remained which he refused to surrender. The two men had however their interest in the classics in common; for Duperron, not to be compared with Casaubon in weight of learning, was a brilliant writer and orator, accomplished in the antique modes of panegyric, necrologue, satire, and a facile and fluent translator of Latin verse. After Casaubon's prudent withdrawal to England, accordingly, the would-be shepherd and the all but hopelessly lost sheep maintained an amicable correspondence.

In 1612, the year before Jonson's visit to France, Duperron sent to his correspondent in England a specimen of a translation from the First Book of the *Aeneid*. Casaubon showed the letter, and presumably the translation also, to the king, who expressed the desire to have a copy for himself—a hint promptly conveyed to the writer. The Cardinal's reply appears to have been thought worth stealing; it was surreptitiously printed, translated into English and published in London, with the title: '*A Letter written from Paris by the Lord Cardinal of Peron to M. Casaubon in England. Translated out of the French. 1612.*' In it, after excusing himself for delays due to ill-health, and thanking Casaubon for showing his letter to the king, and 'procuring for him some part of his favour,' he proceeds: 'As for the Translation of Virgil's verse, wherof you say his Majesty desired a Copy, that being lost which before I sent you, I must defer for some days the performance of this duty, for that I have caused it to be printed again, with an addition of one part of the fourth [Book of the *Aeneid*].' He will presently, he adds, send a copy for Casaubon to present to James in his name.

A few months later, probably in November or December, 1612, Jonson arrived in Paris. He probably brought some kind of introduction, and it would be obvious to conjecture that this, in Duperron's case, was provided by Casaubon. This is of course possible. But we know that Casaubon's life in London was extremely recluse, that he confessed to an acquaintance with only two Englishmen, and that Jonson was not one of these. It is apparent, however, that the French Blougram was not likely to be indisposed to meet, and even to receive with favour, this redoubtable 'literary man,' renegade from the Catholic church though he was. To Jonson, on his part, the repu-

tation of Duperron must have been familiar. He had been the guest for five years, during his Catholic time, of Esmé d'Aubigny, who had grown up in France during the years in which Duperron had achieved his triumphs in the service of the Catholic church. He probably knew that the future Cardinal had been chosen to pronounce the funeral *Eloge* over Ronsard. It is clear in any case that the Cardinal received him in his house and showed some concern for his good opinion. Naturally enough he brought out the translation which had just won so flattering a notice from the learned English king, to receive the applause of his yet more learned subject. The result, to a great ecclesiastic, wit and courtier, whose career had been a series of intellectual triumphs, and who was accustomed to be treated with a deference not due merely to his rank, must have been highly disconcerting. Jonson's uncompromising verdict did indeed violate not merely French but most other standards of good breeding. In spite, however, of the obvious touch of bravery in the story, there is no reason to doubt that it conveys substantially what Jonson said. Like many other men of robust candour, he was capable of monstrous flattery on occasion. But literary offences more surely than any others called out the implacable spirit of censorship in him; and translation executed on the wrong principles more surely than other literary offences. The Cardinal's versions were free and facile. Jonson held to the opposite principle of severe literalism, a principle which it must be owned his practice was far from justifying.

The date of Jonson's return from France is unknown. But the *terminus ad quem* is not so late as has commonly been supposed. He 'had taken no part in the festivities at the Lady Elizabeth's marriage, 1613 February,' says Mr Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* i 350), 'but did so in that of Carr, Earl of Somerset, 1613 Dec.' But at this latter date he had been back in London for six months. For, as my colleague Mr Simpson has noted, he was an eye-witness of the fire which destroyed the Globe. 'I saw (the Globe) with two poor chambers taken in,' he says in the *Execration*. And the Globe is known from several contemporary letters to have been destroyed on the 29th of June.

C. H. HERFORD.

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A NOTE ON 'KING LEAR.'

Dr Perrett in his *Story of King Lear* has shown, I think conclusively, that several of the scenes in Shakespeare's *Lear* have been wrongly placed by all, or nearly all the editors. I wish to add another instance.

Since Pope every editor, I believe without exception, has assigned the action of the second scene of the first act to 'Gloucester's Castle'; and by so doing the editors have gratuitously introduced, in plot and characterisation, improbabilities and inconsistencies which the critics have not been slow to point out¹. The only reason for selecting Gloucester's Castle as the place of action appears to be that the scene in which the Gloucester interest is next resumed (II, i) is undoubtedly laid there. But there is nothing in the story or the text which requires the two scenes to be in the same place. On the other hand the text furnishes evidence both negative and positive that the place of action in I, ii is the same as that in I, i, namely 'Lear's Court.'

With no scenic artist to aid imagination, the impression of change of place on the Elizabethan stage could be conveyed to the audience only in one of two ways, either by a sign-board, or by some definite indication in the course of the dialogue. Shakespeare, I believe, invariably adopted the second alternative, either by preparing the audience in a previous scene for a shifting of the action, or by a sufficiently clear allusion to place in the opening lines of the scene itself. Failing indications of this sort—as in the present instance—the inference is that no change is intended.

On this negative ground we should perhaps be justified in discarding Pope's interpolation as at least unnecessary. But the scene supplies evidence of a positive nature. After Edmund's soliloquy, which opens the scene, and which contains no reference to place, Gloucester enters in evident agitation:

Glo. Kent banish'd thus? and France in choller parted?
And the King gone to night? Preferib'd his powre,
Confin'd to exhibition? All this done
Vpon the gad?

Surely these exclamations are somewhat strange if we are to imagine that, since Gloucester heard the news which now so moves him, he and his family have leisurely journeyed down from the court to the country. On the other hand the agitation is natural enough if we suppose—as

¹ Compare, for example, Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 256—7, 305.

but for Pope we should suppose—that Gloucester enters directly from the council-chamber where he has just learnt the full particulars of Kent's banishment (he was not present when the sentence was pronounced), and has heard of the quarrel with France and of the departure of Lear.

The rest of the scene contains not a word to warrant the assumption that the place is Gloucester's Castle, and that the characters who appear in the scene, Gloucester, Edmund, and Edgar, are all living together under the same roof; whereas the contrary supposition, that the scene is still Lear's Court, and that Gloucester and his two sons have temporary and separate lodgings in different parts of the city where the Court has been held, not only does not conflict with, but is clearly suggested by, the text. The latter hypothesis has the further advantage that it completely acquits the poet of the most serious charge brought against the play on the score of flaws in construction and inconsistency in characterisation. The last consideration, indeed, is the sole justification of a somewhat lengthy note on this subject.

In the text, we may note especially the following: Gloucester's demand and Edmund's pretended ignorance as to Edgar's whereabouts—'Where is he?' 'I do not well know, my Lord.'... 'Find out this Villain, Edmond, it shall lose thee nothing, do it carefully.' Edmund's comment on Edgar's opportune appearance: 'Pat: he comes like the Catastrophe of the old Comedie.' All this is not a little curious if the scene of action is a country residence in which the three persons concerned are living, in daily intercourse with one another and consequently sufficiently informed of each other's movements. Even more determining is the conversation between the two brothers: 'When saw you my Father last?' 'The night gone by.' 'Spake you with him?' 'I, two hours together.' 'Parted you in good terms? Found you no displeasure in him by word, nor countenance?' 'At my entreaty forbear his presence... I pray you have a continent forbearance... retire with me to my lodging... there's my key: if you do stirre abroad, goe arm'd.'

Besides the explicit mention of the 'lodging' which clearly suggests, if it does not actually prove, that Edmund at least is not at the time living with his father, it is to be noted that Edmund nowhere in the scene urges Edgar to fly his father's house, but merely to forbear his presence¹. A much weaker understanding than Edgar's would have

¹ 'Forbear' is explained 'withdraw'; and parallel uses are cited. The adjective 'continent' is however against this meaning in the present passage. 'Have a continent forbearance' must mean 'Patiently keep away.' 'Patiently run away' is scarcely sense.

recognised that flight could only confirm suspicion and a far duller-witted villain than Edmund would have been quick enough to interpret it in that light as Edmund never does. Similarly the other alleged improbabilities, marks of carelessness or indifference to dramatic fitness, vanish with the removal of Pope's stage-direction. Given the conditions 'a credulous father,' knowing and seeing little of his sons¹,

a Brother Noble,
Whose nature is so farre from doing harmes,
That he suspects none—

and the bastard's plot has every chance of success. Even the device of the letter thrown in at the casement—a trick too thin to deceive even the credulous Gloucester if the supposed writer is himself a member of the household—is on the other hypothesis probable enough. Edmund, it should also be noted, has successfully imitated his brother's handwriting². The apparently reluctant witness borne against one son by another no less loved and trusted (cf. I, i, 20), and the damning evidence of handwriting, are more than sufficient to outweigh, in a mind already predisposed by superstition (I, ii, 115, *et seq.*) to believe anything however monstrous, the absence of all intelligible motives for the crime imputed. It is all thoroughly in the character. With Edgar Edmund's course is simple. He has merely to tell the truth, suppressing that part of it which his brother's 'foolish honesty' would never suspect, and to recommend a policy the prudence of which Edgar's practical understanding must immediately recognise. Time plainly is a better cure for Gloucester's unreasonableness than any expostulation; if violence be threatened Edgar's own lodging is obviously unsafe; and the advice to take precautions against assassins lying in wait at street corners and in alleys, is only natural. Edmund's conduct at this part of the play is, accordingly, not glaringly improbable, a blot in the play to be condoned in consideration of excellences other than constructive. His 'practises ride eafie'; they are admirably adapted to the character of his victims, while they at the same time give him complete command of the situation. The strictures of the critics may stand as against Pope—not as against Shakespeare.

MARK HUNTER.

RAJAHMUNDRY, INDIA.

¹ Edmund 'hath bin out nine yeares, and away he shall againe' (I. i. 34), and of Edgar's movements here and later (cf. II. i. 98 etc.) Gloucester clearly knows nothing.

² Cf. I. ii, 'Glo.—It is his.' Professor Bradley has perhaps overlooked these words. He remarks: 'Gloucester appears to be unacquainted with his son's handwriting.' (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 257.)

THE DATE OF BREWER'S 'LOVE-SICK KING.'

In his courteous review of my edition of Brewer's play Prof. Moore Smith has drawn my attention to the fact that within a hundred lines of *The Love-sick King* there are two snatches of songs that occur also in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. I had overlooked one, and said in my preface that not too much importance must be attached to the fact that the same song occurs in the two plays. Since writing this preface I have made a discovery which compels us to place *The Love-sick King* after *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

On p. 362 of *The Modern Language Review* II, Prof. Moore Smith points out that the following words at the beginning of the second act of *The Love-sick King*, 'Be gone, be gone, my Juggy, my Puggy, be gone, my Love, my Dear, my money is gone, and ware I have none, but one poor Lambskin here,' agree very closely with:

Begone, begone, my Juggy, my Puggy,
 Begone, my love, my dear!
 The weather is warm,
 'Twill do thee no harm:
 Thou canst not be lodged here.

The Knight of the Burning Pestle, III, 5.

Now, in the appendix to Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece* there is a 'Second Song' consisting of four stanzas. The first two, which only concern us here, run as follows:

Arise, arise, my Juggy, my Puggy,
 Arise, get up, my dear;
 The weather is cold, it blows, it snows;
 Oh, let me be lodged here.
 Begone, begone, my Willy, my Billy,
 Begone, begone, my dear;
 The weather is warm, 'twill do thee no harm;
 Thou canst not be lodged here.

It is evident that the text in Heywood represents the original form: the lover comes to his lady's house and bids her arise, calling her his 'Juggy.' In reply she bids him begone, calling him her 'Willy,' her 'Billy.' Merrythought in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, who addresses the song to his wife, intentionally changes the first line to 'Begone, begone, my Juggy, my Puggy.' Anywhere else this change would be meaningless, and if these words occur in any other place they must be a quotation of the passage in Beaumont and Fletcher, and cannot be a quotation from the original song. It is improbable that

Brewer should have borrowed from a writer who in his turn borrowed from Beaumont and Fletcher. I believe we may assume that Brewer's play was written some seven or eight years later than I suggested, if the date of Beaumont and Fletcher's play is 1610-11 (Prof. Moorman's conjecture), or two or three years later if it was written in 1607 (Mr Macaulay's date).

A. E. H. SWAEN.

GRONINGEN.

WILLIAM KEMPE.

It has been generally supposed by recent writers that Kempe was the 'Will, my lord of Lester's jesting plaier' referred to in Sir Philip Sidney's letter to Sir Francis Walsingham of March 24, 1586, from Utrecht (*Harl. MS.* 287, f. 1) as carrying despatches from the Low Countries to London; and, if so, this is the earliest notice of the famous actor hitherto upon record. I think, however, that he is to be found in the following passage of a letter of Thomas Doyley to the Earl of Leicester himself from Calais on November 12, 1585 (T. Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, ii, 268 from *Cotton MS. Galba, C. viii*):—

'There remayneth in Dunkerk...also Mr Kemp, called Don Gulihelmo.'

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

'MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR,' I, iii, 93.

There is a curious mistake in the Cambridge *Shakespeare* and many other modern editions. The First Quarto has

'*Fal.* Here sirrha beare me these letters titely,
Saille like my pinnice to the golden shores:
Hence slaves, avant. Vanish like hailstones, goe.
Falstaffe will learne the humor of this age,
French thrift you rogue, my selfe and scirted Page.

Exit Falstaffe, and the Boy.'

The First Folio also has 'skirted *Page*'; but the editors substitute 'skirted page,' apparently supposing that Falstaff was thinking, not of his intended mistress, but of the boy Robin. Robin, however, did not wear skirts.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

R. P. GILLIES AND GOETHE.

Under the date June 22, 1821, in Goethe's Diary is to be found the entry: 'Früh Mr Gillies from Edinburgh'. The interview which seems to have hitherto escaped collectors of Goethe's conversations, is to be found described in Gillies' *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran, including Sketches and Anecdotes of the most distinguished Literary Characters from 1794 to 1849* (3 vols., London, 1851), III, pp. 13—16. Although what Gillies has to say does not throw much fresh light on Goethe's personality, it is perhaps worth recording as a contribution to an interesting and still unwritten chapter of Goethe's Weimar life, his relations to the many English visitors and residents. Gillies, who had travelled from Scotland by way of Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden and Weissenfels—where he visited Müllner, whose *Schuld* he had translated—reached Weimar about the middle of June. He had neglected to provide himself with an introduction to Goethe, but he called and was at once received. After commenting on the severe simplicity of Goethe's reception room, Gillies describes the poet as having,

in figure, contour of features, mode of speech (or penchant to taciturnity), and demeanour, a certain indefinable resemblance to John Kemble....As the door opened from the farther end of the reception-room, and his excellency's tall, gaunt form, wrapped in a long, blue surtout, which hung loosely on him, slowly advanced, he had veritably the air and aspect of a *revenant*. His was not an appearance, but an *apparition*. Evidently and unmistakeably he had belonged to another world which had long since passed away; but *malgré* attenuation, and some traces of impaired health (such as a yellow suffusion of the eyeballs) there were, nevertheless, indications that the smouldering fire of youth yet lingered in that gaunt frame, and that though he had belonged to a past world, he was yet perfectly able to sustain a part in the present....Goethe advanced in profound silence, in a mood, seemingly, of utter abstraction, and after the manner of ghosts in general, he waited to be spoken to!... I had set my heart on seeing Goethe, but did not for a moment imagine that my communications could have any interest for him, and in sheer desperation I contrived to tell him this much, then fortunately made allusions again to our long journey, and of my great wish to settle somewhere, at Weimar, for example.

As it happened, the best of diplomatists could not have managed better. This was a practical point to which (with a half smile at my broken German) he answered readily, that nothing could be more easy; Weimar was not over-populous, and he believed that Hoffmann, the court bookseller, was at that moment charged to dispose of a house and garden at a very low rent. To this he added: 'In days of yore, there were Englishmen here, who passed their time pleasantly enough, and some of whom I remember with esteem and regret.' I ventured to inquire whether Sir

¹ Goethe's *Tagebücher* (Weimar Edition), viii, p. 71. On Gillies see the article in *D. N. B.* He was born near Arbroath in 1788 and died in London in 1858; his last years were darkened by ill-success and repeated imprisonment for debt. His essays on German and Scandinavian literature appeared mainly in *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, and helped in no small degree to make Grillparzer, Müllner and Oehlenschläger known in English literary circles. See M. Batt, *Gillies and the Foreign Quarterly Review* in *Modern Language Notes*, xvii (1902).

Brooke Boothby¹ had been among the chosen few? This question was a lucky hit, for he immediately fixed his eyes with searching expression, and spoke with animation:

'I saw more of him,' said he, 'than any other English resident, and regretted his departure the most. You knew him perhaps?'

'Very intimately.'

'Is he still alive?'

'I believe so. But he left Scotland in 1815, and since then, I have not received any letters from him.'

'Sir Brooke was a pleasant neighbour, and friend of mine. *Was hat er bey Ihnen gemacht?*' (What was he about in Scotland?)

'He filled up his time after his own fashion—wrote a good deal, especially in verse, dined early, and in the afternoon painted in water-colours.'

'Has he ever spoken to you about Weimar?'

'He told me about his having obtained a commission in the Duke's cavalry, in order to have the privilege of appearing at Court in boots instead of silk stockings.'

'*Ganz richtig* (very true). His health was not good: he complained of our cold winters, disliked silk stockings, and could ride better than he danced.'

This important fact disposed of, I mentioned that Sir Brooke always had beside him a first edition of 'Werther,' and a few other German books, from which he had made some translations, and that one of these, the 'Genius and the Bayadere,' was, at my suggestion, published in the 'Edinburgh Annual Register.'

'I gave him those books,' said his Excellency, 'but there was one point of difference betwixt us. He was a good French scholar, but never would take the trouble of studying our language so as to comprehend our best authors. He began zealously—*allein es mangelte ihm an Ausdauer* (he was wanting in perseverance). Another of your countrymen, Mr Mellish³, was in that respect more praiseworthy.'

I tried to introduce other literary characters, but could only bring him thus far, that he desired to be particularly informed whether Sir Walter Scott had quite recovered his health, to which I replied, that not only had he recovered, but seemed stouter than before; and that his industry was unequalled and indomitable. I then endeavoured to speak of the singular influence that 'Faust' and 'Wilhelm Meister' had exercised on English authors; of Lord Byron's debt to the former in 'Manfred,' and so forth; but to this his answers were in a tone of perfect indifference. He cared not a straw about praise, and was inaccessible to flattery. About twenty

¹ Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart., of Ashbourne Hall, Derbyshire, died, according to an obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1824 (p. 370), at Boulogne on January 23, 1824, in his eightieth year. His chief claim to literary fame appears to have been his volume of poems entitled *Sorrows, Sacred to the Memory of Penelope* [his six year old daughter] (1796); but he also translated Racine's *Britannicus* (1803) and published two volumes of *Fables and Satires* (1809), which were unfavourably reviewed in the *Quarterly Review*, II (1810), pp. 43 ff. On his connection with Edinburgh see Gillies' *Memoirs*, II, pp. 33 ff. The *D.N.B.* (new ed., II, p. 853) has also a short notice. A remark by Gillies himself (*l.c.*, II, p. 38) would lead us to infer that Boothby had been in Weimar about 1795: 'he visited divers German courts sojourning longest at Weimar, where he was in habits of daily intercourse with Goethe, who spoke to me of Sir Brooke with the kindest and liveliest recollection twenty-six years afterwards.'

² *Edinburgh Annual Register*, Vol. II, Pt. 2 (1809), pp. 647 ff.

³ Joseph Charles Mellish, known as the translator of Schiller's *Maria Stuart* (1801), was born in London on March 2, 1769, and spent the years 1797–1802 in or near Jena and Weimar. The correspondence of Goethe and Schiller bears testimony to the friendly footing on which he stood with both poets. He seems also to have translated *Hermann und Dorothea* (Goethe to Schiller, May 2, 1798), but this was not published. In 1798 he was made 'preussischer Kammerherr.' In 1802 he was appointed English *chargé d'affaires* to the King of the Sicilies; but in 1813 he was transferred to Hamburg. He revisited Goethe in 1816 (*Tag- und Jahreshefte*, Weimar edition, xxxvi, p. 115), and died, as representative of the Hansa towns in London, on September 18, 1823. Besides *Mary Stuart*, he published *Specimens of the German Lyric Poets* (1823), and *Gedichte* (in German, English, Greek, and Latin, 1818).

minutes sufficed for our audience; but he was very courteous at parting, and said he should rejoice to hear that I could meet with an abode at Weimar suitable to my finances and views.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

MINOR NOTES ON 'HAVELOK THE DANE.'

l. 421. *Ne hem ne dede richelike bebedde*. There is no need, with Skeat, to omit the second *ne*; still less, with Holthausen, to change the word-order. *bebedde* is simply miswritten for *bedde* which occurs in three other places in the poem. There is no irregularity in the metre: *e* is syncopated often enough between chief and secondary stress.

l. 722. *Ne were neuere but ane hwile*. Skeat supplies *it* before *neuere*. Holthausen emends correctly to *fere[d]* but unnecessarily cuts away the *ne* and supplies *pei*. Read *ne were ne fered*.

ll. 808, 1026. *also heui als a neth*. Is Hupe's interpretation 'neat, young ox' certain? 'Heavy as a net' seems to me not improbable. The rime proves nothing, of course: we are justified in assuming the vowel in *gret* to be short through analogy with the comparative form. Cf. Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gram.*, 54a 2.

l. 1129. *Goldeborw gret and yas hire ille*. Skeat here reads *was*, translating 'it was ill for her.' The correct reading is Stratmann's: *gaf*. Cf. l. 164, *He greten and gouleden and gouen hem ille*; cf. also *Isumbras*, l. 315, *þe ladi gret and gaf hire ille*. But the meaning is not so much 'to give oneself up to grief' (Skeat, p. 168) as 'to shew or put forward one's grief.' I am informed by my friend, Mr H. W. Ealwarda, Secretary of the Frisian Society of London, that the expression is still in common use in West-Frisian. Of a malingering soldier, for instance, is said *Hi yowt him siik (oan)*, and the expression *Hia yoech hiar siik* is used frequently of one of the fair sex.

l. 1287. *But on on þe moste hil*. Holthausen changes the first *on* to *one*, translating 'ganz allein': Skeat keeps the MS. reading, but gives no note on the syntax. The construction, after all, is common enough, particularly in the phrase *oon the beste*. Cf. also *preo þa betstan ele* in the *Blickling Homilies* (E.E.T.S., p. 73). But the well-known line *si muose toten sehn einen den liebsten man* ought to have warned Holthausen.

l. 1380. *Ne forfaren for no sinne*. I am unable to understand on what grounds Holthausen turns the pret. partic. into an indic. and Skeat inserts *may*. Is it possible that the latter scholar is here polish-

ing the metre again? In ll. 1284, 1304, 1376 he does not hesitate to change the word-order for this purpose, and the number of small words he has to insert in his attempt to make the metre of *Havelok* more regular than that of Chaucer's *Prologue*, is legion.

l. 1430. *Hauede go for him gold ne fe*. Here it is Holthausen that 'improves' the metre, by inserting *no* before *gold*. Skeat's emendation to *go[n]* is quite unnecessary. Cf. *Mi gamun is al go* (*Die engl. Gregorlegende*, l. 104, ed. Schulz, Königsberg, 1876). Cf. also *haue do* in l. 1805 of *Havelok*, where the form is fixed by the rime *two*.

l. 2333. *per mouhte men se hw grim greu* has caused unnecessary trouble to the editors. Skeat will read *Grim* and gives a long note on 'scenic representation': does he mean that at *Havelok's* court there is presented a kind of play of Grim's life-history? Holthausen emends violently to *glam*. There is really nothing against a simple interpretation of the MS. reading. *grim* with the meaning anger, strife, is common enough. Cf. *Sir Bevis*: 'Thus beginneth *grim* to grow,' *Alexander and Dindimus*: 'þei were agrisen of his *grym* and *wende gref þolie*,' *Ywayne and Gawin*: 'To him *he stirt* with birful *grim*.' The line refers, of course, to the bull and boar-baiting just above.

Here let me call attention to the word *mike*, a parallel form to *mikel*. Although this word, as far as I know, has not got into the dictionaries, it is of too frequent occurrence to be set aside as a scribal error or as a 'ghost-word.' *mike* occurs four times, *mik* once, in *Havelok*: in every case the editors emend to *mikel*. The word *mike* occurs too in *Genesis* and *Exodus*, l. 292, where Morris supplies an *l*. A good instance is to be found in *Cursor Mundi*, l. 26113, where in place of *and is als mikil for to say* the Cotton MS. reads *and es als mikes al for to say*. A search, which I have not undertaken, would doubtless reveal other examples.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

DISCUSSIONS.

MILTON AND SYLLABISM.

The papers on 'Milton's Heroic Line considered from an Historical Standpoint,' by Professor Walter Thomas, which appeared in the numbers of this *Review* for July and October 1907, seem to me models of exact study. In that respect, at least, they may be ranked with the work of Mr Robert Bridges; higher praise no one could desire. The conclusions reached by their writer, however, are so remarkable that some further examination of his argument seems called for before we can accept the thesis he so ably defends.

And, first, I must call attention to a point about which he is, I think, unintentionally misleading. He quotes (Vol. II, p. 303, near foot) Milton's preface to *Paradise Lost*, and makes the poet affirm that one principal element of his verse is a 'fit quantity of syllables,' assuming that by this is meant a fixed number of syllables. The assumption is made in the next sentence but one, and is several times repeated. Surely this assumption is unfounded. Milton wrote not 'a fit quantity' but 'fit quantity,' and I have always understood the words to mean *suitable sound* of syllables, 'quantity' being used in its familiar technical sense. The indefinite article added by Prof. Thomas, and quite properly shown by him to form no part of the original sentence—for it is outside the quotation-mark¹—conveys an erroneous, or at least doubtful, meaning. It would be as reasonable to imagine that 'apt numbers' refers to an invariable number of syllables in a line, as to suppose that 'fit quantity' does so.

Prof. Thomas must not, therefore, assume that he has Milton's authority for saying that each heroic line contains ten syllables, neither more nor less; but he is of course well within his rights in seeking to prove that this is so. He makes the attempt with great ingenuity and wide range of example. He does not, indeed, go all lengths with Messrs van Dam and Stoffel, or with those pupils of Prof. Bright of Baltimore, a tractate by one of whom is reviewed in another part of the number which contains his second article (Vol. III, p. 80). He admits variation of accent, though not of syllabic number. Even as regards the

¹ On p. 309, l. 2, however, it is included within the quotation-marks.

latter, he recognises (*ibid.*, p. 19, l. 9) a few rare exceptions such as (*P. L.*, VIII, 649):

Thy condescension, and shall be honoured ever.

These he considers to be of the nature of exceptions which prove the rule, and by unsparing use of contractions, aphaeresis, etc., he tries to establish as a fixed law of scansion that 'Milton never allows his line to fall short of or to exceed ten counted syllables' (*ibid.*, p. 29, l. 17).

I believe such a view to be nearer the truth than that of those who find in Milton's verse only wild licence. He was evidently guided by very strict principles of metre. Beyond doubt, he sought to draw tighter bonds which had been unduly relaxed. Dramatic blank verse, even by Shakespeare himself and far more by his followers, had been written with a freedom that threatened to annihilate the distinction between prose and metre. Such verse would have ill suited Milton's majestic strain. He achieved his statelier measure by rejecting dramatic laxity, discarding for example almost entirely the distinctly hypermetrical syllable after a caesura. But to argue from this that he returned to a 'drumming decasyllabon,' and that every syllable which exceeds typical number is to be excluded from scansion, seems to me pushing conjecture too far.

Appeal is made to Milton's own spelling. That, fortunately, we can test for ourselves by reference to Canon Beeching's facsimile reprint (Clarendon Press, 1900), but we must consider it as a whole. Prof. Thomas quotes from *Comus* such examples as *count'nance* (l. 68), *th' Indian* (l. 139), *t' whom* (l. 217). But he does not quote such others as *eev'n* (l. 202), *unprincip'l'd* (l. 367), *self-consum'd* (l. 597), where the apostrophe cannot mean entire omission. It was shown long ago by Mr Bridges that the substitution of an apostrophe for a vowel, in Milton's very elaborate and carefully carried out system of spelling, does not necessarily imply that the vowel is not to be sounded; this short cut to certainty is therefore closed against us.

Besides, if Milton's own spelling is to be our guide, a contrary verdict must be given. *Comus* furnishes many such examples as *feaverish* (l. 8), *groveling* (l. 53) [Prof. Thomas quotes this as *growling* (p. 306, l. 17), so must fight out the textual question with Canon Beeching], *likeliest* (l. 90), *different* (l. 145), *frivolous* (l. 445), *innocent* (l. 574). If we are to go by spelling, these must be trisyllabic sounds. Words like *æereal*, *ambrosial*, *fiery*, *glorious*, etc., are of course disputable, and *mansion* (l. 2) would be reckoned a dissyllable by most critics. It is certainly conceivable that *different* may have been sounded as two syllables, but to believe that *innocent* was so treated requires robust faith; Milton's spelling at any rate presents both as words of three syllables.

These instances are taken from *Comus* merely because that poem was under notice; *Paradise Lost* and its sequel yield a like result. In them, too, we have the same elaborate system of spelling, and though Milton must for these poems have trusted others to carry out his

instructions, the instructions were evidently again his own. *P. L.*, Bk. I, shows the same peculiar rendering of words like *manacl'd* (l. 426), *dark'n'd* (l. 599), *doubl'd* (616), *rifl'd* (687). If in its first two paragraphs we find *Heav'n* and *heav'nly*, *th' Aonian* and *th' upright*, we also find *glory above*, *ethereal sky*, *prison ordain'd*. *Adventrous* (l. 13) is balanced by *tempestuous* (l. 77). *Ruin* takes the place of a monosyllable in l. 91. Other words spelt without contraction in the course of the next few pages are *ignominy and shame* (l. 115), *glory extinct* (l. 141), *conquerour* (l. 143), *sulphurous* (l. 171), *groveling* (l. 280), *to adore* (l. 323). Such spellings are much too numerous to be deemed printers' mistakes.

Typography, then, is inconclusive of the question. Nor do the historical arguments advanced by Prof. Thomas seem more decisive. He urges that our heroic line began as a strict decasyllable, on French models. Granted; but the question is how long our poets remained content with this form. He quotes definitions by early metrists; but our prosodians have always tended to lay down rules more strict than the practice of our great singers warranted. He argues that contraction of words was commoner then than now, and no one doubts that forms like *'gan* for *began* or *'sdain'd* for *disdained* represent actual omissions of sound; but does this justify our making monosyllables of *garden*, *river*, *savour*, *being*, and a host of similar instances? He cites (see Vol. III, p. 17 for this and some of the foregoing) Jaques in *As you like it* and Pope in the *Essay on Criticism* as identifying ten syllables with heroic metre; but such phrases might be used to-day without carrying the significance ascribed to them. When we read 'My brethren, these things ought not so to be,' we call it a line of blank verse, not because we think such a line must contain ten syllables and no more—for modern verse has taught us otherwise—but because this is the normal type, the most easily recognisable form. Finally, he suggests (*ibid.*, p. 29) that 'both the anapaestic and the dactylic rhythm was [were] practically unknown to English epic and dramatic poetry' at this date, being 'almost exclusively confined to popular songs and ballads,' so it is unlikely that Milton would adopt it in 'the loftiest form of verse.' It will be well to consider what is involved in this suggestion.

There is an obvious difference between the 'triplet' of heroic metre and the 'triple-time foot' of our so-called dactylic or anapaestic verse. In the latter, three syllables are given their ordinary full pronunciation; in the former, they occupy the time normally given to two syllables. Milton did not, I think, ever intend to vary the time of his feet. His rejection, already mentioned, of the hypermetrical syllable following a caesura seems clear proof of this. In *Comus* we find many lines like:

And, as I past, I worshipt; if those you seek...	(l. 302).
Alone, and helpless. Is this the confidence...	(l. 583).
Root-bound, that fled Apollo. Fool, do not boast...	(l. 662).

Such lines are exceedingly rare in the *Paradises*, so rare that I wonder Prof. Thomas does not ask us to say *cond'scension* in the line previously quoted, no more difficult a contraction than some which he recommends.

But while such lines are rare, lines which can be read with the *rippling* effect of true triplets are exceedingly numerous. A typical instance is (*P. L.*, I, 520):

Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian Fields.

Even supposing that *th'* implies real elision, and that *Hesperian* can be reduced to three syllables as *Hess-pere-yan*, there remains *Adria*, which cannot by any method known to me be made an absolute dissyllable. But if once we admit a trisyllabic effect, however slight—the tiniest ripple, or *slur* if you like—in even one word, a door is opened through which many others may pass.

The word *slur*, properly understood, explains much. And here historical considerations rightly come in. We know that Milton studied Italian verse. From it he probably took his initial 'double trochee,' though Spenser had already used it, as in that line beloved of Leigh Hunt (*R. Q.*, I, 3, 7):

As the god of my life. Why hath he me abhor'd?

What more likely, or rather more certain, than that Milton had noted the effect produced by two Italian vowels melting into each other, and sought to copy it? Prof. Thomas of course knows this, and duly refers to it (Vol. II, p. 295; Vol. III, pp. 20–1). So that the issue really is—Do such meltings leave us with two vowels, or with one only?

Here it must be remembered that the question is not what happens in Italian speech—a point on which it would be rash for foreigners to dogmatise—but what takes place in our own speech. We can know only what happens in modern language; whether it was the same in Milton's day can be matter only of inference. Even as to what happens now there can be doubt. I, for example, do not think there is actual fusion in our pronunciation of 'many a' (Vol. III, p. 21, last line). As a rule, I do not think there is often absolute fusion even in colloquial speech, much less in the more careful utterance with which we naturally read great poetry. Such questions, however, are undoubtedly difficult, and verse-critics are by no means always competent to deal with them. I would not accept the pronouncement of Italian grammarians without sifting, any more than the verdicts of our own. But I may remind Prof. Thomas that Dr Abbott, whom he cites as an authority on Shakespeare's contractions, cautiously says: 'In many cases it is impossible to tell whether in a trisyllabic foot an unemphatic syllable is merely slurred or wholly suppressed, as for instance the first *e* in "different"' (*Shakespearian Grammar*, 1872, § 452). Such caution is wise.

Our English speech-habit is notoriously intolerant of elision. So much so, that we are tempted to slip in a consonant between two unaccented vowels, and even educated speakers are heard to say 'the idea(r) of it.' Nor are we fond of the effect produced by a lightly accented vowel coming immediately before a more heavily accented one, an effect satirised in Pope's line:

Tho' oft the ear the open vowels tire.

Midway between these comes the 'rippling' effect produced by pronouncing both vowels lightly and rapidly; is not this what is meant by 'slurring'? It is an effect so characteristically English that one can hardly believe Milton renounced it. Whether it is not also the effect produced by Italian pronunciation of words like *Siena* and *duomo* I must leave others to say; Browning, we know, accounted the former of these words a dissyllable¹.

I do not, therefore, suppose that Milton intended any of his extra syllables to receive full weight in utterance. What Prof. Saintsbury calls 'the blessed trisyllabic swing and swell' does not cause any disturbance of verse-measure. Our grammarians err in this matter, because they count by syllables instead of time-beats. If they would be content to say that every line of Milton's heroic verse contains 'ten semi-peds,' as an old writer calls it—or whatever similar phrase they prefer—and would not insist that each 'semi-ped' must contain one syllable and no more, discussion would be simplified. What A calls one syllable B calls two, and mere logomachy follows. The real point is whether temporal structure is affected, and to say that three syllables may never be pronounced in the normal time of two is to ignore an exceedingly common form of utterance.

Prof. Thomas will, I think, have much sympathy with this argument. He opposes (p. 22, foot) any attempt to pronounce 'No advantage' as *nadvantage*, and asks that it be sounded 'No 'dvantage.' What is this but a very rapid pronunciation of the initial *a*? So with 'he (e)ffected,' and 'my (a)dventure,' later in the same paragraph. Without following him through all his numerous examples, one may ask whether the principle now suggested does not secure all he wants, preserving that 'regularity' of metre for which he rightly contends.

Historically, the case for this trisyllabic *ripple* is very strong. Side by side with the 'foreign' imported verse there was always the older English line with its loose array of syllables punctuated by accent and alliteration. Would not our poets naturally seek to engraft on the new measure somewhat of the old freedom? That they did so, even to excess, has been already pointed out. It is Milton's glory that he restricted this tendency, and showed how it was possible to unite strict measure with sufficient and admirable freedom. But strict measure does not imply syllable-counting, and any attempt to make it do so must be strenuously resisted.

For, such an attempt sacrifices effects which one feels sure Milton deliberately sought. The famous line (*P.L.*, vii, 411) describing the great sea-monsters as:

Wallowing unwieldie, enormous in thir Gate...

(I copy the original spelling), loses its descriptive vividness if we truncate

¹ Whoever to scan this is ill able
Forgets the town's name's a dissyllable.

Pacchiarotto, § xv.

the first two words, which it will be observed Milton's own spelling does not do. That other famous couplet (*P.L.*, III, 1021-2):

So he with difficulty and labour hard
Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour hee...

becomes commonplace if we make four syllables of *diff-i-cult-yand*. Even such an ordinary line as (*P.L.*, I, 770):

Poure forth thir populous youth about the Hive...

is less rhythmically expressive if we somehow reduce *populous* to a dissyllable. And I must really protest against the assertion (Vol. II, p. 307) that *highest* is a monosyllable in (*P.R.*, IV, 106):

Aim at the highest, without the highest attain'd...

and that 'any other scansion resolves the verse into prose.' It is a singular conception of verse which makes it depend on absolute monotony of rhythm, and there is no need to introduce any such conception.

I am, however, quite willing to admit that Milton may have written by rule as well as by ear. Mr Bridges, we know, holds that he 'came to scan his verses one way and read them another,' and sought 'to keep blank verse decasyllabic by means of fictions' (*Milton's Prosody*, 1901, pp. 18 and 19). And I think it highly probable that Milton relied on concurrence of vowels to justify many of his lines. This will explain harsh-seeming phrases like *express thee unblam'd, into utter darkness, no ingrateful food, virtue in her shape*, and should be remembered in dealing with the crucial line (*P.R.*, III, 586):

Shoots invisible vertue even to the deep...

where, by the by, one would have expected to find the spelling *ev'n*. Some such doctrine of elision seems needed in connection with the frequent slurring of *-ue* in particular. And it is easily admitted when we recall how persistent this same doctrine of elision has been in our verse and our criticism. To this day, our poets show a marked fondness for effects dependent on 'slurring' of vowels. Tennyson's line in *Lucretius*:

Ruining along the illimitable inane...

could be reduced to ten syllables by the methods now under discussion. So could, wholly or almost wholly, that more difficult heroic line in Mr Swinburne's *Elegy* on Burton:

Illimitable, insuperable, infinite.

And I lately saw a poet rebuked for 'eliding' a syllable ending in *-m*, though he—poor soul!—had probably no thought of 'elision,' but intended only rapid pronunciation.

Even in Dryden and Pope, and even in the comic verse of *Hudibras*, is it certain that elision was a reality? Did people really say *tatone* for *to atone*, *thinsane* for *the insane*, etc.? Mr Bridges, in three articles contributed to the *Athenaeum* during January, 1904—articles to be read by all interested in this subject—aptly asks whether we must say:

Tell what her Dameter tan inch is...

for 'Diameter to an inch.' And it is difficult to believe that Pope said *vilet* for *violet*, made actual dissyllables of words like *avarice*, *amorous*, *following*, *virtuous*, *he impairs*, or that anybody could make a true monosyllable of *flow'r'd*. One knows that Dryden in his prefaces maintained elision, but did he mean more than that the syllables were to count as one? Cowper, who is twice quoted by Prof. Thomas (Vol. III, pp. 20 and 24, *notes*), speaks of 'cutting short' a *the*; does this imply total omission of the vowel? I am much inclined to think that total elision is a fiction of grammarians, and of poets playing the grammarian to their own detriment; and that the real use of such spellings as *t' atone* is merely to indicate that the word *to* should not receive distinct pronunciation, but should be slurred or glided into the following vowel. In this connection it may be remembered that Pope gave special praise to his own line:

The freezing Tanais through a waste of snows...

where surely a trisyllabic effect must be heard in the proper name.

Returning to Milton, I doubt if we can ever feel sure of his accentuation in cases otherwise doubtful, therefore the question about his 'final trochee'—in words like *surface*, *exile*, *future*, *prostrate*, etc.—remains insoluble. Modern poets, however, use this cadence. Much discussion about accent in § 7 of these papers, and tiltings with Prof. Masson and Mr Bridges (cf. also Vol. II, pp. 313–4), can lead to no result. I note that the critic is driven to admit 'some slip on the part of the poet' (Vol. III, p. 37, l. 14), which is always a dangerous argument. Milton's principles should not be conceived as cast-iron rules. He departs from them occasionally, perhaps on purpose to show his freedom. If he usually slurs such words as *to atone*, he sometimes gives the vowel its full value. If he most often so treats the termination *-ble* before a vowel, as in (*P.L.*, II, 626):

Abominable, inutterable, and worse...,

he can also write (*ibid.*, v, 565):

To human sense th' invisible exploits.

Similarly, many compound words are accented either on first or second syllable at pleasure, sometimes being repeated twice in the same line with different accentuation, as Prof. Thomas has not failed to observe. That as a rule Milton 'avoids fusing stressed syllables' (Vol. III, p. 21, l. 6) is a just remark, but this rule too has its exceptions. And when it comes to sounding 'the Most High' as 'thee Most High' (*ibid.*, p. 29, l. 2), and similarly treating 'the high Capital' (p. 37, l. 4), I think we must feel that the limits of sane prosody have been overstepped.

My own feeling is that they are overstepped also when we are asked (p. 32, l. 4) to accept such a contraction as 'th' voice' in (*P.L.*, x, 198):

Because thou hast heark'nd to the voice of thy Wife.

The difficulty, however, of feeling sure in such matters is shown in a

line almost immediately following (*ibid.*, x, 204), which I give like the last in Milton's own spelling:

Unbid, and thou shalt eat th' Herb of th' Field.

Prof. Thomas has not noticed the apparent contradiction in this second line. He suggests (p. 31, lowest line) that we 'elide' the first *the*, but says nothing about the second, to whose vowel he evidently allows full value. Yet Milton's spelling, if rightly reproduced, 'elides' both. I cannot myself read the line as printed by Canon Beeching, and can only suppose there is a mistake, probably in the original type.

The subject being so beset with difficulties, it seems to me extremely hazardous to assume that Milton favoured colloquial contractions, surely unsuited to his dignified verse. Is it not much more probable that his apostrophe represented light and rapid sound—a sort of blurred vowel? 'Rapidly sounded, but not counted in the line,' is one phrase used in these papers (p. 30, l. 10); does not this practically mean, 'not counted in the beats'? History and theory both support this; Elizabethan freedom, reproduced during the last century, shows it possible in fact as undoubted in prosody. With modern poetry Prof. Thomas is perhaps less intimately acquainted than with older, for I find him asserting (p. 25, l. 5) that at present English poets use only feet of two or of three syllables, whereas they certainly also use one of four, commonly containing a primary and a secondary accent. Here, as always, the burden of proof rests on those who depart from customary views, and I suspect it is here too heavy for the bearer. I am not convinced that Milton pronounced *spiritual* as two syllables, though I am quite sure that he gave it the value of only two syllables in his line (*P.L.*, iv, 677):

Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth.

Nor am I convinced that he so pronounced *innocent*, *populous*, *capital*, *politic*, *piety*, *deity*, and many such words, though beyond doubt they occupy the time usually assigned to two syllables in his verse. One line, thus printed in Canon Beeching's edition (*P.R.*, III, 256):

Th' one winding, the [*sic*] other strait and left between...

I can scan only by supposing that *one* was not yet pronounced *wun*, but retained its initial vowel; *th' one* clearly occupies the normal time of a single syllable¹.

There are many other points in these papers well worth considering, and they furnish a rich treasury of assorted examples. I was particularly struck by a remark (Vol. III, pp. 16-7) to the effect that 'iambic' accentuation formed no part of the original decasyllable; a remark which seems to me as true as it will be novel to many people. I hope Prof. Thomas will continue his researches into the verse of Milton and other poets; but, before doing so, I wish he would consider afresh what precisely takes place when two syllables are, as we phrase it, slurred together.

¹ Was the poetical *th' other* as real a dissyllable as the colloquial *tother*?

[The preceding pages were written before I had seen Prof. Thomas's third paper, or knew that it was to follow. They were also written in ignorance of his not being a compatriot, a fact which I should never have inferred from these essays. Having since read the third paper, I find nothing in it which alters my opinion on the matter discussed, and prefer to let these pages stand as originally written. I note, however, that 'a fixed number of syllables' now appears without qualification (p. 237, tenth line from foot; p. 245, l. 4), and that 'haste' or 'negligence' on the poet's part is again invoked as an explanation of abnormalities (pp. 237, l. 4; 238, l. 15; 255, l. 10). I think English readers will hardly recognise an *ee* sound in the words 'horrid rift abortive' (p. 248, l. 6); a better instance would have been:

O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear (p. 254, l. 6).

The bold assertion, in this paper's final sentence, that our heroic measure 'has never allowed the intrusion of trisyllabic feet,' must of course stand or fall with our definition of such feet; this is the one point dealt with in my queries. Very much in this third paper merits notice, and would receive it in any full review; admiration of its writer's care, patience, and thoroughness remains undiminished. The question of 'slurring,' however, receives no new treatment. With reference to the first footnote on p. 234, I may observe that the line quoted has no stops in Canon Beeching's edition, and may therefore be read:

Me, me, only just object of his ire,

avoiding what is certainly an unusual cadence. The second footnote on the same page surely ignores such familiar lines as (*P. L.* iv, 830):

Not to know me argues yourselves unknown,

with others less familiar, e.g. (*ibid.*, vi, 19):

War he perceived, war in procinct.

In the last example cited on p. 237, is not the word 'then' emphatic? The remarks on Milton's varied caesuras are excellent, if necessarily not novel; those on his 'harmony' (§ ix) too, except as regards contractions. Hearty thanks are certainly due to Prof. Thomas for his papers from all lovers of our great Puritan poet.]

T. S. OMOND.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

REVIEWS.

The Oxford Book of French Verse. Chosen by ST JOHN LUCAS.
Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, xxxv. + 492 pp.

Drama apart, the greatest names of French literature are to be found among its prose-writers. France has no poets who have combined originality of thought with brilliance of expression quite in the same degree as Rabelais, or Montaigne, or Pascal. Even if we throw the drama into the scale, the balance remains unaltered. For the dramatic qualities of Corneille, Molière, and even of Racine, are superior to their purely poetic ones. To what is this due? to the national temperament, or to the character of the language? Probably to a combination of both. It was the love of reason and lucidity far more than Malherbe's rigid rules of versification that early in the seventeenth century dried up the sources of French lyric poetry, and suffered them only to trickle in a tiny stream for two hundred years. But it is also an undoubted fact that the French Muse wears a 'tight buskin.' For songs and lighter lyrics, indeed, a certain 'rebelliousness' in the form is on the whole an advantage, for it helps to save them from the pitfalls of trivial thought and commonplace expression. But in longer poems, especially in those of a philosophical character, the task of presenting the thought with that lucidity which a Frenchman demands—a French Browning is inconceivable—and at the same time in a perfectly poetical form, is one to tax the skill of the most consummate artist—of a Hugo or a Milton. How easy it is to fail can be judged from the later work of Sully Prudhomme. Moreover the border line between poetry and prose is narrower in France than in England, and it requires not only natural genius but perfect workmanship and vigilant self-criticism to sustain a French poet who is also a thinker in his arduous flight. When Sainte-Beuve said in 1829, that the chief merit of all French poets except Molière and perhaps Corneille was their style, he implied that in his opinion the greatest French thinkers had turned aside from poetry.

His remark also implies the important aesthetic truth, that the merit of poetry depends in the first instance upon style. Style alone does not make great poetry, but without style there is no poetry at all. Now it is a commonplace that it is far more difficult to appreciate the poetry

of a foreign country than its prose. But the secrets of French poetry seem peculiarly difficult for an Englishman to penetrate. Its artistic workmanship, its delicate and subtle music, its grace and distinction, demand a certain preparation from the English student before he can worship at its shrine. We know how insensible was the ear of Matthew Arnold to its harmonies, and Mr J. C. Bailey in his excellent volume, *The Claims of French Poetry*, is probably right in saying that Englishmen have a prejudice against French poetry.

For this reason Mr St John Lucas's *Book of French Verse* is peculiarly welcome. He has brought to his task not only knowledge, care, and sympathy, but the discriminating taste of one who is himself a poet, and whose own poetry is distinguished by a fine sense of harmony. Where one dissents—as one must occasionally—from his judgments, one does so with diffidence and humility. The historical survey which serves as an introduction to the selection may also be heartily praised, but with rather more reservation. Its defects are a tendency to overstatement, and, partly as a result of this, a certain inequality of treatment. Thus Mr Lucas, in his wrath against the 'deplorable cataract of *ballades* and *rondeaux*' which marked the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, almost entirely forgets the earlier and fresher period of French lyric, and he represents the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by only two examples. Where are Thibaut de Champagne, Audefroy the Bastard, Conon de Béthune, the Châtelain of Coucy, Gace Brulé, and Blondel de Nesle? Where are the motets and pastourelles and the other anonymous lyrics of this period? On the other hand, Mr Lucas pays a just tribute to Charles d'Orléans, and he estimates the genius of Villon in a half-page which is wholly admirable. Admirable, too, in spite of a few random shafts, is his account of the Pléiade. But his legitimate enthusiasm for Ronsard and his followers blinds him to the merit of Marot's work as a pioneer¹. It is misleading to speak of French poetry as being in a 'prison which had Marot for governor.' Rather it was Marot who released the French Muse from prison, while it was Ronsard who gave her wings. The poetry of the Marotic school should have been represented by a few more examples, at least by the remarkable sonnet prefixed to Des Periers's *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis*, which I commend to Mr Lucas's notice. The selection from the poetry of the Pléiade is full and good. Yet I notice a few omissions—Jean de La Taille, Garnier, Pibrac, Bertrant. Room might have been found for the shortest and most beautiful of Belleau's *Pierrieres*, *La pierre aqueuse*. Magny is indifferently well represented, and I would gladly exchange Louise Labé's *Élégie* for one or two more of her sonnets, in which by the way I do not detect any 'obscure symbolism.' Mr Lucas is unjust to Du Bartas. The greater part of his poetry is 'inflated fustian,' if you like, and his epic as a whole is a complete failure. But it contains a few fine passages which are marked by imagination of the highest order. I do not however suggest that Mr Lucas should have

¹ There is an admirable appreciation of Marot in Mr Bailey's volume.

given one of these, for he has apparently made an excellent rule to include none but complete poems. When I think of the liberties which some editors of anthologies, especially French editors, take with lyrical poems, I cannot praise this resolution too highly. But it has deprived Mr Lucas of the power of including favourable specimens not only of Du Bartas and his fellow Huguenot D'Aubigné, but also of giving an example, such as the account of Hippolyte's death, of Racine's most characteristic verse.

The least satisfactory part of Mr Lucas's book is his treatment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Frenchmen now-a-days are under no illusion as to the value of the lyric poetry of their classical period. Why then does Mr Lucas, who inveighs against this period with almost unnecessary energy, think it necessary to represent it by such third-rate poets as Colletet, Benserade, Chapelle, Mme. Deshoulières, Le Brun, Ducis, Fontanes? For the *épicerie* which he gives as a specimen of Maucroix he might have substituted the stanzas cited by Sainte-Beuve in his charming article on this friend of La Fontaine. Closely inspired as they are by Virgil's *O fortunatos nimium!* they would have formed an admirable trio with Desportes's *Chanson* (No. 123) and Racan's *Stances* (No. 136)¹. There are too many *rondeaux* by Voiture and too many epigrams by Voltaire. Why give the *Stances de Don Rodrigue* of which Corneille himself said in his later years that their affectation was inexcusable? Is Racine satisfactorily represented by three hymns and three epigrams? It is an insult to Molière to give as a specimen of his genius a sonnet which is only differentiated from prose by the rhymes and the order of the words. On the other hand Mr Lucas's appreciations of La Fontaine and André Chénier and his selection from their poetry—I miss *Les deux pigeons* and *Le paysan du Danube* from the former—are worthy of all commendation.

No English lover of poetry, at any rate, will quarrel with Mr Lucas's estimate of Malherbe, and no competent French critic, except M. Faguet, thinks him a great poet, but Frenchmen rightly recognise the virile, if monotonous, harmony of his verse, and the careful finish of his workmanship. In versification he is the master of Corneille, but his chief service to French literature lies in the fact that he introduced that spirit of self-criticism which is as necessary in verse as it is in prose. Mr Lucas is right in pointing out that Malherbe was 'merely the spokesman of his age,' and that he did not kill lyric poetry. But no more can the ladies who frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet in its palmy days—is it fair to call them *Précieuses*, a name which was not invented till about 1650?—be said to have killed it. It was dead already. Is it true to say of the creator of French classical drama that 'no man of genius was less of an inventor'? Not only the *Cid*, but *Mélite*, *Le Menteur*, *Rodogune*, and *Nicomède* were all experiments and not unsuccessful ones.

¹ It has, I think, never been noticed how freely Racan borrows from Desportes in this his best-known poem.

When he comes to the Romantic movement Mr Lucas is again at his best. Nothing could be happier than his account of Chateaubriand as the 'pioneer' of the movement—*nous sommes tous partis de lui*, said one of the Romantics—and he rightly couples with him Mme. de Staël. With his selection from the greatest poets of the movement there is room at most for an occasional difference of opinion. For instance, Lamartine's most characteristic music is played on what Sainte-Beuve calls 'his enchanted flute' rather than with a full orchestra, and for that reason I should have omitted his long and late poem, *La vigne et la maison*, in spite of its fine passages, to make room for three more of the first *Méditations*—*Le Vallon*, *L'Automne* and *L'Isolement*, of which the last is to my mind superior even to *Le Lac*. 'Richness of diction,' I would suggest, is not a characteristic of these early poems. They seem as if written by some ethereal spirit, or, as more than one French critic has said, by the Muse of poetry herself. Yet Matthew Arnold remarked to Sainte-Beuve that he could not consider Lamartine a poet of very high importance. No poet of the Romantic movement has gained more in estimation during recent years than Alfred de Vigny, and Mr Lucas represents him by four fine poems. As a thinker Vigny is undoubtedly superior to both Hugo and Musset, but let any one compare *La Maison du Berger* or *La bouteille à la mer* with the *Lettre à Lamartine* and the *Tristesse d'Olympio*, and he will recognise that as an artist he is their inferior. Especially his handling of the long poetical phrase lacks their certainty of execution.

The poetry of Victor Hugo offers so wide a field that it is inevitable that no two persons should agree in their choice. Yet the only poems in Mr Lucas's selection that seem to me unworthy of their place are *Souvenir de la Nuit du 4*, from *Les Châtiments* (No. 242) and *L'Enfance*, from *Les Contemplations*, in both of which the pathos is forced. There are, however, several poems in *Les Contemplations* which I should have preferred to *Elle avait pris ce pli* (No. 346) and *J'ai cueilli cette fleur*, notably that fine poem *Ibo*. I also regret the absence of that even finer poem *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne* (from *Les Feuilles d'Automne*), which Sainte-Beuve regarded as Hugo's masterpiece. The selection from Alfred de Musset is full and admirable. There is nothing one would wish away. Rather, the most sincere record of passion that was ever made immortal by verse might have been completed by the addition of *Souvenir*—especially interesting for comparison with *Le Lac* and *La Tristesse d'Olympio*—and *Tristesse*.

The lesser poets of Romanticism are worthily represented by Brizeux, Barbier and Laprade, all with fine poems. Félix Arvers appears with the single sonnet by which he is remembered. But the examples of Émile Deschamps and Casimir Delavigne are hardly good enough for their company. Hégésippe Moreau would have been better represented by *La Fermière*. The three poems by Sainte-Beuve serve to confirm one's impression that he lacked the magic alchemy which transmutes the rough ore of emotional thought into the gold of true poetry. Gérard de Nerval, that forerunner of the Symbolists, is well represented

by two sonnets and two short lyrics, of which the latter might have been signed by Paul Verlaine. The one serious omission here is Mme. Ackermann.

The selection from Gautier is good, and the passage through him from Romanticism to the Parnassian School is well indicated in the Introduction. The leader of the Parnassians, Leconte de Lisle¹, whose poetry has the relief, but also the hardness, of metal-work, is also well represented. A welcome addition would have been those two striking sonnets, *Les montreurs* and *Aux modernes*, which show that he was by no means the impassive artist he pretended to be. His whole poetry is an eloquent protest against the *régime* of Napoleon III, all the more eloquent because of its apparent reserve. Soulayr, like Gautier, was a Parnassian before letters, an inferior Coppée without his facility. Of the two sonnets given by Mr Lucas, one, *Les deux cortèges*, is generally considered by his admirers to be his masterpiece. It is also famous for having been dissected by M. Lemaître with cruel penetration.

Finally we come to that unequal but true poet, Charles Baudelaire, to whose influence was largely due the rise of the Symbolist school, and to Paul Verlaine, whom that school hailed as their leader. It is an omission in Mr Lucas's Introduction that it closes without any reference to this reaction against the Parnassians, to this substitution for the plastic representation of the visible and material world of a poetry which also takes account of spirit, and which assimilates its methods to those of its natural ally, music, rather than to those of painting and sculpture. Of Verlaine's poetry Mr Lucas gives some characteristic specimens, including the *Chanson d'Automne*, which though published as far back as 1866, already has more than a touch of symbolism, and *Sagesse*, which appeared in 1880. No worthier *envoi* than this last could have been found for Mr Lucas's charming volume. This tiny poem, of four stanzas, with four short lines to each stanza, and composed of barely more than fifty different words, has all the sincerity—'sincerity to the impression of the moment' was Verlaine's poetic ideal—the intimacy, the delicate and refined harmony which are characteristics of French lyrical poetry.

It is unfortunate that copyright reasons have prevented Mr Lucas from giving specimens of Heredia. The same reason doubtless accounts for the absence of Albert Samain's delicate Muse.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. II. The End of the Middle Ages. Cambridge: University Press. 1908. Royal 8vo. xii + 539 pp.

In his 'final words' to the present volume Mr Waller combats, not without cause, the common superstition that the fifteenth century is, to

¹ Leconte de Lisle was born in 1820 not in 1818. Mr Lucas's dates for most of the minor poets of the Pléiade school require revision.

the reader of English literature, 'an uninviting barren waste, in which it were idle and unprofitable to spend one's time when it can be fleeted carelessly in "the demesnes that here adjacent lie."' The greater part of this second instalment of the Cambridge *History* is designed to correct such hasty estimates of the period's significance in our literary annals. One may not perhaps be quite prepared to endorse Mr Waller's own enthusiastic belief that the fifteenth 'can well hold its own in the history of our literature as against the centuries that precede or follow it.' In support of so sanguine a proposition he has, for example, to hazard so doubtful a statement as that *The Nut Brown Maid* is 'in itself sufficient, in form and music and theme, to "make the fortune" of any century.' Still, it must be admitted that the contributors to this volume have succeeded in giving us a presentment of the literature of the fifteenth century which more than 'holds its own,' both in interest and in critical competence, against all its competitors in the field. Moreover, the volume contains much,—and that of the first importance,—which does not strictly come within the limits of the fifteenth century; for Chaucer, Gower, *Piers the Plowman* and the early Scottish poetry all find their place here. The net result is a volume which, while sufficiently ample in range and weighty in matter, has the advantage over its predecessor in the series of being more homogeneous by reason of the fewer obligations laid upon its contributors to deal with obscure 'origins' and other matters more or less alien to the story of English literature proper.

The task of the editors of a composite work planned on such a scale as that of the Cambridge *History* is so difficult as to make it appear somewhat ungracious to begin a detailed criticism of this volume with a word of complaint as to its arrangement. Certain eccentricities, not to say defects, of proportion will, however, at once attract the notice of the reader. It is not easy, for example, to reconcile one's self straightway to seeing a separate chapter devoted to Stephen Hawes. Even Chaucer gets no more. Although Mr Murison, who writes (competently and agreeably enough) about him, says that 'Hawes occupies a position of peculiar isolation,' he discovers little in him which would seem to entitle him to the splendid isolation of a chapter in a volume of this compass. He did not, we are told, 'produce passages memorable for choice diction and for harmony of sweet sounds, passages familiar as household words,' the sum of his achievement being to 'continue the defects of the fifteenth century poets,—confused metre, slipshod construction, bizarre diction.' On such a showing, an equally strong claim to a separate chapter could be made out for Lydgate, Hawes's self-acknowledged master, of whom Professor Saintsbury says in this very volume that he was 'adored' by the fifteenth century 'because he combined all its worst faults.' It may be that Hawes, as more than one modern writer has pleaded, has been unduly depreciated by by-gone critics, and it is certain, as Mr Murison takes pains to point out, that his influence upon Spenser was very considerable. But by no process of rehabilitation can he be advanced to a position among individual

writers reserved in this volume for only Chaucer and Gower besides. Again, most of us hold Malory to be one of the greater literary lights of the fifteenth century. But Malory is altogether too perfunctorily dismissed in the second of two chapters on 'English Prose in the Fifteenth Century.' Indeed, a better case could be made out for giving a special chapter to Malory than to Hawes; for, as one of the most distinguished of our living critics has said, 'the great prose achievement of the fifteenth century' is the *Morte D'Arthur*, and Malory's work is 'the prose analogue of Chaucer's poetry—summing up as it does some of the great attainments of the Middle Ages.' Proportion, also, has to some extent been sacrificed in the disparity between the scope and matter of the final chapter (11 pages), and the extreme length, and occasional irrelevance, of its bibliography. The editors tell us that 'advantage has been taken of the opportunity afforded by a concluding chapter to add a few notes on books and writers not specifically dealt with elsewhere.' The result is a somewhat confusing aggregation of authors, both prose writers and poets, many of whom serve only to illustrate matters dealt with in various parts of the first volume.

These, however, are but trivial shortcomings in a work that is, as a whole, a remarkable editorial achievement. Not, indeed, that the editors' judgment may not be, and actually has been, questioned in matters other than those already noticed. The wisdom, for example, of including—at this stage in the discussion of the subject,—so palpably controversial a chapter as that of Professor Manly on *Piers the Plowman* is, doubtless, open to some question. There can, however, be no doubt that Professor Manly's contribution is the most 'challenging' in the whole book. William Langland disappears altogether under the ruthless analysis of Mr Manly, and 'Long Will, the dreamer,' is dismissed as being 'obviously as much a creation of the muse as *Piers the Plowman*.' In his stead are presented to us the shadowy figures of a group of writers who, for the present, we must be content to know only by the letters already familiar to us as designating the three principal versions of the poem's text—'A, the continuator of A, B and C.' Mr Manly arrives at his hypothesis of composite authorship by various tests, among them being those of metre, of scansion, of dialectical differences, and the somewhat more precarious one of 'visual imagination.' No attempt can be made here to give even a summary of the results of these tests, or to pass judgment upon their validity. Suffice it to say that no student of *Piers the Plowman* can afford to ignore them, and that they open out an exciting and all but new arena of controversy for the 'higher critics' in Middle English. Mr Manly's chapter opens the book, and is appropriately followed by a clear and well-written survey of 'Religious Movements in the Fourteenth Century' by the Rev. J. P. Whitney. What the literary student, perhaps, may wish to have had in Mr Whitney's chapter is a fuller treatment of Rolle's *Pricke of Conscience*. In her chapter (III) on 'The Beginnings of English Prose' Miss Alice Green-

wood gives us, among other things, a full and spirited account of *Mandeville's Travels*—an account which stands in strange contrast with her disappointing treatment of Malory in a later chapter. A feature of the present volume is, as might have been expected, the prominence given to the literature of Scotland. Professor Gregory Smith contributes three excellent chapters on 'The Scottish Language' (IV), 'The Scottish Chaucerians' (X) and 'The Middle Scots Anthologies &c.' (XI), respectively. While the two literary chapters afford some of the best and most delightful reading in the book, special attention may be called to Chap. IV, more particularly to the passages in which Prof. Smith traverses the generally received opinions as to the French influence upon the Scottish language, due mainly, as he puts it, to the 'neglect or depreciation of the position of Latin in Scottish culture.' 'The Earlier Scottish Literature' forms the subject of a crowded chapter by Dr P. Giles. Gower is, as he should be, dealt with by our highest English authority upon him; and Mr Macaulay could hardly have been expected to give us more than a summary of what he had already wrought and monumentally written. This he has done with admirable conciseness and lucidity.

The chapter on Chaucer, by Professor Saintsbury, is a thoroughly characteristic contribution. That is to say, here, as elsewhere in his recent writings, Mr Saintsbury carries his learning and his vast reading so easily, and writes with such breezy, not to say jaunty, confidence as to disarm all but the most ill-natured critic. But, to slower minds than his and to those who have perforce to pick their way with cautious and even faltering steps along such perilous paths, his treatment of Chaucer is apt to be somewhat disturbing. It may be said, at once, that the reader will not find here a full statement and discussion of all the outstanding problems of Chaucerian scholarship. The chapter is, frankly, an 'appreciation' from the literary and human point of view. Hence its defects and its merits. What, perhaps, disturbs one most is Mr Saintsbury's methods of statement. Not to mention occasional loose writing, he leaves us with too many choices and probabilities and qualifications. His criticism, on the other hand, is delightfully refreshing, all the more so because he insists upon surveying Chaucer's work as a whole, and refuses to consider him in compartments. One of the very best things in the chapter is its treatment of Chaucer's humour. 'In most great English humorists, humour sets the picture with a sort of vignetting or arabesquing fringe and atmosphere of exaggeration and fantasy. By Chaucer it is almost invariably used to bring a higher but a quite clear and achromatic light on the picture itself or parts of it. The stuff is turned rapidly the other way to show its real texture; the jest is perhaps a burning, but also a magnifying and illuminating, glass, to bring out a special trait more definitely. It is safe to say that a great deal of the combination of vivacity and veracity in Chaucer's portraits and sketches of all kinds is due to this all-pervading humour; indeed, it is not very likely that any one would deny this. What seems, for some commentators, harder to keep in mind is that it may

be, and probably is, equally present in other places where the effect is less immediately rejoicing to the modern reader; and that medieval pedantry, medieval catalogue-making, medieval digression and irrelevance are at once exemplified and satirised by the operation of this extraordinary faculty.' In a chapter in which 'commentators' and textual critics and other unliterary folk are rather cavalierly dealt with, it is good to see full justice done to the great achievements of Tyrwhitt.

Space forbids more than a passing mention of the remaining contributions to this very interesting volume. Miss Greenwood's chapters on the development of English prose give, on the whole, a full and clear survey of the subject, but, as has been said already, she should have given much greater prominence to Malory. Mr Gordon Duff and Mr T. A. Walker write on the early history of the printing-press, and on English and Scottish education, respectively, while Professor Padelford of Washington contributes an excellent chapter on 'Transition English Song Collections.' Of greater interest, perhaps, to the ordinary reader will be the chapter on 'Ballads' by another American—Prof. Gummere, a recognised authority on the subject. On the vexed question of ballad origins Prof. Gummere maintains that 'when one studies the structure and the elements of the ballad itself as a poetic form, a form demonstrably connected with choral dramatic conditions in its origin but modified by a long epic process in the course of oral and quite popular tradition, one is compelled to dismiss absolutely the theory of minstrel authorship, and to regard ballads as both made and transmitted by the people.' Finally, it remains to be noted that this second volume conveys the pleasant news that it has already 'been found necessary to prepare a second impression of the first,' and with it is issued a leaflet of corrections made in Vol. I 'in order that purchasers of the first impression may not be placed at any disadvantage.'

W. LEWIS JONES.

BANGOR.

Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama. A Literary Inquiry, with special reference to the Pre-Restoration Stage in England. By WALTER W. GREG. London: A. H. Bullen, 1906. 8vo. xii + 464 pp.

This is a scholarly, exhaustive, and interesting thesis which requires and repays careful study. A hasty reading is both apt to convey a mistaken impression as to the interest of the work (which is to be found in the discriminating and penetrating criticisms of the principal poems and plays passed in review) and even to mislead, for some of Mr Greg's *obiter dicta* require the qualification and amplification which they generally receive in the course of the treatise. Moving through an elaborate argument, or complex genealogy, he sometimes raises expectation of a slightly different conclusion from that which he actually reaches

The pastoral drama in England is Mr Greg's theme. But to detach any one specific kind of pastoral literature of the Renaissance from the rest is impossible, because the pastoral ideal of the Renaissance refused to be confined to any single form, such as the classical eclogue, but invaded every department of literature—sonnets and lyrics, romance and epic, as well as drama—and that so spontaneously that, although one may, and Mr Greg does, indicate stages in the evolution of the pastoral romance or the pastoral drama, it is well to be on one's guard against any too rigid theory of origins. Quite naturally, therefore, Mr Greg devotes the first two chapters of his book to a review of pastoral literature from Theocritus and Virgil, through Petrarch, Boccaccio, Mantuan, Sanazzaro, Montemayor and Marot, to Spenser, Sidney and their followers. I mention only the chief names. In this review he discusses, in considerable detail, the regular imitations of classical eclogue, the more spontaneous pastoral lyric, and (though the title of his book does not suggest it) the prose pastoral-romance. He omits only the pastoral interludes in the romantic epics of Ariosto, Tasso and Spenser.

Mr Greg is too wise to attempt any precise definition of what took so many forms. But he indicates clearly the peculiar 'note' of pastoral poetry, the artificiality of its golden age, 'the recognition of a contrast, implicit or expressed, between pastoral life and some more complex type of civilisation.' Pastoral poetry is neither the spontaneous utterance of simple and primitive feeling, nor poetry so faithfully descriptive of rural life as Crabbe's. Pastoral literature presents a courtly and cultured dream of country life, from which all realistic and painful features are deliberately banished. With Theocritus it took its rise in 'the contrast between the recollections of a childhood spent among the Sicilian uplands and the crowded social and intellectual life of Alexandria.' In the hands of Virgil it began to lose some of this dream charm, becoming a more conscious playing at shepherd life, in a word allegory. In the most characteristic Renaissance pastorals, the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido*, we get an exquisite combination of courtly and refined sentiment with the feeling of a return to nature. But generally the 'proper pleasure' of the pastoral shows a tendency to disappear, or change into something else, in one of two ways. The convention becomes purely a convention, untouched by any feeling for nature, as in the eclogues of Mantuan and the Humanists—and even in *Lycidas* despite its compensating beauties—'ecloghe dove di pastorale non v'ha che i nomi e le frasi: il resto è allegoria di cose contemporanee tutt'altro che pastorali.' On the other hand, the natural feeling may become too sincere for its conventional setting. This is the tendency of much English pastoral. Mr Greg has laid great stress, in his second chapter, on the evidence of a dual tradition in English pastoral poetry, the older, simpler, more realistic pastoralism of the ballads and Miracle plays, and the conventional, ideal, Italian pastoralism. To the first he seems in this chapter to trace the vein of naive realism in Spenser's eclogues, the delightful descriptions of Devonshire scenery in *Britannia's Pastorals*,

and the sincere and ardent enthusiasm for nature of Wither's clear, high song; while the same vein blends with and heightens the more ideal strain in the golden songs of *England's Helicon* and the *Muses' Elizium*. Later, however, Mr Greg somewhat modifies the impression given by this chapter, and very wisely finds the link between native and Italian pastoralism rather in temperament and character than in a literary tradition. The Englishman is at bottom a countryman rather than, or always as well as, a courtier. The only exception is Donne, and he frankly detests the country. See his epistle to Sir Henry Wotton beginning 'Sir, more than kisses letters mingle soul,' or that to the Countess of Bedford beginning 'Madam, you have refined me,' or his only pastoral eclogue (which Mr Greg has excusably ignored) introducing his second Epithalamion. No English poet could have written the *Aminta*. But Spenser and Drayton, and Browne and Wither, are interesting forerunners of Thomson and Dyer, Gray and Collins, Cowper and Crabbe.

Indeed it is this temperamental trait which gives its only interest to the history of later pastoralism, from Pope to Crabbe, pastoral poetry which has lost entirely the courtly note and lingers merely as a literary tradition. For it was in connection with pastoral poetry that the cleavage first showed itself distinctly between the two principles of neo-classicism, 'follow nature' and 'imitate the classics,' since 'to follow nature is to follow them.' Steele was too English to admit that to follow nature in describing country life was identical with the mere imitation of Theocritus and Virgil. The movement he initiated by his essays in *The Guardian* produced Gay's *Shepherd's Week* and Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, and though the one is a burlesque, and the other a very genteel pastoral, still they were steps on the way to Crabbe's rejection of 'the sleepy echoes of the Mantuan bard,' and to Wordsworth's deeper and more philosophical idealism. Even Dr Johnson, who began by being all for the rules and Virgil, ending by detesting pastoral poetry, in which 'there is no nature for there is no truth,' and which as a literary artifice is 'easy, vulgar and therefore disgusting.'

Mr Greg's review of English pastoral poetry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is excellent. He lays special stress on Spenser and Drayton, and has done justice to the structural as well as poetical capacity shown in the *Shepherd's Kalender*. If we feel inclined to differ from him, it is when he appears to prefer the *Shepherd's Kalender* to the *Muses' Elizium* on the ground of its choice of subject, after previously criticising the incongruity of Spenser's 'pastoral theology.' Surely Spenser's is the greater poem simply because, despite faults of immaturity, it contains finer poetry, deeper in feeling, richer in phrase and cadence, than the fresh and charming work of Drayton ever attains to. But this finer poetry is to be sought not in the controversial eclogues but in such songs as those for June and for October. These touch a deeper and more vibrating note than Drayton's most enthusiastic strains. But possibly we have misunderstood Mr Greg and are expressing his own feeling in a different way.

Coming to the drama Mr Greg describes the beginnings of the pastoral plays in Italy in such mythological plays as Politian's *Orfeo*, and more directly in the *Egloge Rappresentative*. The earliest English pastoral plays of Peele and Lyly were also mythological, but there seems no reason to demur to the name 'pastoral' as applied to Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, unless the name is to be confined to the Italian kind elaborated by Tasso. The other actors than the Gods are shepherds of the pastoral type. Indeed it affords an interesting illustration of the spontaneity with which the pastoral drama tended to take shape that Spenser's eclogues had hardly appeared before his shepherds were utilised for dramatic courtly entertainment. Even without the *Amyntas* and *Pastor Fido* we should doubtless have had shepherd plays of more than one kind.

In discussing these so admired and so influential products of the Italian taste for artificial sentiment and for motives better adapted to music than drama, Mr Greg has analysed and criticised, with great acumen and justice, the central motive of both pieces, the conflict between 'feverish passion' and 'virginal coldness'; and the lurking sense which they convey of something a little unreal in the latter and not altogether lovely in the former. And nothing is more interesting in Mr Greg's analysis of the English masterpieces in the kind than his discussion of the treatment of this motive by Fletcher and by Milton. No critic has shown so fully and clearly the source of Fletcher's failure, despite the lyrical charm of his style and verse, and the Theocritean grace of his descriptions. Mr Greg finds the source of that failure in the abstract manner in which Fletcher set to work to develop the fundamental contrast, and his want of sympathy with the 'ideal which he sought to honour,'—his failure, in a word, to appreciate the beauty either of chastity or of love. The delicate feeling of the *Aminta* is not perhaps quite sound at core, but it has a grace and charm which is wanting altogether to the cynical licentiousness of Fletcher.

To Milton's *Comus* Mr Greg is, I think, less just, and partly because he does not make allowance for the fact that it was a protest against courtly cynicism and licence. *Comus* suffers—like *Lycidas*, like *Paradise Lost*, like *Samson Agonistes*—from being too polemical. But Mr Greg has duplicated a single charge which one may and must admit. *Comus* is not quite a masque and not quite a drama. It is not quite a masque like Jonson's *Masque of Queens* because the change of fortune is not effected simply by a transformation scene, but is made to depend on the will of the Lady. Yet the poem is a masque rather than a drama, because both the action and persons are conceived abstractly and symbolically rather than concretely. The Lady is not Lady Alice Egerton, a girl of thirteen, but Virtue Militant. Grant this, and it seems unnecessary to accuse Milton further of bad taste in making her speak beyond her years. Some awkwardness there is doubtless in the identification, but it is not enough to mar the splendour of Milton's defence of Chastity, the magnificent poetry in which he has set forth the Puritan ideal, which Gardiner, with perhaps more strict propriety,

saw incarnate in Archbishop Abbot looking on at the marriage of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard.

To the beauty of Milton's poetry, indeed, Mr Greg does ample justice, as to the grace of Fletcher's, the pathetic loveliness of Jonson's fragment—for the whole of which one would give a dozen *Alchemists*—and the blithe and pleasing *Amyntas* of Randolph. Indeed Mr Homer Smith might plead that the Note at page 308 has some applicability to Mr Greg's own criticism of *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *Comus*. In both he does a little separate the substance from the form.

These are the most direct inheritors of the Italian tradition, though Mr Greg has shown how independently the Englishmen adapted the borrowed form to the traditions of the native stage. One departure from these traditions which betrays the Italian origin of these plays he has not deemed worthy of remark, their strict adherence to the rule of twenty-four hours. Dr R. Otto, in his preface to an edition of the *Sylvanire*, has pointed out that it was the admiration felt for the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido* which revived in the earlier seventeenth century, in France, discussion of the Unities, after Hardy had given them the go-by. And for this reason discussion turned at first on the unity of time alone. 'C'était l'unique règle que l'on connût en ce temps-là,' says Corneille in the *Examen de Clitandre*, and it is the only one mentioned in Mairet's preface, with which began the movement that closed with the condemnation of the *Cid*. No such effects followed in England. Ben Jonson had no Academy and Richelieu to back him. But even in lawless England, the rule of the 'astrological day' was recognised as an essential feature of the Italian pastoral drama.

And speaking of France brings me to one small addition which might be made to Mr Greg's exhaustive thesis. In his review of those hybrid pastoral plays (Chap. vi) in which chivalrous elements, borrowed from the romances, are mingled with the purely pastoral scenes and incidents, Mr Greg has ignored the possible influence of the contemporary French drama. Both pastoral plays, and tragi-comedies combining chivalrous, pastoral and humorous elements, were the rule in France till the *Sophonisbe* (1635) and the *Cid* (1636) established the vogue of tragedy. In reading Mr Greg's analysis of plays in the second section of Chapter vi we noted several little points of resemblance, and came upon one clear case of unrecognised borrowing. Of course it is always to be remembered that in tracing an English play to a French source we are not excluding the possibility of going a step further and finding an Italian original.

The mad lover who conceives himself in Elysium, drawn with real dramatic touches by Randolph in the *Amyntas* (1632-35), and more artificially by Cowley in *Love's Riddle* (1638), appears in Rotrou's *L'Hypocondriaque* (1628), and the same author's *Laure persécutée* (1638). The latter play is, however, based on Lope de Vega's *Laura perseguida*. Probably the type has some original Italian source. The case of undoubted plagiarism from the French, which has hitherto escaped attention, is Rutter's *Shepherd's Holiday* (1635). Rutter

translated the *Cid*, and was, therefore, presumably familiar with French plays. At any rate the purely pastoral portion of his drama—the story of Nerina and her lovers, and of the poisoned mirror—is, throughout, an adaptation, often a paraphrase, occasionally a translation, of Mairet's *Silvanire* (1629). It cannot be said that in general Rutter has improved on the original. The scenes are shortened, with the result that the development of motives is made more abrupt. The courtly incidents which Rutter has loosely grafted on to Mairet's pastoral have a general resemblance to the same poet's more romantic and interesting *Sylvie* (1626). There a prince (as here a princess) leaves the court for love of a shepherdess, and incurs the wrath of his father. The *dénouement*, however, is different, and Rutter's solution may be his own or have a different origin. Cowley is, through Rutter, indebted for his best scene (*Love's Riddle*, IV. 1) to the *Silvanire* (III. 7). Mairet's own play, it may be added, is the recast of a play in blank verse written by the author of the *Astrée*, at the request of Marie de Médicis. There may be some other instances of borrowings from the French. Mr Greg has throughout had Italy mainly in view. The first beginnings of French influence in the reign of Charles I are worthy of note.

Every student of the Elizabethan drama must be grateful to Mr Greg for this carefully developed and discriminating study of the diverse elements which combined to produce the various forms of the English pastoral drama, and his admirable criticism of its masterpieces. If his work has a fault it seems to me to be an occasional disproportion of style to subject, and an occasional over-emphasis in the expression of his divergence from the views of others.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

ABERDEEN.

An Enterlude of Welth and Helth. Eine englische Moralität des XVI. Jahrhunderts, kritisch herausgegeben von F. HOLTHAUSEN. (Festschrift der Universität Kiel.) Kiel: Lipsius and Tischer. 1908. 8vo. 66 pp.

‘Die lange verschollene Moralität *Welth and Helth* ist in einem alten *Blackletter*-druck in 4° erhalten, von dem das einzige bisher bekannte Exemplar 1906 in Irland gefunden wurde.’ When writing this Prof. Holthausen was, of course, ignorant of the Mostyn sale of June, 1907. On that occasion another and better copy of the original was acquired by Mr T. J. Wise. The fact is important, for the new copy not only determines a number of readings which are doubtful in the British Museum copy, but also presents certain actual variants. A full collation has been published in Part I of the Malone Society's *Collections*, but it may be worth while here to discuss the bearings of the new evidence upon the construction of a critical text.

The most important new point is the restoration of the line (755* of the numbering here adopted) cut away in the Museum copy. This reads:

remedi Thou canst play the knaue, and so ye can do all

which completes the sense and sets the speakers right. But there are a number of other passages in which the readings have to be modified. There is a case in l. 123, where the text as given by Prof. Holthausen reads:

As to bylde churches and make bye-wayes?
Such deedes mans soule doth saue.

In a note he remarks: 'Dass die Anlage von Nebenwegen als verdienstliches Werk galt, ist kulturhistorisch interessant. Gibt es hierfür weitere Belege?' But the new copy of the original shows that the reading should be not 'bye wayes' but 'hye wayes.' In l. 402 the editor has substituted 'sonck' for 'lonck,' and 'sonck' is now seen to be the true reading of the original. He has again inserted what is the true reading in l. 764, namely 'Mot' for 'Mor.'

There remain the cases in which the readings of the two copies of the original differ. In the great majority of cases the British Museum copy, though the worse printed, is the more correct. There are, however, a few cases in which that belonging to Mr Wise preserves a better reading. The only ones of any importance are 'at this' for 'att his' on the title-page, 'ic vell' for 'icvell' in l. 399, 'Wyll' for 'Wytte' in l. 368 (all obvious corrections already adopted by Prof. Holthausen), and lastly 'may say' for 'mayay' in l. 466, which substantiates the emendation proposed in the Malone Society reprint of the play (also adopted in the present edition).

A feature of the piece are the passages in very corrupt stage Dutch and Spanish. Reconstructions by Professors Bang and Brandin have appeared in the Malone Society's *Collections* already mentioned. Prof. Holthausen has also tackled the problem, and produced his own answer. This kind of conjecture forms an interesting, indeed rather a fascinating, game, but no sort of finality is conceivable in the results. This, of course, is no reflection on those that play at it, but belongs to the nature of the subject. How much the present editor has done for the elucidation of the text will be apparent to anyone who goes through his six closely printed pages of notes. In l. 424 'drouse' is taken to be 'throes'; a suggestion already made in *Notes and Queries* in July, 1907 (p. 73). In l. 8, 'kepe' for 'care,' and in some minor points Prof. Holthausen anticipates Mr Hunter's notes in the last number of this *Review*.

The introduction contains a general account of the piece, including a useful survey of the metrical form. Incidentally the editor points out that the statement on the title-page that 'Foure may easily play this Playe' is incorrect, since at one point Wealth, Health, Liberty, Will and Wit are all on the stage together. However, Prof. Holthausen would be the first to admit that much work remains to be done on this

play. Particularly its literary relations require to be studied. We know that the piece was in existence in 1557, for it was entered by Waley on the Stationers' Register soon after July 19 that year. It follows that the prayer for Elizabeth at the end (l. 943), which places the extant edition after Nov. 17, 1558, must be an insertion. This being so there is no reason why the mention of 'our soueraine Ladye the Queene' in l. 85, which would place the original text at the earliest in Mary's reign, should not also be a late addition. (Curiously enough in this passage 'Queene' rimes with 'at ene' = 'at one,' an expression not elsewhere recorded after 1400. Moreover in the previous line—'With all the counsel and all that with them bene'—it is hardly natural to make 'them' refer to 'counsel.' It almost looks as though the original had read 'King and Queen' in l. 85.) But one would hardly expect to find approving mention of the riches of ecclesiastics (l. 563), between the Reformation and Mary's accession, especially from a writer whose sympathies, as Prof. Holthausen points out, seem to be Catholic. The archaism of much of the language tempts one to throw back the date, while the deliberate modernization of such readings as that in l. 8 ('care' for 'kepe') suggests that the text was once a good deal more archaic than it now appears.

The question is of interest from its bearing upon a far more important problem. There is a very significant group of moralities, which make up by their inordinate individual length for the comparative scarcity of the type. I mean the political moralities. Three great examples have hitherto been known: Skelton's *Magnificence*, c. 1520; Sir David Lyndsay's *Satire of Three Estates*, 1540; and the anonymous *Respublica* of 1553. The shortest of these runs to some two thousand lines, the longest to between four and five thousand. To these must now be added *Wealth and Health*, which is happily under one thousand. But this is not all. Anyone who reads *Wealth and Health* and *Magnificence* together cannot help, I think, being struck by the fact of some evident but by no means easily determinable relation between the two. Liberty is a character in both plays, and I believe nowhere else; Felicity in *Magnificence* is hardly more than an alias of Wealth, as appears from the very first stanza. Moreover the second scene of Skelton's play is a contention between Felicity and Liberty, which strongly recalls that in *Wealth and Health*. There is also one curious little point that becomes suggestive when considered in this light. In *Magnificence* there suddenly occurs the puzzling remark: 'It was Flemying hyght Hansy.' There is nothing to lead up to it, and it leads to nothing, but anyone with the other play in mind will not fail to think of the drunken Fleming Hance¹. Did some later writer, making a popularized adaptation of Skelton's play, develop this mysterious hint into a comic and satiric part; or did Skelton take the suggestion for his spacious morality from an earlier and slighter piece, and preserve in this single allusion a

¹ I owe this point to Mr A. W. Pollard. Shortly after the publication of the Malone Society reprint of *Wealth and Health* we both happened to be reading *Magnificence* and were independently struck by the obvious connection between the two plays.

character he had rejected from the scheme of his work? This is a question which the historian of the drama will some day have to decide.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

The Partiall Law. A Tragi-Comedy (circa 1615-30). Edited by BERTRAM DOBELL. London: Published by the Editor, 1908. 4to. xix + 130 pp.

Mr Dobell is to be congratulated on this addition to his finds in seventeenth century literature. While by no means a great play, it is extremely well constructed in the exaggerated style of adventurous romance and is eminently readable. Preserved in a professional scribe's copy with a few presumably autograph corrections, it offers few clues of authorship. I am inclined to agree with the editor that it is not the work of any recognised dramatist, but rather of one of the courtly amateurs of Charles' reign. He was however a very able amateur. Granted that, the construction would be by no means beyond his powers, and itself perhaps suggests rather the care of the study than the more ready methods of the professional writers. The composition is by no means inept either as regards verse or style, though the author occasionally allows himself rather startling liberties in metre and grammar alike.

The plot has a resemblance to that of *Much Ado*, though whether the author was aware that he was using the same material as Shakespeare may be doubted. His direct source seems to be the Ariodante and Ginevra episode in the fifth canto of the *Orlando Furioso*. On the other hand, as Mr Dobell points out, there is pretty clear evidence of familiarity with *Pericles* and possibly *As You Like It*. There also occur a few Shakespearian phrases, but these may have already been current.

The text stands in need of a little editing. I, ii is really a continuation of I, i; the speakers do not leave the stage—possibly a case of 'dramatic enjambement' by means of the traverse. III, iii and IV, v should each be split up into two scenes. There is some difficulty as to the three country-women; are they the same throughout? P. 6, l. 23, 'be your secret' should read 'be you secret'; p. 62, l. 7, 'And with him send' should be 'And will him send.' P. 85, ll. 15-6 are from Guarini, 'Molti averne, uno goderne, e cangiar spesso.' P. 111, l. 28, s. d. 'pluckes out' is probably a mere slip for 'pluckes off.' Some of the notes require reconsideration. P. 98, ll. 13-4:

If none should take her cause in hand, I
Would have had been the man my selfe.

Bad verse and bad grammar. Mr Dobell proposes:

If none should take her cause in hand, I would
Have been the man my selfe.

With any ordinary author one would have thought the emendation certain. Compare, however, p. 106, l. 4:

I should not have had given so true a test;

and p. 114, l. 13:

Might have had struck me dead;

while for the metre compare such a passage as (p. 84, ll. 7-8):

what colour'd gowne
Her Grace puts on to day, what knots
What fashion'd ruffe: he lowly cringes,
Kisses her glove, &c.

Again, p. 115, l. 20, 'guiderdon' = guerdon. There need be no difficulty about this, it is simply the Italian 'guiderdone.' There is a misprint on p. xviii. In line 3 of note 'Act III' should be 'Act IV.'

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

Biographia Literaria. By S. T. COLERIDGE. Edited with his Aesthetical Essays by J. SHAWCROSS. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. 8vo. xcvii + 272 and 334 pp.

Coleridge's Literary Criticism. With an Introduction by J. W. MACKAIL. London: Henry Frowde, 1908. 8vo. xx + 266 pp.

The Indebtedness of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to August Wilhelm von Schlegel. By ANNA A. HELMHOLTZ, University of Wisconsin. Thesis. (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 163: Philology and Literature Series, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 273-370.) Madison, Wisconsin, 1907. 8vo. 98 pp.

The renaissance of Coleridge is now assured, after a phase of ill-informed pity or mistrust which was chiefly due to his broken life and to the miscarriage of his big speculative system. But the absence, in the cultivated as distinct from the studious part of English society, of any true loyalty to knowledge and inquiry, is painfully seen in the power of jokes and caricatures to delay, though not for ever, the recognition of a spirit like Coleridge. Two men of letters helped to mislead public opinion. Carlyle's famed portrait in the *Life of Sterling* of Coleridge on Highgate Hill did harm, because there is no such portrait (if we except Hazlitt's) of Coleridge in the hour of his first prophetic radiance to hang beside it for corrective. Carlyle coarsely dismissed him as a weak, sensual, and futile personage, as the *Conversations* with Sir C. Gavan Duffy prove; and Matthew Arnold jauntily dismissed him as 'poet and philosopher, wrecked in a mist of opium.' But these critics, each a professional moralist in his own line, and each incapable of forming or even of valuing a clear philosophical conception, were really themselves fogged by the mist of Coleridge's opium. He,

with his flawed nature and frustrate schemes, was at his best a greater artist, and was throughout a deeper and more permanently inspiring critic, than either Arnold or Carlyle. To draw out fully what he achieved as a writer, and what mental forces, still at play, he quickened as a thinker, is a task so far unperformed, requiring subtlety and patience and no small measure of philosophic and literary sense. For such a work the labours of the last fifteen years furnish precious and needful material. The late Mr Dykes Campbell's memoir and edition of the poems stand fast; their exhaustive and detective scholarship will not soon be matched. Coleridge's *Letters*, and the fragments of talk and writing published as *Anima Poetae*, have been faithfully edited by his grandson, Mr Ernest Hartley Coleridge, and both works are indispensable documents. We owe to the same pious skill a definitive edition of *Christabel*. Many are the polite essayists and selectors; but to the names of these two *presenters*, to use the old term, of Coleridge, is now to be added that of Mr Shawcross, the editor of *Biographia Literaria* and the expounder of Coleridge's philosophy of art. His notes and elucidations are worthy, it is no extravagance to say, of Pattison or of the good Shakespearian commentators. He is patient and cautious in exegesis and has the philosophic mind: and he is so well seen in the lore surrounding Coleridge and Wordsworth, as well as in their actual writings, that our one regret is his omission to give us more purely literary comment of his own. His notes show him qualified to do so. He has acutely pointed out, for example, how Coleridge mistakenly saddled Wordsworth with an objection to poetic style in itself, while Wordsworth only contended for a community of *vocabulary* between poetry and prose. And the editorial note on *The Thorn*, a poem which Wordsworth altered after his friend's objections were known to him, may be cited as a further example. Coleridge had said that 'in a poem, still more in a lyric poem...it is not possible to imitate truly a dull and garrulous discourses, without repeating the effects of dullness and garrulity.' The note runs:

'Coleridge here fails to take into consideration (what a careful perusal of Wordsworth's introductory note to *The Thorn* must have made clear to him) Wordsworth's real object in the poem. This was to represent the facts as they actually appeared to the mariner (a man with a "reasonable share of imagination"), and as he would have actually portrayed them. But Wordsworth's dramatic gift was not great enough to enable him to do this successfully, and the fact that the prosaic lines, to which Coleridge alludes, are felt as prosaic, is due to the inability of Wordsworth really to transport himself into the state of mind which he wishes to represent. For the consequence is that in the dull lines we see the prosaic mariner, and in the fine lines the imaginative poet, and do not accept them in their unity, as characteristic of the particular mood and temperament from which they are supposed to emanate. Wordsworth would not therefore have mended matters by substituting a more poetical language in these passages' (Vol. II, pp. 274-5).

The chief original labours of Mr Shawcross are on the philosophic side. It is well known how Coleridge characteristically worked backwards in composing the *Biographia*. He planned a collection of his poems; the preface grew into a 'Sketch of my Literary Life and Opinions'—especially opinions concerning the principles of poetry. But behind this poetic lay a psychology, and behind this again a metaphysic, which Coleridge was tempted on to expound. The preface thus became a book, or rather a medley, of anecdote, philosophy, and criticism. And the link between the psychology and the criticism lay in the grand distinction between 'Fancy and Imagination.' To unfold this involved a commentary on the whole Associational theory of Hartley, through which Coleridge had worked his way. It is this abstruse but vital distinction that Mr Shawcross has explained so well, in a style somewhat severe and slow-moving, but serried and lucid nevertheless. He is well versed in the German philosophers Kant, Schelling and Maass, from whom Coleridge drew or with whom he coincided independently; and his elaborate statement of that coincidence, and of the growth of the theory of Imagination, throws a fresh light upon the devious process, half intellectual and half emotional, of Coleridge's thought. The statement, indeed, is more coherent than anything in Coleridge, and must be regarded rather as bringing his views into more light than he himself vouchsafed, or perhaps possessed, than as merely a digest. The contradictions and ragged edges of the theory—as, for example, where the relationship of beauty and artistic pleasure is discussed, and where it is not clear which is the end and which is the means—are excellently brought out. So, too, is the difference between 'the imagination as universally active in consciousness (creative in that it externalises the world of objects by opposing it to the self) and the same faculty, in a heightened power, as creative in a poetic sense' (Vol. I, p. lxvii); and the further distinction between Imagination, as Coleridge, starting from Richter and other Germans, conceived it, and Fancy, is made plainer. 'Fancy is, in fact, the faculty of mere images or impressions, as imagination is the faculty of intuitions. It is in this sense that Coleridge sees in their opposition an emblem of the wider contrast between the mechanical philosophy and the dynamic, the false and the true' (Vol. I, p. lxviii).

The debt of Coleridge to Schelling is a vexed matter, but Mr Shawcross pronounces carefully upon it. He thinks that Coleridge is not 'guilty either of insincerity or of self-deception when he declares that the similarity of his philosophical standpoint to that of Schelling is a matter of coincidence'; that he regarded truth, at the same time, as common property; and that he still 'was willing enough to concede to Schelling the general credit of the ideas which they shared' (Vol. I, p. 244). His mind, we may say, worked in the sphere of philosophy much as that of Milton or Tennyson worked in the sphere of poetry—adopting, adapting, transforming, and so virtually originating. The distinction between fancy and imagination probably owes its value less to psychological precision—for after all fancy is only a low power and a

crude working, even on Coleridge's showing, of imagination,—than to the way in which Coleridge made it a type of the chasm between the mechanical and the dynamic or spiritual points of view generally, and to the insight with which he applied it to the poets themselves. His analysis and vindication both of Wordsworth and Shakespeare are the most determined and successful efforts, it may be, in the English language to find a ground and reason for our immediate aesthetic instinct which greets those poets, at their highest, as among the highest: and both analysis and vindication hinge on the theory of imagination. Nor could there be any surer refutation, by the way, of the temper which makes the judgment of poetry as purely subjective and personal as the taste for vintages, and which rules out any philosophical groundwork, or 'poetic,' just beyond the arbitrary point where the reasoning outstrips the brains of the critic himself. The example of Coleridge shows that there need be no real break in the long chain between metaphysics and appreciation. This truth is disguised by the fact that there are so few persons able to deal with both, and that it is common to deal capably with the one and not with the other. Coleridge is so great, because he can deal, instinctively and consummately, with both; because the metaphysician in him forecasts, and justifies, and remembers the poet, while the poet is too sure of his art to let his metaphysics clog it. Among Mr Shawcross's services will be counted the reprinting, with due and subtle comment, of Coleridge's four kindred fragments, *On the Principles of Genial Criticism*, *An Essay on Taste*, *An Essay on Beauty*, and *On Poesy or Art*. The last of these touches and flashes light upon almost every great issue of aesthetic discussion—the nature of artistic pleasure, the demarcation between the various arts, and the Kantian conception, which Coleridge took with a gloss of his own, of Beauty as the source of 'disinterested,' that is of undesiring, pleasure.

There is still room for a *corpus* of Coleridge's utterances on art and its principles and of his sayings on books and their writers; and this *corpus*, for which the materials are very scattered, should certainly be made. It would contain, besides the material used by Mr Shawcross, Coleridge's lectures on literature (almost all reported, and only approximately in his own words), and also the remarks thereon in his letters, table talk, notes, and numerous MS. *marginalia*. Only from these broken lines and isolated points of light should we realise the wide curve in which his intellect projected itself—both extensively, in point of actual reading and assimilation, and intensively, in point of insight and power. The anthology published by Mr Henry Frowde is excellent within its limits of space, and is well arranged by its unnamed editor, who wisely 'sacrifices all idea of balance to the preservation of a scheme of development.' There are, first of all, passages on the principles of poetry—these are too scanty; then the chapters on Wordsworth; passages and sayings, often very brief, on other authors, chiefly English; and longer ones (the most valuable, if not all that are of value) on Shakespeare and the 'Elizabethan' dramatists. We find,

however, but a scrap of the lecture (*Lit. Remains*, Vol. I, pp. 230 ff.) on the evolution of English prose, which is justly singled out by Prof. Saintsbury in his *History of Criticism* (Vol. III, p. 227), and which is a wonderful little map, or rather balloon view, of a territory never explored before and never fully explored since—as Prof. Saintsbury, who has done so much expert and careful surveying of the same territory, would be, we think, the first to admit. The Introduction by Prof. J. W. Mackail is half-satisfying. He repeats, aptly enough and in his own way, what has been said before in an essay of real power by Oscar Wilde;—that ‘the critical faculty as applied to the masterpieces of literature, and still more the critical faculty as applied to the art of literature itself, is akin to the creative faculty of the artist....A sharp line can be drawn between the artist and critic where they work in different material, as in the criticism of painting, or of music. No such line can be drawn in literary criticism; for the critic works in the same material, and his criticism, so far as it is vital...is also a work of art. Criticism of literature is literature.’ This is very well; and the remarks that follow on the fragmentary and unequal character of Coleridge’s judgments are equally true, indeed are self-evident. But much of the Introduction seems an attempt to slight the poetic theory, that is, the general philosophic groundwork, of Coleridge, while praising many of those particular opinions, in which ‘he abandons himself,’ as Mr Mackail happily puts it, ‘to his own poetical sensitiveness, and his unequalled power of making language a vehicle of emotion.’ Such is the casual sentence on *Romeo and Juliet*: ‘It is a spring day, gusty and beautiful in the morn, and closing like an April evening with the song of the nightingale.’ All that Mr Mackail says in this sense, on the worth and beauty of Coleridge’s personal impressions of art, and of the words that he finds for them, is sound and felicitous. Nearly all he says on the weakness of Coleridge as an expounder of poetic is less sound, and the antidote is the study of Mr Shawcross’s preface, which, as the editor’s note on p. xx of this selection shows, came out before the selection was made. The strictures of the connoisseur cannot stand, nay they fall down into fragments, before the steady exposition of the student who has really shown us the way through the documents and has felt and brought out the suggestiveness of Coleridge’s central conception.

‘His general ideas (says Mr Mackail) are nebulous; he becomes intoxicated with his own rhetoric and dialectic, and seems now and then talking (as, in fact, he often did) as one in a dream, under the effect of some opiate which invested all things in iridescent haze’ (p. xii).

Yes, there are turbid passages ‘now and then.’ But the ‘general ideas’ are not ‘nebulous’ if we are at the pains to study them. They are elusive and intricate, which is a different thing; and they issue from a metaphysic which we may or may not accept, but which we must not call ‘a quasi-philosophical system’ unless we can show it is nothing better. Later, Mr Mackail slights Coleridge because ‘he believed himself to have found a central point’ in critical theory;

while 'no such point exists,' because 'the history of criticism is one of perpetual progress,' and 'thus it is that all criticism necessarily becomes obsolete.' But it does not become so until you have superseded it; and you cannot supersede it simply by saying it is 'quasi-philosophical.' In point of fact, if we exclude Hegel's mighty attempt at a synthesis in his *Aesthetik*, and the narrower but piercing observations of Schopenhauer, it may be hard to find a philosophy of poetry which is newer and also better than Coleridge's; and in England there has assuredly been none. Moreover, to rule out 'poetic' as a fertile field of thought, just because it is progressive, is not Mr Mackail's intention; it is fertile, as he hints, because progressive; and that the progress is not so rapid as to make the study useless, may be seen by remembering how little time has wrecked some of the famous definitions of Aristotle—those, for instance, of tragedy, of the comic, and of the rhythm of prose. It is, lastly, dubious to say of Coleridge that 'in his theorizing he is...justifying impressions already made, habits of appreciation already formed' (p. vii). The truer account might be that his reasoning and sensibility worked together when he appreciated, just as they did when he created, poetry; and his theories not only increased the width and precision of his judgments, but themselves shaped and enriched the 'inusal and expressive language,' which, as Gibbon says of Greek, 'gave a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy.' I have been thus particular, because Mr Frowde's volume aims at the cultivated reader, and the professor's preface ought not to cut off in advance a main source of the reader's mental enlargement.

The graduation thesis of Miss Helmholtz handles, in the dry, useful, business-like way of many American treatises, a long-vexed question. A. W. von Schlegel gave his *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* in Vienna in 1808, and published them a few years later—before 1812. Coleridge also lectured in 1808 at the Royal Institution, but only scanty reports remain. He lectured on the drama in 1812, and in the middle of his course seems to have read Schlegel for the first time. Next season, and again in 1818, he continued lecturing on the drama. From the course of 1812 onwards the likenesses of his thoughts and phrases with those of Schlegel become more and more striking. Yet he asseverated all his life that to Schlegel he owed nothing, and that the likenesses were only coincidence. Sara, Coleridge's daughter, accepts this view while pointing out some of the likenesses, which have been often vaguely referred to by critics. Miss Helmholtz prints them at length, and now we can judge. There is no doubt that Coleridge, above all when discussing Greek drama, often translated Schlegel nearly *verbatim*, and never said, and probably never remembered, that he had done so. The passage (p. 317) comparing the work of the artificial poet to the broken flower-stems stuck in a child's garden, and the distinction (pp. 322-3) between ancient comedy and tragedy, are striking instances, and there are many more where it is clear that Coleridge would have spoken otherwise had not Schlegel been before him. Mr Shawcross, though Miss Helmholtz's thesis is not named by him

(and probably could not have reached him in time) is abreast of this conclusion (Vol. I, p. 213). But we all knew before that Coleridge's evidence on such a point is suspect, and that he took a highly impersonal view of mental copyright, like Guido dalle Colonne and Spenser before him and indeed the whole of the middle ages. The real inference is twofold. First, Schlegel's lectures were but one affluent of that stream of German thought with which Coleridge irrigated English thought. Schelling, and Schiller, and Lessing contributed likewise, as Dr Herford points out in a pregnant passage (pp. 84-7) of his *Age of Wordsworth*, and as Dr Alois Brandl also made clear in his book on Coleridge. Secondly, Coleridge coloured, and deepened, and ennobled what he took, adding poetry and psychology of his own. The parallels with Schlegel often prove Coleridge's supremacy as a critic—the blunter thinking and more formal rhetoric of the German becoming subtilised and eloquent, and only serving as a point of departure. The descriptions of the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* (Helmholtz, p. 307) and of the play itself (p. 320) are examples, and their beauty and sagacity make them too well-known to quote here.

In saying that Matthew Arnold 'jauntily dismissed Coleridge,' I did not forget an earlier tribute, in the essay on Joubert, to Coleridge's 'continual instinctive effort, crowned often with rich success, to get at and to lay bare the real truth of his matter in hand.' But Arnold also cries out: 'How little either of his poetry, or of his criticism, or of his philosophy, can we expect permanently to stand!' This was said in 1865; yet we see that Coleridge's criticism has outworn forty years since then, and is still vital.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

Beiträge und Studien zur Englischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte.

Von J. SCHIPPER. Wien und Leipzig: C. W. Stern. 1908. 8vo. viii + 371 pp.

In this volume Professor Schipper of Vienna has collected a number of papers of a somewhat popular kind, all of which with one exception had been published before in journals or newspapers. The book is divided into two sections, 'Kulturhistorisches' and 'Literarhistorisches.'

The first section opens with an account of the civilization of the Anglo-Saxons, in which Professor Schipper points out certain features which are no less characteristic of the England of to-day. The next paper treats of Oxford and Cambridge, and has been brought up to date, as it twice mentions the large bequest which has lately been made to Trinity College, Cambridge. The bequest however is attributed to Lady Pearce instead of her husband and the sum is given as £400,000. It has lately been stated that it is of about half that amount. Professor Schipper falls into error here and there by treating the two Universities together and applying terms to both such as 'Convocation' and 'Congregation' which are not applicable at any rate to Cambridge in the

sense which he gives them. In his general treatment he is fair-minded and sympathetic. While claiming for German Universities that they do more for the spiritual emancipation of the student, and for systematised research, he admits that in the latter respect Oxford and Cambridge have made great advances of late years and are still moving in the right direction. He envies us the help that our Universities receive from the private benefactor. In a note on p. 28 which purports to give a list of the Universities of England I must point out the omission of Durham, and, 'as in private duty bound,' Sheffield.

The other papers in this section are little more than newspaper articles. They deal with the Tercentenary Celebrations of Edinburgh University and Trinity College, Dublin, the Quatercentenary of Aberdeen University and the British Museum Reading Room. Professor Schipper is wrong in stating (p. 112) that the ceremony of conferring degrees is the same in all British Universities. 'Capping' is unknown to Oxford and Cambridge, at any rate. He has elevated Mr Balfour to the peerage, 'der frühere Ministerpräsident Lord Balfour' (p. 113). I regret to say that the British Museum Reading Room now closes at 7 (practically at 6.45), not at 8 as Professor Schipper informs his readers (p. 126). Or is Professor Schipper specially favoured? One might think so from his statement that he gets his books from 5 to 10 minutes after they are ordered. But his testimony to the good management of the great institution to which so many of us owe so much is pleasant to read and will be widely echoed.

The second section of the book contains papers on *The Freiris of Berwick* (with a vigorous original translation of the poem into German). the wearisome Shakespeare-Bacon controversy, the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare as revised lately by Conrad, Professor Raleigh's *Shakespeare*, Burns, Charles Wolfe, and 'Lord Byron und die Frauen.'

Professor Schipper gives Conrad the praise he deserves for his translations of passages of Shakespeare which were misunderstood by his predecessors. One passage which he selects for praise (*Lear* II, 1, 23) seems to me however still a mistranslation:

Have you nothing said
Upon his party 'gainst the duke of Albany?

which Conrad turns:

Habt ihr nichts gesagt
Von seiner Rüstung gegen Albaniens Herzog?

But Shakespeare means, not 'Have you nothing said *about his party*,' but 'Have you said nothing *on his side, in his interest*, against....' Professor Schipper naturally rejects the interpretation of 'the mobled queen' which he attributes to Conrad, viz., 'the queen led by the mob.' He does not point out however that the word 'mob' is not known to Elizabethan English.

Professor Schipper has a generous appreciation of Professor Raleigh's brilliantly written *Shakespeare*: 'Wir kennen kein anderes ähnliches Werk, in welchem der Verfasser seinem Gegenstande mit einer solchen

warmen Sympathie des Herzens und dennoch mit einer solchen Selbstständigkeit des Urteils und des Verständnisses gegenübersteht. Auch wird es nicht leicht von einem anderen Buch verwandten Inhalts an Reichtum eigener Gedanken, an Klarheit und zugleich an Originalität des Ausdrucks übertroffen werden.' He holds, however, that it does not replace the works of Sidney Lee and Dowden, and like them shows too little acquaintance with the results of German investigation.

No one yields to myself in admiration of Sir John Moore or in gratitude to Charles Wolfe for the lyric which will keep Moore's name a household word to all time. I think however that Professor Schipper a little exaggerates the artistic perfection of Wolfe's moving lines.

In the concluding paper on Lord Byron, Professor Schipper maintains the time-worn position of continental critics that Byron is 'the greatest English poet of modern times,' though, as he says elsewhere (p. 102), it is thought 'good tone' in England at present to depreciate Byron and Moore in favour of more didactic poets such as Wordsworth and Browning. Is he aware of Swinburne's comparison of the poetic merits of Byron and Wordsworth? or does he attribute that either to a worship of 'good tone' or to a love for the didactic element in poetry?—or again to an hypocritical morality, which is always invoked by the continental critic, as by Professor Schipper himself (p. 355) when he deals with the attitude of Englishmen towards Byron? Surely when we are so constantly told by Germans that we do not take sufficient notice of German work, we may expect German Professors of English to be acquainted with the best English criticism of English poets and to pay some respect to it. It cannot surely be that 'the fine flower of poetry,' as we know it and feel it, is something impervious to German spectacles?

With regard to the exhibition of 'hypocritical morality' which followed Byron's parting from his wife—'die pharisäische Tugendheuchelei, leider noch immer eine der verbreitetsten und unerfreulichsten Erscheinungen in England'—(is every difference in moral standard to be called hypocritical?) Professor Schipper falls into a curious error. 'In den Zeitschriften, wie z. B. in der *Saturday Review* und im *Spectator*, wurde Byron aufs heftigste angegriffen.' The explanation of this strange antedating of our two weeklies is perhaps to be found in the following sentence in Nichols' *Byron* (*English Men of Letters Series*), p. 101: 'Cottle, Cato, Oxoniensis, Delia, and Styles, were let loose, and they anticipated the *Saturday* and *Spectator* of 1869 (i.e., of course, of the time of the Beecher-Stowe revelations).' English condemnation of much of Byron's life and conduct may be due, not, I think, to hypocrisy, but to a certain moral narrowness; but its dislike of his manner of appealing to the sympathies of the public against his wife is due I suppose to the English feeling of what constitutes a gentleman, and one might wish that a similar feeling was also observable in foreign critics. When Byron is in question, it appears generally to be absent.

As will have been seen, Professor Schipper's book is intended for the German reader, and does not contain much that is very valuable or fresh for ourselves, though one recognizes in most of it a fairminded appreci-

ation of the land in which the author has often been an honoured guest and of the literature to which he has devoted his life. The rather ordinary character of these papers is not however redeemed by any brilliance or distinction of style, and there are a terrible number of uncorrected misprints.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

Untersuchungen über die mittelhochdeutsche Dichtung vom Grafen Rudolf.

Von JOHANNES BETHMANN. (Palaestra, XXX.) Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1904. 8vo. viii + 170 pp.

Die Bruchstücke des *Grafen Rudolf* haben seit ihrer Veröffentlichung durch W. Grimm (1828 und 1844) mit gutem Recht wiederholt die Aufmerksamkeit der Gelehrtenwelt auf sich gelenkt. Der historische Hintergrund, auf den schon der erste Herausgeber grossen Nachdruck legte, nicht weniger die unlängbaren Beziehungen zu altfranzösischer aber auch deutscher Dichtung forderten lebhaftes Interesse heraus; zudem genügte der erhaltene Rest für die bedeutsame Erkenntnis, dass es sich hier ebenso wenig um ein grobkörniges Spielmannsgedicht handle als von dick aufgetragenem oder aufdringlichem geistlichen Firnis die Rede sein könne: blickte aber aus dem Werkchen ein Mann ritterlichen Standes hervor, so verdiente es ob seines Alters schon aus diesem Grund hervorragende literarische Beachtung. Wieder ein anderes Problem, dessen Lösung Grimm noch nicht vollständig gelungen war, bildete eine durchaus befriedigende Anordnung der Fragmente, wieder ein anderes die Ermittlung der Heimat des Dichters.

Mit der Heimatfrage hebt Bethmanns Arbeit an. Als Resultat—und hierin weicht er von seinen Vorgängern (S. 4) ab—ergibt sich ihm Lokalisierung der Handschrift in Thüringen zwischen Werra und Saale (S. 50), des Dichters hingegen in Hessen innerhalb oder doch nicht weit von einem Gebiete, dessen Grenzen S. 37 gezeichnet werden. Sicherheit scheint mir die eindringliche, besonders auf moderne Mundarten wie die Hersfelder, gestützte Untersuchung gleichwohl nicht erzielt zu haben, schon deswegen nicht, weil es gewagt erscheint bei der immerhin nicht kleinen Zahl *unbedingt* unreiner Reime andere, die es auch sein könnten, in den engen Bereich eines bestimmten, natürlich des hessischen Dialekts zu pressen, und weil dennoch Bindungen übrig bleiben, die zu jener Mundart nicht recht passen wollen. Man vergleiche die Ausführungen Bethmanns zu Reimen wie *behalt : golt* (S. 7f.); *mochte : dächte* und *virsdächte* (S. 12); zu den für die frühe Zeit besonders auffälligen Reimen von *s : z* (S. 20); zu *maht : craft*, u.s.w. (S. 26); zu den -â-Formen der Verba *stân* und *gân* (S. 35), um die Gezwungenheit der Beurteilung zu merken. In Hinblick auf solche Bindungen dürfte E. Schröder zu der allerdings wohl auch nicht streng beweisbaren, aber ebensowenig von Bethmann widerlegten Ansicht gekommen sein, der Verfasser sei ein 'hochdeutsch dichtender Niederdeutscher.' Tüchtige, eindringende Arbeit, freilich

m. E. auf unzuverlässigerem Boden aufgebaut als der Verfasser meint, verrät auch das anschliessende, ausführliche Kapitel über die Metrik, mit den besonders dankenswerten Abschnitten über die Hebungen, stärker gefüllte und fehlende Senkungen; auffällig ist aber das Zurückschrecken vor der Annahme gelegentlicher dreihebig stumpfer und vierhebig klingender Verse in der Bindung mit dreihebig klingenden, vgl. S. 61 unter b, S. 72 f. Die üblichen Gewaltkuren verschaffen dem Emendator grössere Befriedigung als sie den Schaden—wenn es wirklich ein solcher ist—sicher heilen. Die übrigen Kapitel sind den Quellen der Dichtung—literarischen und historischen—dem Stil und der Persönlichkeit des deutschen Dichters gewidmet. Mit Holz (Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, xviii, S. 565 f.) ordnet Bethmann die Bruchstücke in der Folge $\beta \alpha B \delta C D \gamma A E$ —K, doch versucht er über ihn hinaus und gegen Grimm eine einleuchtende Ergänzung des zweiten und dritten Verses von γ (*mohtes tu daz irer[igen und] sine hōgezit beliben*, S. 79 und Anmerkung, 1, S. 80) und identifiziert, gewiss mit Recht, den Herrn von Flandern in A mit dem Grafen Rudolf. Die Gleichstellung Apollinaris mit des Heiden Sohn (S. 82 doch auch S. 84) möge dagegen auf sich beruhen. Sein Urteil über das Verhältnis des deutschen Gedichtes zum *Beuve de Hanstone* fasst Bethmann S. 101 dahin zusammen, dass die im *Grafen Rudolf* vorliegende Fassung der Sage im wesentlichen Eigentum des deutschen Dichters sei, der den Stoff, welchen er aus Erzählungen und Lektüre kennen gelernt habe, aus dem Gedächtnis verwandte und der Erzählung als Hintergrund die Ereignisse der Kreuzzüge gab. Gesteht also Bethmann hier grösstmögliche Freiheit einer französischen Vorlage gegenüber zu, so will er anderseits die von Sybel (*Zeitschrift für deut. Altert.*, II, S. 235) als historischen Hintergrund gekennzeichnete Geschichte des Grafen Hugo von Puiset nicht als solchen gelten lassen, weil die Übereinstimmungen nicht weit genug giengen; der Dichter habe überhaupt nicht eine bestimmte Persönlichkeit vor Augen gehabt, vielmehr einzelne wirklichen Kreuzfahrern entlehnte Züge auf seinen Helden übertragen und unter diesen käme besonders Graf Dietrich von Flandern in Betracht. Allein was Bethmann dafür (S. 108–11) beibringt, scheint mir wenig glücklich. Für mein Gefühl bleibt es das wahrscheinlichste, dass der deutsche Dichter einer in Nordfrankreich oder in Flandern selbst entstandenen französischen Quelle in allem wesentlichen folgte, einer Vorlage, die Züge aus dem Leben Hugos von Puiset mit sagenhaften, wie sie zum Teil im *Beuve de Hanstone* auftreten, kombiniert hatte. War der französische Dichter in Flandern zuhause, so konnte schon er den Kaiser hereingebracht haben; dass er seinen Helden aus Arras stammen lässt, ist doch kein Ausschlag gebender Gegengrund wie Bethmann S. 101 f. meint. Ausgeführt mag der Deutsche diese Beziehung auf das kaiserliche Hofceremoniell immerhin haben, und das um so wahrscheinlicher wenn Bethmanns Vermutung über seine Beziehungen zu den thüringischen Landgrafen das Richtige trifft. Indem Bethmann schliesslich den Beziehungen des *Grafen Rudolf* zu anderen deutschen Dichtungen nachgeht, gelangt er zu der chronologischen Reihe:

Vorauer *Alexander*, Eilharts *Tristrant*, Strassburger *Alexander*, Graf *Rudolf*. Für die Priorität des *Tristrant* kann er jedoch nur Erwägungen, die in der Technik begründet sind, ins Feld führen, und das bleibt immer eine missliche Sache, wo man, wie hier, von der natürlichen Begabung, poetischen Schulung und literarischen Beeinflussung der betreffenden Dichter so wenig sicheres weiss. Jedenfalls sind die auf das umgekehrte Verhältnis deutenden Ausführungen E. Schröders (*Zeitschrift für deut. Altert.*, XLII, S. 78 f., 196) auf festerem Boden aufgebaut.

R. PRIEB SCH.

LONDON.

MINOR NOTICES.

The attractive 'Tudor and Stuart Library' published by the Oxford University Press already contains a number of useful texts, and gains not a little by the inclusion of this handy edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and *A Lover's Complaint* (with an Introduction by W. H. Hadow. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907). It stands the test of collation with the original in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, all departures therefrom being recorded in the notes. The plan has been to make no alteration except in cases of absolute necessity, and this rule appears to have been scrupulously observed. It may, however, be questioned whether, in spite of the undoubted fact that the original 'is not a particularly good specimen of the printing of the period,' it would not have been worth while making the text a facsimile reprint. Such an edition would probably have been welcome to many students who cannot afford the photographic facsimile published some years ago. However, little harm has been done by the changes, which certainly result in greater typographical amenity. The introduction contains a moderate advocacy of the dramatic-autobiographic view and the Pembroke-Fitton theory. It is pleasantly written but makes no claim to originality. In enumerating the instances of the sonnet form being used in the plays, the meeting of Romeo and Juliet (I, v, 95 &c.) might have been added. On p. xvi we find 'solve' in the last line of Son. LXIX, while the text reads 'soyle' (rightly). A note on the reading of the quarto ('solye') says: 'The usual reading is *solve*; but *soyle*... is the simpler change.' Here 'solve' was introduced by Malone; but 'soyle,' the reading of the Poems of 1640 adopted by Capell, is surely now universally accepted.

W. W. G.

An edition of the works of Gascoigne (*The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*. Vol. I. *The Posies*. Edited by John W. Cunliffe. Cambridge: University Press, 1907) is a very welcome item in the series

of 'Cambridge English Classics.' In this volume Professor Cunliffe reprints *The Posies* from the second quarto of 1575. He gives no Introduction but describes the early editions of *The Posies* in an Appendix and goes on to give a careful collation of the text he has chosen with the texts of Quarto 1 (1573) and Quarto 3 (1587) and in the case of *Jocasta* with a MS. now in the British Museum, formerly the property of Roger, second Baron North. He adds some poems which appeared in Quarto 1 but were omitted from the later quartos. Professor Cunliffe's work appears to be very careful and his edition ought to do much for the reputation of a poet who has not hitherto attained his deserts. In his 'verse-letters' and in a few lyrics such as *The Lullabye* Gascoigne is surely an excellent writer.

G. C. M. S.

The comparative method in literary criticism has its dangers as well as its fascinations; it has led M. Guillaume Huszár (*Études critiques de la littérature comparée. II. Molière et l'Espagne*. Paris: H. Champion, 1907) into an enchanted land where fancy riots and common-sense is unknown. He sets out with two theses, which he proves to his complete satisfaction; one that Molière has been greatly overrated, and the other that his debt to Spain is very considerable. M. Huszár, who is very contemptuous towards critics who are ignorant of the Spanish drama, sees Spain everywhere. Arnolphe and Chryste are Spaniards; so is Alceste. Mascarille in *L'Étourdi*, and Sganarelle in *Don Juan*, are *graciosos*. In *Don Juan* the unities are neglected, therefore it is Spanish. In the *Dépit Amoureux* Molière deals with the psychology of love, therefore it is Spanish. The *précieuses* are Spanish. '*Tartuffe* comes also from Spain.' In short, there is not a single play of Molière's which does not owe something to Spain. For the purposes of M. Huszár's argument it is all the same whether Molière borrows directly from a Spanish play, or indirectly through Scarron or the Italian Comedy. It is a pity that M. Huszár has not added to his wide reading of the Spanish drama some knowledge of Italian comedy and of the social conditions of Molière's day. He would then have hardly come to the conclusion that Molière saw nature through books, nor would he have failed to perceive the great gap which separates the creator of modern social comedy from Scarron and Desmarests and even from Corneille. M. Huszár's conclusion is that much of Molière's work is obsolete, and that his characters are all of a piece, exaggerated, and therefore improbable. These are harmless opinions, and will hurt nobody, least of all Molière.

A. T.

Dr James Williams has in his *Dante as a Jurist* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1906) collected all the juridical references in Dante's works. The first 29 pp. are occupied (after a short but learned Introduction) with the *Divina Commedia*, where the matter is classified as follows: (1) Bologna, (2) Lawyers, (3) Legal terms, (4) Legal arguments, (5) Penology. Then

follows a section on the Prose Works, most space being given to the *De Monarchia* which, as the writer says, is 'permeated with law.' There is an interesting appendix on *Duo Gladii*, a short bibliography and a classified Index. The little book breaks new ground, and does it effectively. Such a subject leaves no room for eloquence, nor does it give much scope for style. To the lay mind it must necessarily appear somewhat dry; occasionally also a little far-fetched, as, e.g., when it is suggested that Bologna is called in the second Eclogue *antrum Cyclopiis* 'possibly because a zealous advocate is apt to approach his case with one eye shut' (!).

L. R.

Translation from English in its earlier stages is a task which is seldom satisfactorily accomplished. Old English alliterative poetry is perhaps the most difficult of all, but it is close run by the poetry of the North-west-midland school. It is a real pleasure to find in Dr Charles G. Osgood's prose rendering of the most beautiful of all Middle English poems, *The Pearl* (Princeton, N.Y.: published by the translator, 1907), a translation which can be read with pleasure for its own sake, while sacrificing none of the intimate charm of the original. Dr Osgood has successfully avoided the various pitfalls which await the translator from Old and Middle English. There is none of that straining after archaism which even to the initiated often makes renderings from the earlier Teutonic tongues more difficult than the original poems themselves. Neither is there any jarring modern note, when a single word often spoils the effect of a whole paragraph or stanza. The translation is never more archaic than the language of the Authorised Version and never so modern as to cause us to forget that the whole setting and trend of thought in the poem belong to an age that is past. Only the scholar can appreciate the labour of love that must have gone to the making of such a translation, but we may hope that through it the larger world may learn to know and love more than they have yet had any chance of doing this 'pearl' of poetry. Perhaps it may be added that the format of the book is well worthy of its choice contents.

A. M.

The Gyldendalske Boghandel in Copenhagen, which in the past years has earned the gratitude of all students of modern and especially recent Danish literature by its admirable *Bibliothek for Hjemmet*, has just issued the first volume of a new series, *Mindesmærker af Danmarks Nationallitteratur*, udgivne af Vilhelm Andersen, the volume being devoted to selections from the writings of Søren Kierkegaard under the editorship of Carl Koch. It is proposed to include in the series annotated editions of Holberg, Oehlenschläger and other Danish classics, besides mediaeval texts.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June—August, 1908.

GENERAL.

Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriften-Literatur mit Einschluss von Sammelwerken und Zeitungsbeilagen. Bd. XXII A. Ergänzungsband 1. Nachträge aus den Jahren 1896-98 mit Autoren-Register. Leipzig-Gautzsch, F. Dietrich. 25 M.

Untersuchungen und Quellen zur germanischen und romanischen Philologie. Johann von Kelle dargebracht von seinen Kollegen und Schülern. 1. Teil. (Prager deutsche Studien, VIII.) Prague, C. Bellmann. 14 Kr.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Romanische Forschungen. Organ für romanische Sprachen und Mittellatein. Herausg. von K. Vollmöller. Vol. XXII, 3. Erlangen, Junge. 12 M. 65.

ZACCARIA, E., Bibliografia italo-iberica, ossia edizioni e versioni di opere spagnuole e portoghesi fattesi in Italia. Parte I (Edizioni). 2da ediz. con nuove aggiunte. Carpi, Ravagli. 3 L. 50.

Italian.

ANCONA, D., Dio nell' opera di G. Carducci. Conferenza. Bari, Casa editr. Alighieri. 1 L.

CASTETS, F., I Dodici canti. Épopée romanesque du XVI^e siècle. (Publ. de la Société des langues romanes, XXII.) Montpellier, Coulet et fils. 8 fr.

CHIURLO, B., Un poeta dialettale friulano imitatore del Béranger. Udine, Gambierasi. 1 L.

CIPOLLINI, F., Appunti di storia e critica del melodramma. Padua, Drucker. 1 L. 50.

COLAGROSSO, F., Un' usanza letteraria in gran voga nel Settecento (le Raccolte). (Biblioteca nazionale.) Florence, Le Monnier. 2 L.

DANTE ALIGHIERI, La Vita Nuova e il Canzoniere (Edizione Vademecum). Florence, Barbèra. 3 L.

DE GUERNATIS, A., Torquato Tasso. Corso di lezioni fatte nella r. università di Roma (1907-8). Rome, Tip. Popolare. 10 L.

FARINELLI, A., Dante e la Francia dall' età media al secolo di Voltaire. 2 vols. (Biblioteca letteraria.) Milan, Hoepli. 15 L.

GARRONE, M. A., Vademecum dello studioso della Divina Commedia. Turin, Paravia. 2 L. 50.

- GOURMONT, R. DE, Dante, Béatrice et la poésie amoureuse. Paris, Mercure de France. 75 c.
- GUERRI, D., Di alcuni versi dotti della Divina Commedia. Ricerche sul sapere grammaticale di Dante (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi). Città di Castello, S. Lapi. 2 L. 25.
- LO PARCO, F., Studi manzoniani di critica, lingua e stile. Messina, V. Muglia. 3 L. 50.
- MANZONI, A., Opere complete. Vol. 1. I promessi sposi, illustrati da G. Previati, preceduti da uno studio su Gli anni di noviziato poetico del Manzoni di M. Scherillo. 2da ediz. (Biblioteca letteraria.) 5 L.
- MUONI, G., Poesia notturna preromantica, la mente e la fama di G. Cardano, appunti. Milan, Soc. Editr. Libreria. 1 L. 50.
- MURATORI, L. A., Epistolario, edito e curato da M. Campori. XI (1745-48). Modena, Soc. Tip. Modenese. 12 L.
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DANTE, GUIDO GUINICELLI AND
ARNAUT DANIEL.

IN Dante's conversations with Bonagiunta of Lucca (*Purg.*, XXIV), with Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel (*Purg.*, XXVI) there are many difficulties, but the general argument is clear. Dante's poetical mind is concerned with the same matters to which he gives philological attention in the essay *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Here as there he distinguishes an earlier from a later period of lyric art, both in Italian and Provençal; he claims his own place among the poets of the later, the more proficient school; he recognises Guido Guinicelli as the founder of this order in Italy and associates with him the Provençal poet Arnaut Daniel, as standing in the same sort of relation to his contemporary poets. We see clearly enough that Dante had worked out for himself a scheme of literary history in which Italian and Provençal poetry are developed in the same way, and illustrate one another through their likeness and differences. Each passes through a stage of superficial brilliance, represented, in Italy by Bonagiunta of Lucca, the Notary of Lentino, and Guittone of Arezzo; in Provençal by Guiraut de Bornelh, 'quel di Lemosì.' In each country this earlier stage is passed, and there comes a more elaborate and effective method, a loftier poetic aim—the ambitious verse of Arnaut Daniel, the 'new style' of Guido Guinicelli. In each case a popular opinion is refuted by the progress of Poesy. Guittone of Arezzo is put out of countenance by comparison with the newer school; Guiraut de Bornelh, in spite of popular favour, is not the true master among the troubadours.

One difficulty is that Dante's profession of poetic faith, in this same context, seems at first to disagree with his preference of the more learned poets:

Io mi son un che quando
Amore spira noto; ed a quel modo
Che ditta dentro, vo significando.

This sounds at first like Sidney's glorious rejection of all varieties :

I beg no subject to use eloquence
Nor in hid ways do guide philosophie ;
Looke at my hands for no such quintessence
But know that I in pure simplicitie
Breathe out the flames which burne within my heart,
Love only reading unto me this arte.

But Dante does not speak 'in pure simplicity' and to look at his hands for 'quintessence' is no futile thing. It was precisely by this 'quintessential' mood that the new style of Guido and his followers distinguished itself from that of Bonagiunta, Guittone and the Notary. So far was the new style from simplicity that it provoked the opposition of the older school, with Bonagiunta himself as their spokesman. The place given to Bonagiunta by Dante can hardly have been chosen without some reference to the sonnet in which he challenged Guido for his laboured style :

Ma sì passate ogn' om di sottiglianza
Che non si trova già chi ben vi spogna
Cotant' è scura vostra parladura¹.

The substance of the contention may be thus rendered, in prose :

Bonagiunta to Guido.

'Since you have changed the manner of the pleasing verses of love from the form and essence they had before, in order to outvie every other poet, you have done like the light that lights up dark corners, but not the sphere of heaven which has no rival in its clearness. But you outgo all men so in subtilty that no one is found to explain you, so obscure is your fashion of speech. And it is held a great anomaly, albeit that wit comes from Bologna, to utter an ode by dint of Scripture.'

Guido to Bonagiunta.

'The wise man runs not lightly but his thinking and liking are ruled by measure ; when he has thought he withholds his thought till truth assures it. A man ought not to be too high-minded,* but have regard to his condition and nature : the fool thinks that he alone sees the truth and does not believe that another may have concern therein. There are fowls in the air of divers fashion, not all of one flight nor one desire ; they have different works and ways. God ordered Nature and the World according to degrees, and made disparity of wits and understanding : and therefore what a man thinks he shall not say.'

¹ The *tenzone* is given by Monaci, *Crestomazia*, pp. 303, 4. The phrase '*trare canzon*' (Bonagiunta, l. 14) may have been in Dante's mind, *Purg.* xxiv, 50.

It is not a gift of simple or direct expression that Dante claims. He has learned from Guido Guinicelli, and Guido's poetry can be recognised even at this distance of time by readers in a foreign country, as something new and strange, a spirit not indeed Platonic in the technical sense, like the Platonism of the Renaissance, but none the less truly allied to the doctrine of Plato, and his worship of the beauty that is above the heavens. When Dante says *Amor mi spira* the word has for him all the inextricable variety of meanings that it had gained in the philosophic school of poetry, founded by the one Guido and continued by the other, Guido Cavalcanti, with greater scholastic elaboration. It recalls to him the vicissitudes of his poetical life; all the curious allegorical play of his mind between passion and doctrine in the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*. It is not simple¹.

In Provençal poetry there is a contest between Guiraut de Bornelh² and another poet (probably Raimbaut of Orange) which Dante may possibly have remembered. Guiraut here is the advocate, like Bonagiunta, of clear poetry against the *trobar clus*, the difficult style. Though his opponent is not Arnaut Daniel in person, the theory maintained against him is that of which Arnaut had made himself the chief professor. Dante's praise of Arnaut, at first not easy to understand, and the poetical sympathy which he imagines between Arnaut and Guido, become more intelligible when it is remembered that the two poets had held similar positions in the same literary revolution.

Yet, withal, there is something very hard to solve in Dante's estimate of Arnaut. Dante not merely praises him; speaking by the mouth of Guido he gives him the supremacy; he is the chief poet of

¹ Cf. G. A. Cesareo in *Miscellanea di Studi Critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf*, Bergamo, 1903, p. 515 sqq.

² A. Kolsen, *Guiraut von Bornelh, der Meister der Troubadours*, Berlin, 1894; H. J. Chaytor, *Troubadours of Dante*, Oxford, 1902.

The debate runs in this way:

'Pray tell us, Guiraut, why you go blaming the harder style: do you value highly what is public and common? That would make all men equal.'

'Linhaure, I am not to blame though every poet follow his own bent; for myself I hold the song better loved and praised when the maker shapes it light and simple; bear me no grudge for this.'

'Guiraut, I would not have such verse for mine that none should love the good more than the base, the great than the petty. Fools will not praise it, for they know not nor reck not of what is most dear and precious.'

'Linhaure, why do you make poetry if you do not wish the multitude to know it? For song has no other profit.'

'Guiraut, let me only fashion the better sort and utter it, I care not whether it have vogue or no. Small grace there is in cheapness.'

(Guiraut, sol quel meills apareill
e digu' ades, e tragu' enan
me no cal, si tan no s' espan.)

love. Now Arnaut has nothing of that idealism which was the essence of the 'new style' in Italy, though he may resemble Guido in his opposition to the easier and more trivial kinds of poetry. Is one to suppose that Dante gave him his place entirely by reason of his peculiar verse and diction?

Undoubtedly part of the truth is that Arnaut appealed to Dante through the art of his verse, in the *Sestina* and other stanzas of the same type:—*sub una oda continua...sine iteratione modulationis cujusquam et sine diesi*, as it is explained by Dante, *Vulg. Eloq.*, II, 10.

The *Sestina* is the most complete and absolute among all the forms of stanza; a perfect period which cannot be greater or less, which allows no interpolation or digression but proceeds infallibly from beginning to end under its own law. Dante's respect for Arnaut is one among many examples of his love of symmetry. To Dante, a clear and exact formula was irresistible, and Arnaut's verse had carried the formula to perfection; therefore Dante admired him. This will hardly be questioned; it is plain in many other parts of Dante's writing what power there was in abstract formulas to control and fascinate his mind; how partial some of his judgments are, under the influence of abstract considerations. There is nothing unlike Dante in his preference of Arnaut for the sake of his *oda continua*. But it is to be remembered that in *Vulg. Eloq.* while he speaks of Arnaut with respect, Dante does not exaggerate his terms of praise on this account, and does not give him anything like pre-eminence among lyric poets. Also he praises Arnaut not only for his verse but for his poetical diction, which is another thing altogether, and much harder to understand. Dante's theory of lyric verse is intelligible, and likewise his praise of Arnaut's stanzas for their formal beauty. But his theory of diction is harder to understand than anything else in his works; it is scarcely possible to make out his classification of *vocabula pexa et irsuta* in connexion with the examples which he gives. However, it is plain that there is, somewhere in his theory, a principle of verbal euphony; and it is certain that no force or persuasion can make Arnaut's syllables agree with any such law. His *Winter Ode*—quoted by Dante—uses in close conjunction words like *letz, becs, mutz*, which no philology can reconcile with Dante's theory of diction:

L' aura amara
Fals bruoills brancutz
Clarzir
Quel doutz espeissa ab fuoills
Els letz

Becs
 Dels auzels ramencs
 Ten balps e mutz,
 Pars
 E non pars ;
 Per qu' eu m' esfortz
 De far e dir
 Plazers
 A mains per liei
 Que m' a virat bas d' aut,
 Don tem morir
 Sils afaus no m' asoma.

The effect of this—*letz, becs, balps e mutz*,—has some likeness to Marston's *Winter Prologue*:

The rawish dank of clumsy winter ramps
 The fluent summer's vein, and drizzling sleet
 Chilleth the wan bleak cheek of the numb'd earth.

Milton, who laughed at Bishop Hall for a line beginning 'Teach each,' would have been as severe to this poem of Arnaut's as Dante ought to have been, on his own principles. There is ingenuity, no doubt, in the way Arnaut drills his syllables and manages his difficult pattern of verse. But the ingenuity is very like that of the trivial early poets whom Dante depreciates, and very unlike that of Dante himself. Indeed the verse of Arnaut is rather exceptionally unlike the Italian manner; the things that might be expected to win Dante's approval are not easily found in Arnaut. There is nothing of that noble harmony which Dante has described (*Vulg. Eloq.*, II, 5), the right proportion between the heptasyllable and the heroic line. In this, it is not too much to say, lies the secret of the Italian *Canzone*, as well as the elective affinity between Italian and English verse in their noblest passages. For of course the English correspondence of ten and six is the same as the Italian of eleven and seven—the same in *The Scholar-Gipsy* as in the *Epithalamion* or *Lycidas*:

Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil
 Nor in the glistening foil
 Set off to the world nor in broad Rumour lies.

This prosodic form belongs peculiarly to the Italian poets; it is not French or Provençal. But it is found occasionally as if by accident in Provençal; there is only a hint of it in Arnaut:

Doutz brais e critz
 Lais e cantars e voutas
 Aug dels auzels qu' en lur latin fan prec.

He prefers a combination of eight and ten, which is not favoured in

Italy (nor in England). Some of his rhyming runs have a quaint effect: the verse of the *Nut Brown Maid* comes as part of a stanza:

Ges per janguoill nom vir aillor
 Bona dompna, ves cui ador ;
 Mas per paor
 Del devinaill
 Don jois trassaill,
 Fatz semblau que nous vuoilla ;
 C' anc nous gauzim
 De lor noirim :
 Malmes, que lor acuolla !
 (ed. Canello, No. II.)

This sounds well enough, to our ears, as a sort of rustic measure; but it is very unlike good Italian verse. There is a pretty stanza in III (Canello):

De drudaria
 Nom sai de re blasmar
 C' autrui paria
 Torn ieu en reirazar ;
 Ges ab sa par
 No sai doblar m' amia,
 C' una non par
 Que segunda noill sia.

As often happens with the old Provençal measures—oftener than with the Italian—there is an echo of this in English verse:

Him perfect music
 Doth hush unto his rest,
 And through the pauses
 The perfect silence calms;
 O poor the voices
 Of earth from east to west,
 And poor earth's stillness
 Between her stately palms.

But it is not Italian; and, further, if Dante had been attracted by this kind of verse he could have found much more in other poets; there is nothing here to account for Dante's praise.

It is more to the purpose that Arnaut is distinguished among his fellows by a curious violent emphasis; this comes out in his harsh use of monosyllables, in his liking for images of winter, in the strength of his protestations. He is the least attractive, at first, of all the Provençal poets; he has little of the beauty that is in Bernart de Ventadorn, and he is generally far away from the delightful freedom and grace of the earlier poems, like the *Farewell* of William of Poitiers (*Pos de chanter m'es pres talens*, Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, 32) or Marcabrun's *A la fontana del vergier* (*ibid.*, 49). His emphasis (sometimes at least) is equally far from the conventional rhetoric of the troubadours, and in his power of enforcing what he says he is not unlike Dante:

'I pray my song may not be grievous to you, for if you will welcome it, words and tune, little recks Arnaut whom it may please or pain.' 'Love bids me not be like the violet, that passes quickly long before the winter comes, but for the sake of her love to be laurel or juniper.'

Naturally one turns to the poems quoted by Dante to find what he admired in them. That which is quoted in *Vulg. Elog.*, II, 6: 'Sols sui qui sai lo sobrafan quem sortz,' is enough to prove at any rate the vehemence of Arnaut's rhetoric. Take it at the lowest valuation—take it as a game of words merely—still there is in it a force of will, not wholly unlike Dante. He may protest too much, but he is not weak. He seems to suspect that his language may be taken for pretence, and he maintains his earnestness:

'To look on others I am blind, and deaf to hear them; without her I cannot see nor hear, and this I say not in vain conceit'—*e jes d' aisso noill sui fals plazerentiers*.

His extravagances of passionate language do not go off into the air—

To o'er top old Pelion or the skyish head
Of blue Olympus—

but come back to strengthen his imagination, to give weight to his charge; as in this same poem later: 'Though Rhone in all his flood runs strong, that flood is mightier that makes my heart a lake of love.' It is this habit of thought—this concentration and repeated attack—which justifies the *Sestina* and makes it more than a toy. It is, literally, an *involved* sort of verse, in which the involution and evolution are one—it rolls round on itself, the extremes coming into the centre, and at the same time it throws out new fringes, till the period is complete. This concentration of the *Sestina* and its repetition of the same words, make it the proper verse for the melancholy man—and that both Arnaut and Dante were of this humour can hardly be questioned. It is in the *Pietra* poems—not in the *Sestina* only—that the likeness between the two poets is brought out. The strange thing is that this kind of love-poetry, in which there is no thought of Beatrice, no vestige of Guido Guinicelli, should be praised as it is by Dante; for there is nothing more exalted to be found in Arnaut, and yet Arnaut is put forward (by Guido himself in the *Purgatorio*) as the chief poet of love, and that very shortly before the meeting of Dante and Beatrice, very shortly after the passage about the 'new style.' The *formal* merit of Arnaut will not explain everything, though it is part of the explanation. Dante's praise is unconditional; Arnaut surpassed all others, all the lyric poets and all the romances of love. Dante is thinking of the French romances in

which the Provençal lyric sentiment and grace were turned into narrative; he is thinking of Lancelot and Guinevere. The reference to the romances proves (I think) that however Dante may have admired the formal processes of Arnaut (*sub una oda continua*) it was not for that reason only that he preferred him here. You can compare Arnaut with the authors of *versi d' amore*, if it please you, in point of form. But you cannot compare him with *prose di romanzi* (if by those is meant the noble and joyous book of Lancelot) except with regard to the matter, and the matter is the doctrine of love. The formal motive is not enough; Dante meant to praise more in Arnaut than the pattern of his stanza; and the difficulty remains. There is some likeness in Arnaut to Dante; but nothing of the peculiar virtue which Dante found in Guido Guinicelli, and revered in Guido as the source of his own poetic life.

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COURT PERFORMANCES UNDER JAMES THE FIRST.

IN *The Modern Language Review* for October, 1906, I called attention to some neglected entries in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, which made it possible to establish a more complete list of dramatic performances at the court of Elizabeth than had formerly been available. I will now add a few entries from the same source (*Pipe Rolls*, 543 and 544) for the reign of James the First up to the death of Shakespeare in 1616. The new information which they furnish is comparatively scanty, inasmuch as the extracts from the Original Accounts already printed by Peter Cunningham in the Introduction to his *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (1842) are more exhaustive for this period; but they are not uninteresting, since they help in a small way towards the disentangling of the somewhat complicated histories of the dramatic associations to which they relate, and, in particular, of those known generically as the Revels companies.

As before, I give, in the case of each performance, the name of the company, the date of the performance so far as it can be ascertained from the entry, and in brackets the name of the representative of the company to whom payment was made by the Treasurer of the Chamber upon a duly signed warrant. The earlier warrants were issued, in accordance with the practice of Elizabeth's reign, by the Privy Council as a whole; but in 1615 this responsibility was transferred to the Lord Chamberlain. Plays at court were not always performed before the King in person, and it is therefore desirable to record which members of the royal family were present on each occasion. The entries are scrupulous as to this, for the very sufficient reason that, if the King attended, the ordinary fee of £6. 13s. 4d. was increased by a 'reward' of £3. 6s. 8d., making a total payment of £10 for each play.

Feb. 20, 1604 (King). Children of Paul's (Edward Pearce).

Edward Pearce, or Peirs, who had been a Gentleman of the Chapel since 1588, resigned his place, upon appointment to the Mastership of the Children of Paul's, in 1600 (Rimbault, *Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*, 4, 5). He seems to have at once revived the Paul's plays, which had been 'dissolved' since 1590. He had twice brought the boys to court during the last reign, on January 1, 1601, and January 1, 1603. It is just possible that Salmon or Salathiel Pavy, for whom Death's self was sorry, originally belonged to this company. He is described as 'apprentice to one Peerce' in the bill of complaint which records how he and other boys were pressed for the Chapel by an abuse of the commission given to Nathaniel Giles (Fleay, *History of the Stage*, 128).

Christmas, 1608-9 (King). Children of the Blackfriars (Robert Keyser). Two plays.

Jan. 4, 1609 (King). Children of the Blackfriars (Robert Keyser) 'in the Cockpitt at Whitehall.'

This Cockpit, which formed part of the palace of Whitehall, and probably stood on the site of the present Treasury building at the Westminster end of the Horse Guards Parade, is not to be confused with the theatre of that name, built about 1617 in Drury Lane. Prince Henry's Privy Purse Accounts for 1610-12 record several payments 'for makinge readie the Cockepitt for playes' (Cunningham, XIII).

Dec. 26, 1609 (King). Prince Henry's (Edward Juby).

Dec. 27, 1609 (King). Queen's (Thomas Greene).

Dec. 28, 1609 (King). Prince Henry's.

Jan. 7, 1610 (King). Prince Henry's.

Jan. 18, 1610 (King). Prince Henry's.

Christmas, 1609-10 (King, Queen, Henry, Charles, Elizabeth). King's (John Heminges). Thirteen plays.

Christmas, 1609-10 (King, Henry). Children of the Whitefriars (Robert Keyser). Five plays.

There were twenty-four plays in all this Christmas. Mr Fleay, who explains (*H. of S.*, 173) that there were 'no plays before the King or Queen on account of the plague,' is therefore a little unlucky. The virulence of the plague always subsided in the winter, and I do not know of any year in which it made plays at court altogether impossible.

The payments to Robert Keyser, on behalf of the Children of the Blackfriars in 1608-9 and the Children of the Whitefriars in 1609-10, require special notice. Keyser is not a wholly new figure in dramatic

annals. It was to him, as 'his many waies endeered friend,' that Walter Burre dedicated Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* in 1613, with a preface in which he relates how Keyser saved the rejected play from 'perpetuall oblivion,' and sent it to him some two years before its publication. Dr H. S. Murch, the latest editor of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, tells us that 'nothing is ascertainable regarding Robert Keysar' (*Yale Studies*, XXXIII, 106). Even apart from the entries which I am now for the first time making known, this is not strictly accurate. The papers in the Chancery suits of *Evans v. Kirkham* and *Kirkham v. Painton and Others* in 1612 (Fleay, *H. of S.*, 249) include a pleading of Edward Kirkham, in which he describes the profits which he and his partners derived from their interest in the great Hall of the Blackfriars, and how, at a certain stage of their relations with the company that performed there, 'the said Children, which the said Evans in his aunswere affirmeth to be the Queenes Cheldren, were Masters themselues, and this complaynante & his said partners receiued of them and of one Kezar, who was interest wth them, about the summe of one hundred and ffitye poundes *per annum*, onely for the vse of the said great Hall, wthout all manner of charges.' The company referred to by Kirkham is no doubt that to which the Treasurer of the Chamber's payments of 1608-9 and 1609-10 were made. The documents of the lawsuit, intricate and full of controversy as they are, render it possible to reconstruct the history of the Blackfriars from 1600 to 1608 with fair certainty. They are absolutely consistent with such collateral information as can be gleaned from the *Blackfriars Sharers Papers* of 1635 (Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, I, 312) and other sources. The Chapel plays at the Blackfriars began in 1600. Very few writers are clear about this, and the date is constantly placed anywhere from 1596 onwards. But the statement of the Burbages in the *Sharers Papers* is explicit, that the playhouse 'was leased out unto one Evans that first sett up the boyes commonly called the Queenes Majesties Children of the Chappell'; and *Evans v. Kirkham* gives the date of that lease as September 2, 1600. There had of course been earlier Chapel performances, during the Masterships of Richard Edwards (1563-1566) and William Hunnis (1566-1597). These had ceased, so far as the court was concerned, in 1584 (*Modern Language Review*, II, 7), but the company can be obscurely traced in the country, at any rate until 1591. Two of their plays, *Dido* and *The Wars of Cyrus*, were published as late as 1594. On June 9, 1597, Nathaniel Giles became the Master of the Children (Rimbault, 5).

But there was no immediate resumption of plays. James Burbage had bought the Blackfriars premises from Sir William More and had adapted them for the purposes of a theatre in the previous year; but the use of the said house for plays had been forbidden by the Privy Council (*Malone Society Collections*, I, 91), and although the difficulty was evaded by making it a 'private' house, there is no reason to suppose that this took place earlier than 1600. It is worth noticing that a conveyance by Sir George More to Cuthbert and Richard Burbage of some additional property in the Blackfriars, bordering on their father's original purchase, is dated June 26, 1601 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, VII, 659). The Treasurer of the Chamber's books record a performance of the Chapel at court, for the first time since 1584, on January 6, 1601 (Cunningham, XXXIII). Mr Fleay is of course the will-o'-the-wisp who has led recent writers astray. He says, 'The Chapel children had been playing in public from 1597 onwards' (*H. of S.*, 124); and a little later, of the Blackfriars, 'There is no trace of any performance there until November, 1598, when *The Case* is altered, by Jonson (his earliest play), was acted by "the children of the Blackfriars"' (*H. of S.*, 153). I need not dwell upon the inconsistency of the two dates; let us come to the evidence. 'That witty Play of *the Case is altered*' is mentioned in Nash's *Lenten Stuff*, which was entered in the Stationers' Register on January 11, 1599, and it must therefore have existed in some form by that date. *The Case is Altered* was published, in a text bearing clear traces of revision, during 1609, 'As it hath bene sundry times Acted by the Children of the Blacke-friers.' But the fact that the Children of the Blackfriars had acted the play by 1609 is no proof that it was originally produced by them in 1598, even if it could be shown that the name 'Children of the Blackfriars' was in use at all at that date. It may have been produced by some other company and transferred to the Children of the Blackfriars. Precisely this thing happened to Chapman's *All Fools*, which was originally written for the Admirals in 1599 and was printed in 1605 as 'presented at the Black Fryers' (Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 203). Such evidence cannot stand for a moment against the clear proof from the lawsuits of 1612 and 1635 that Evans first set up the Chapel plays under the lease from the Burbages of 1600. And there is no other evidence.

Henry Evans financed the Chapel under some arrangement with one James Robinson and with Nathaniel Giles, the Master. There were performances at Court during the Christmasses of 1600-1 and 1601-2, for which Giles received payment from the Treasurer of the Chamber.

Jonson wrote *Cynthia's Revels* and *The Poetaster* for the 'aery of little eyases,' and they 'berattled the common stages' with a light heart. But the enterprise was not a success. During the first few months the syndicate got into trouble with the Star Chamber for an illegitimate use of Giles' commission in pressing children for the company. Under Articles of Agreement dated April 20, 1602, Edward Kirkham, who, by the way, was Yeoman of the Revels, and others were brought in as partners with Evans and his son-in-law Alexander Hawkins; but almost immediately afterwards there was a quarrel. According to Evans, he was libelled by Kirkham and his friends to Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, and had to leave the country. The company did not appear at Court during the Christmas of 1602-3, and the plague of the following summer hit the profits very hard. On January 31, 1604, authority was given for a patent, under which the company changed its name and became the Children of the Revels to the Queen. The old name of Children of the Chapel was not wholly dropped out of popular use, but it would seem that the Master of the Children ceased to be officially concerned with the plays. When Nathaniel Giles' commission was renewed in 1626, a special proviso was inserted that none of the Children should be employed in plays, 'for that it is not fitt or desent that such as should sing the praises of God Almighty should be trained or imployed in such lascivious and profane exercises' (Collier, *H. E. D. P.*, I, 446). The patentees for the Revels were Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas Kendall, and Robert Payne. Samuel Daniel was appointed to license plays for the Children, and no reservation seems to have been made for the rights of the Master of the Revels. All went well for a while. The company performed at court on February 21, 1604, and twice during January, 1605. Payment was made for the former year to Edward Kirkham as 'M^r of the Children of the Queenes Ma^{ties} Revells,' and for the latter to Samuel Daniel and Henry Evans. Evans, therefore, must have come home, and resumed his share in the direction. But before long the enterprise fell upon troublous times. Misdemeanours, for which Evans declared that Kirkham was especially responsible, were committed in the plays. The King forbade the use of the house in future and some of the boys were sent to prison. These facts are recorded in the lawsuit papers, but with no clear indication of their date. It is probable that the summary account given in the pleadings really covers a series of satirical indiscretions and of consequent reconstructions of the company, which lasted over a period of about three years. The first misdemeanour was probably the production

of Daniel's *Philotas* in 1604. Then followed that of *Eastward Ho* in 1605, which, as we know from other sources, brought the authors, Jonson, Marston and Chapman, into prison, and within measurable distance of losing their ears. There were no court performances by the company at the Christmas of 1605-6, and Kirkham appears as payee for that year on behalf of the Paul's boys (Cunningham, xxxviii). Marston's *Parasitaster* and Middleton's *Trick to Catch the Old One* seem to have been originally produced at Blackfriars and afterwards transferred, no doubt at this time, to Paul's. But the Paul's plays themselves cannot be traced beyond 1606, and afforded no permanent scope for Kirkham. It is clear, on the other hand, that the Blackfriars performances were resumed, and that further misdemeanours preceded the final inhibition referred to in the lawsuit. There is, indeed, definite evidence of at least three more offending plays, before James' patience was exhausted. One was Day's *Isle of Gulls*, of which Sir Edward Hoby, writing to Sir Thomas Edmondes about events in mid-February, 1606, says (Birch, *Court and Times of James the First*, i, 60):

At this time was much speech of a play in the Black Friars, where, in the 'Isle of Gulls,' from the highest to the lowest, all men's parts were acted of two divers nations; as I understand sundry were committed to Bridewell.

The other two are mentioned in a letter of April 8, or in English style March 30, 1608, from the French ambassador, M. De La Boderie, to M. De Puiseux at Paris. As this reference is generally quoted from an English translation of an imperfect German summary, frequently misdated in 1605, and sometimes ascribed to the wrong ambassador, I give it in full from *Ambassades de Monsieur De La Boderie en Angleterre* (1750), III, 196. The original is in *B. N. MS. fr. 15984*.

Environ la mi-Carême, des Comédiens à qui j'avois fait défendre de jouer l'histoire du Maréchal de Biron, voyant toute la Cour dehors, ne laisserent de la faire, et non seulement cela, mais y introduisirent la Reine et Madame de Verneuil, traitant celle-ci fort mal de paroles, et lui donnant un soufflet. En ayant eu avis de-là à quelques jours, aussitôt je m'en allai trouver le Comte de Salisbury, et lui fis plainte de ce que non seulement ces compagnons-là contrevenoient à la defense qui leur avoit été faite, mais y ajoutoient des choses non seulement plus importantes, mais qui n'avoient que faire avec le Maréchal de Biron, et au partir de-là étoient toutes fausses. Il se montra fort courroucé, et dès l'heure même envoya pour les prendre. Toutefois il ne s'en trouva que trois, qui aussitôt furent menés à la prison où ils sont encore; mais le principal qui est le compositeur, échapa. Un jour ou deux avant, ils avoient dépêché leur Roi, sa mine d'Ecosse, et tous ses Favoris d'une étrange sorte; car après lui avoir fait dépiter le Ciel sur le vol d'un oiseau, et fait battre un Gentilhomme pour avoir rompu ses chiens, ils le dépeignoient ivre pour le moins une fois le jour. Ce qu'ayant sçu, je pensai qu'il seroit assez en colere contre lesdits Comédiens, sans que je l'y misse davantage, et qu'il valoit mieux faire référer leur châtement à l'irrévérence qu'ils lui avoient portée, qu'à ce qu'ils

pourroient avoir dit desdites Dames ; et pour ce, je me résolus de n'en plus parler, mais considérer ce qu'ils ont fait. Quand le Roi a été ici, il a témoigné être extrêmement irrité contre ces marauds-là, et a commandé qu'ils soient châtiés, et sur-tout qu'on eût à faire diligence de trouver le compositeur. Même il a fait défense que l'on n'eût plus à jouer des Comédies dedans Londres. Pour lever cette défense, quatres autres Compagnies, qui y sont encore, offrent déjà cent mille francs, lesquels pourront bien leur en ordonner la permission ; mais pour le moins sera-ce à condition qu'ils ne représenteront plus aucune histoire moderne, ni ne parleront des choses du temps à peine de la vie. Si j'eusse cru qu'il y eût de la suggestion en ce qu'avoient dit les Comédiens, j'en eusse fait du bruit davantage ; mais ayant tout sujet d'estimer le contraire, j'ai pensé que le meilleur étoit de ne point le remuer davantage, et laisser audit Roi la vengeance de son fait. Toutefois si vous jugez de de-là, Monsieur, que je n'en aye fait assez, il est encore temps.

I do not know what the play on James may have been ; that on Biron was evidently Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (1608, *S. R.*, June 5, 1608), which was purged of its scandalous episode and published as 'acted at the Black-Friers,' but without the name of a company. The Byron disaster brought about a crisis in the affairs of the Blackfriars. The lawsuit papers make it clear that by July 26, 1608, no plays were being used at the house, and that on or about that date Kirkham had the property of the syndicate valued and divided amongst the partners, gave up his commission under the great seal, i.e., the patent of 1604, and discharged divers of the partners and poets. Evans then considered the association at an end, and surrendered the lease of the Blackfriars to the Burbages, who, as we learn from the *Sharers Papers*, placed there men players, 'which were Heminges, Condall, Shakspeare, etc.' Kirkham challenged Evans' right to do this, and so the lawsuits of 1612 arose.

So far as the actors were concerned, the Blackfriars company was probably a continuous one from 1600 to 1608 ; and it seems to have had a remarkable gift of surviving its disgraces. It was not, however, included amongst the companies performing at court, after its first misdemeanour of 1605, and there is reason for believing that, as a result of that misdemeanour, it lost the special patronage of the Queen, and was thenceforward known, not as the Children of the Queen's Revels, but simply as the Children of the Revels. The title-pages of two plays, Day's *Isle of Gulls* (1606) and Sharpham's *The Fleir* (1607, *S. R.*, May 13, 1606), indicate that they were acted 'by the Children of the Revels' and 'in the blacke Fryars.' A third play, Day's *Law Tricks* (1608, *S. R.*, March 28, 1608), was also 'Acted by the Children of the Revels,' but the Blackfriars is not mentioned. I do not think that we have to do with a mere accidental variation. The title-pages of all other Blackfriars plays published from 1601 to 1606, if they bear the

name of a company at all, bear that of the Children of the Chapel (Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, and *Poetaster*, 1602; *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 1606) or that of 'the Children of her Maiesties Revels' (Marston's *Dutch Courtezian*, 1605; Chapman, Jonson, and Marston's *Eastward Ho*, 1605), or 'the Children of the Queenes Maiesties Revels' (Marston's *Parasitaster*, 1606), or 'her Maiesties children' (Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*, 1606).

It is not an unreasonable conjecture that the change of organisation, whereby the Children, with Robert Keyser as 'interest wth them,' became 'Masters themselves,' was in its turn due to a later attempt to escape the penalties of one of their misdemeanours. If it is true, as Evans deposed, that Kirkham was chiefly responsible for the wrongdoing, it may well have become desirable that he should retire from the active management of the company. It would also seem that another change of name took place, whereby the Children of the Revels became the Children of the Blackfriars. But it is not quite clear at what exact point this reconstruction is to be fitted into the history. It would be natural to place it in the autumn of 1608, on the ground that, if Keyser had been responsible for *Byron* and for the satire on James in the previous spring, he would hardly, even if he was allowed to resume playing, have been invited to bring the Children to court, for the first time since 1604-5, at the Christmas of 1608-9. But Kirkham's reference to Keyser's company in the course of the lawsuit certainly suggests that they had been paying rent to him and his partners for the Blackfriars during a period earlier than the wind-up of the association in July, 1608; and it is also a possibility that the crisis which brought Keyser into the management was that due to the production of *The Isle of Gulls* in February, 1606. This conjecture receives some support from Keyser's connection with *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, for the production of which the winter of 1606-7 is by far the most probable date. It is, of course, often assigned to 1610-11. This is because, after explaining in the dedicatory Epistle that Keyser sent him the play two years before its publication in 1613, Walter Burre proceeds, 'Perhaps it will be thought to bee of the race of Don Quixote: we both may confidently sweare, it is his elder aboue a yeare.' Nobody supposes that *The Knight* is either older than, or independent of, the First Part of the Spanish *Don Quijote*, published in 1605; and Burre has generally been interpreted as referring to Thomas Shelton's English translation. This was entered in the Stationers' *Register* on January 19, 1612, and if it were the date of publication of which *The Knight* had the advantage

by a year, the production of the play would no doubt fall in the winter of 1610-11. But then Burre's boast would be rather an idle one, for Shelton states quite plainly in his preface that the translation was actually made 'some five or six yeares agoe.' As Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly has proved that it was based upon the Brussels edition of 1607 it must have been made in 1607-8; and if the claim of priority for *The Knight* has any real meaning, this cannot be later than 1606-7. The conclusion precisely agrees with the only other indication of date in the play. In the sixth line of the *Induction*, the Citizen says, 'This seuen yeares there hath beene playes at this house.' The house can only have been the Blackfriars, since the Whitefriars is not heard of until 1608, and the Blackfriars, as already shown, was opened in the winter of 1600.

Whether it was in 1606 or in 1608 that Keyser's company originated, they were sufficiently in favour, as the Treasurer of the Chamber's account shows, to appear at court under the name of the Children of the Blackfriars during the Christmas of 1608-9. It must have been just at this time that the occupation of the Blackfriars by the King's men left them homeless. And now it is that the Whitefriars comes into the story, since by good fortune it was just empty and available to receive them. What little is known about the early fortunes of the Whitefriars is derived from the records of yet another law-suit, that of *Andrewes v. Slater* (*N. S. S. Transactions*, 1887-92, 269). The house was a mansion belonging to Lord Buckhurst, and stood next to the Revels Office. In March, 1608, a lease of it was held by Michael Drayton and Thomas Woodford, who also owned the books and dresses of 'the Children of the revells there being'; and a partnership was formed to run the company, consisting of Michael Drayton, Lording Barry, George Andrewes, William Trevell, William Cooke, Edward Sibthorpe, John Mason, and Martin Slater. The manager was to be Martin Slater, and it was agreed that, 'when their pattent for playinge shalbe renewed,' his name should be joined in it with Drayton's, to enable him to travel with the children in times of restraint. Slater had been a member of the Admiral's men from 1594-7. He often appears in Henslowe's *Diary* under his Christian name only (Greg, II, 310); and therefore he may well have been the Martin who in November 1599 was travelling with Laurence Fletcher, afterwards of the King's men, in Scotland (*Scottish Papers*, II, 777). In 1603 he was payee for Lord Hertford's men (*Modern Language Review*, II, 12), and in 1605 he was acting with Queen Anne's men (*Hist. MSS.*, XI, 3, 26). The enterprise was a failure, partly no doubt because of the *Byron*

inhibition, which extended to all companies, and partly because the plague rendered plays an impossibility in London from August to November of 1608; and the lease was forfeited for non-payment of rent. Litigation followed in February between Slater and Androwes, who had been persuaded to spend £300 upon building and other expenses. This Revels company, playing at the Whitefriars during 1608, must clearly be distinct from the boys who appeared at court as the Children of the Blackfriars at the end of that year. It makes up, with the King's, the Queen's and the Prince's, the sum of four companies mentioned by M. De La Boderie as endeavouring to buy off the inhibition, and is doubtless to be identified with the Children of the King's Revels, who are not known to have performed at court at all, but who are recorded upon the title-pages of several plays published between 1607 and 1611. These are Sharpham's *Cupid's Whirligig* (1607, entered in the Stationers' Register on June 29, 1607), Middleton's *The Family of Love* (1608, S. R., October 12, 1607), Day's *Humour Out of Breath* (1608, S. R., April 12, 1608), Markham's *The Dumb Knight* (1608, S. R., August 6, 1608), Armin's *Two Maids of Moreclack* (1609), Mason's *The Turk* (1610, S. R., March 10, 1609), and Barry's *Ram Alley* (1611, S. R., November 9, 1610). It will be observed that the authors of the two plays which came last to publication were members of the 1608 syndicate, and are otherwise little known. I am afraid that the sight of their lucubrations on the boards was about all they got for their money. The play-list also makes it clear that the company must have existed in 1607, and indeed the account of the 1608 transactions implies as much. The incidental reference in the lawsuit to 'the Children of the revells' is obviously not inconsistent with their full name having been Children of the King's Revels; but it at least suggests that there was no other Revels company in existence, and helps to confirm the inference that Keyser's boys did not call themselves Children of the Revels. I do not find any reference to Drayton's theatrical speculation in my friend Professor Elton's excellent monograph upon the playwright and poet. Another of the partners, Thomas Woodford, was afterwards interested in the Red Bull theatre (Fleay, *H. of S.*, 195). Mr Fleay, not having the *Androwes v. Slater* documents before him, thinks that 'the Paul's boys ceased to act in 1607,' that the children of the King's Revels, who succeeded them, 'were the same company under another name,' and that they acted at the Paul's singing school (*H. of S.*, 152, 188, 202, 206). It is apparent now that they acted at the Whitefriars; and there is really very little to suggest a connection with Paul's. Neither

Kirkham nor Pearce belonged to the 1608 syndicate, and although Middleton wrote both for Paul's and the King's Revels, Middleton, Sharpham and Day wrote for the King's Revels and for the Blackfriars Revels company. So far as the evidence goes, which is not far, it seems more likely that the King's Revels arose out of an independent attempt in 1606 or 1607 to capture the popularity of the Blackfriars company after their disgrace through *The Isle of Gulls*, in rivalry with Kirkham and Keyser, who were doing their best to continue the company under a new name at the Blackfriars itself. It cannot, by the way, be shown that the Paul's plays lasted into 1607. Their last recorded performance was that of *Abuses* before James and Christian of Denmark on July 30, 1606 (Nichols, *Progresses*, II, 68; IV, 1074). It is true that Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater* (1607, *S. R.*, May 20, 1607) was published as 'lately acted by the Children of Paules,' but 'lately' hardly excludes a date in 1606, and the other evidence produced for the production of the play in 1607 is very thin. Mr Fleay further states that the King's Revels 'acted from 1607 to 1609' and that the Duke of York's men arose 'immediately after the disappearance of the King's Revels Children' (*H. of S.*, 152, 188). *Androwes v. Slater* shows that the King's Revels were broken before February, 1609, and the patent for the Duke of York's men is dated March 30, 1610 (*Shakespeare Society Papers*, IV, 47). But as a matter of fact they had been playing in the country a year or two earlier (*Hist. MSS.*, IX, 1, 248).

I return to Keyser's company. Having been Children of the Blackfriars at Christmas 1608-9, they must have moved to the Whitefriars when they were dispossessed by the Burbages in the course of the same winter, and thus became Children of the Whitefriars at Christmas 1609-10. They remained at the Whitefriars; but not for long under the management of Keyser. On January 4, 1610, they were reconstituted as 'Children of the Revells to the Queene,' under a new patent granted through Sir Thomas Monson's influence to Robert Daborne, Phillip Rosseter, John Tarbock, Richard Jones and Robert Browne. The acting manager was Phillip Rosseter, one of the King's musicians, a 'lutenist' who wrote some of the music for Thomas Campion's *Book of Aires* (1601) and dedicated it to Monson. Thus there was once again a Queen's Revels, for the first time since 1605. I do not here propose to follow the fortunes of this company further, but before returning to the Treasurer of the Chamber's accounts, it is perhaps worth while to ask whether it is possible to construct a list of the plays which Keyser may be supposed to have produced. I am afraid that the answer is not

altogether satisfactory. The only play published as 'acted by the Children of the Blacke-friers' is Jonson's *The Case is Altered* (1609, *S. R.*, January 26, 1609). This and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* I have already discussed. There are six plays published from 1608 to 1613, whose title-pages indicate that they were played either at the Blackfriars, or at the Whitefriars, or at both houses, but name no company. These are Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* (*S. R.*, March 22, 1608), Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (1608, *S. R.*, June 5, 1608), *Mayday* (1611), *Widow's Tears* (1612, *S. R.*, April 17, 1612), and *Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (1613, *S. R.*, April 17, 1612), and Marston's *Insatiate Countess* (1613). But such a title-page leaves it possible that the play, even if it belongs to the original Revels company in one of its many transformations, may be earlier or later than Keyser's reign, and I have not at present room to examine other evidence. It is worth noting that *Your Five Gallants* is assigned in the Stationers' *Register* to 'the Children of the Chapel.' Evidently this name endured in popular usage long after it had ceased to have any official significance. Even the Treasurer of the Chamber applies it to Rosseter's company as late as 1613 (Cunningham, XLII). I think Keyser must have produced Jonson's *Epicoene* as well as *The Case is Altered*. But the evidence is a little puzzling. The entry in the Stationers' *Register* on September 20, 1610, names neither company nor theatre. Alleged editions of 1609 and 1612 probably do not exist; but Jonson himself wrote in the Folio of 1616, 'This Comoedie was first acted, in the yeere 1609. By the Children of her Maiesties Revells.' Now Prof. Thorndike (*The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspere*, 17) has sufficiently proved that Jonson invariably uses the Circumcision style and not the Annunciation style in the Folio, and that consequently '1609' means 1609 and not the early part of 1610. On the other hand, if the name 'Children of her Majesty's Revels' was really first revived by Rosseter, Jonson must have forgotten the fact. *Epicoene* has an actor-list, which must be held to give us the composition of Keyser's company, and probably, for the matter of that, of Rosseter's as well. The 'principall Comoedians' were 'Nat. Field, Gil. Carie, Hug. Attawel, Ioh. Smith, Will. Barksted, Will. Pen, Ric. Allin, Ioh. Blaney.' Field had of course been an original member of the Chapel Children in 1600. With Jonson, Chapman and Beaumont, Field contributed verses to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, which was printed without date, but almost certainly before May, 1610. The play, stated by Jonson in 1618 or early in 1619 to have been written 'ten years

since' (*Conversations with Drummond*, 17) may reasonably be assigned to Keyser. I will now conclude this long excursus with a chronological summary of what I conceive to have been the succession of the events with which it deals. It is, of course, nothing but an hypothesis which the discovery of further material may very likely destroy.

Summer 1600. Children of Paul's begin plays under Edward Pearce.

Autumn 1600. Children of the Chapel begin plays under Henry Evans.

April 1602. Edward Kirkham and others enter into partnership with Evans.

January 1604. Children of the Chapel become Children of the Queen's Revels. They are soon in disgrace for *Philotas*.

1605. Queen's Revels are in disgrace for *Eastward Ho* and lose royal patronage. Kirkham transfers his services to Paul's, but continues Blackfriars company as Children of the Revels.

February 1606. Revels are in disgrace for *Isle of Gulls*. Kirkham transfers management of his boys to Keyser, who conducts them as the Children of Blackfriars.

Autumn 1606. Paul's plays end.

1607. Children of King's Revels are established at Whitefriars.

March 1608. Children of Blackfriars are in disgrace for *Byron*. They resume playing in the winter, but meanwhile Evans surrenders Blackfriars lease to the Burbages, who place the King's men there. The King's Revels fail.

1609. Keyser's company move house and become Children of the Whitefriars.

January 1610. Rosseter takes over Children of the Whitefriars as Children of the Queen's Revels.

The Treasurer of the Chamber is now resumed.

Christmas 1614-5 (Charles). Prince Charles' (William Rowley). Six plays.

For this year, the dates of the warrants (April and May, 1615) are the only indications of the period within which the performances fell. Mr Fleay (*H. of S.*, 188, 262) says that about April 1614 Prince Charles' men 'were amalgamated with the Lady Elizabeth's men under Henslow at the Hope,' and Mr Greg (*Henslowe's Diary*, II, 138) substantially adopts the same view. I think that this payment, when taken with that for the same year to Nathan Field on behalf of the Lady Elizabeth's men (Cunningham, XLIV), tends to discredit it, so far as 1614-5 is concerned.

Christmas 1614-5 (King). Queen's (Robert Leigh). Three plays.

Christmas 1614-5 (King, Charles). Palsgrave's (Edward Juby). Three plays.

The Elector had taken over the patronage of Prince Henry's men, after the death of the latter on November 7, 1612.

Christmas 1614-5 (King). King's (Heminges). Eight plays.

Cunningham (XLII) misdates the warrant on May 19, 1613, instead of 1615. There were, therefore, only twenty plays by the King's men in 1612-3, not twenty-eight.

Nov. 1, 1615—April 1, 1616 (King and Queen). King's (Heminges). Eight plays.

Christmas 1615-6 (King). Queen's (Robert Lee). Four plays.

Christmas 1615-6 (Charles). Prince Charles' (Alexander Foster). Four plays.

The warrants for the Queen's and Prince's men are dated in April and May 1616. The appearance of Alexander Foster, who belonged to the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1611-3, as payee for Prince Charles', renders it possible that the amalgamation assumed by Mr Fleay and Mr Greg had actually taken place for 1615-6. When Rosseter obtained authority to build a new playhouse at Porter's Hall in the Blackfriars on May 31, 1615, it was contemplated that both the Prince's players and the Lady Elizabeth's players would use the house, as well as the Children of the Revels; and in fact Field's *Amends for Ladies* (1618) was 'acted at the Blacke-Fryers, both by the Princes Servants, and the Lady Elizabeths.' This, however, suggests alternate, rather than joint playing. On March 20, 1616, the Prince's men were certainly treating with Alleyn as a distinct company (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 90); and Alexander Foster was not a member.

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MARLOWE AT CAMBRIDGE.

IN spite of the investigations and happy speculations of the Rev. Dr H. P. Stokes—the fruits of which are mostly to be found in his *History of Corpus Christi College* (1898) and in Mr John H. Ingram's interesting if hardly judicial book *Christopher Marlowe and his Associates* (1904)—a good deal of obscurity has continued to hang over the years of Marlowe's life at Cambridge. When did he come up? was he a scholar of his College, and if so, on what foundation? how regularly and how long did he reside? who were his chamber-fellows?—some of these questions at any rate have not yet been definitely answered. I propose to answer them in this paper, based on a close examination of the accounts of Corpus Christi College kindly allowed me by the Bursar, Mr A. J. Wallis, to whom I here desire to express my obligations.

The first certain date in connexion with Marlowe's residence at Cambridge is that of his matriculation as a member of the University. In the list of matriculations preserved in the University Registry, under the date March 17, 1580-1, and in the column headed 'convictus secundus' (i.e., the list of students matriculated neither as fellow-commoners nor sizars), appears the entry 'Coll. corp. xⁱ. Chrōf. Marlen.'

How long before this had Marlowe been in residence at his college?

From the fact that he took his bachelor's degree in March 1583-4 one would expect him to have come up to Cambridge at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term of 1580. He would then have fulfilled, if not the twelve terms prescribed by statute before admission to the B.A. degree, at least the ten terms plus a part of a term which was accepted as a sufficient substitute. I believe however that, as a matter of fact, he came up to Cambridge early in the term after Christmas. A MS. called the 'Registrum Parvum' (now bound with the oldest College Order book or 'Liber Actorum') gives a list of students admitted to the College as pensioners ('Pencionarij in scholarium comēatu'), and in this list the name 'Marlin' (as will be seen from the facsimile given by Mr Ingram, p. 56) occurs last but one among those admitted in the

year 1580, i.e., before March 25, 1580-1. This gives a presumption that the admission took place in the Lent Term. Further, as Mr Ingram mentions, a regulation had been made in 1579 obliging students to matriculate within a month of entering a College, and it is to be presumed that, at a date so soon after, this regulation was more or less literally observed¹. Lastly, as we shall see, Marlowe though not yet formally elected a scholar received 12s. this quarter from the scholarship which he held afterwards—and this implies that he had resided twelve weeks before March 25. I conclude therefore that he came into residence not long after Christmas 1580: and that his loss of the previous term was somehow condoned when he came to take his degree.

For his first term then, Marlowe was a pensioner of his College, but drawing the allowance granted to a scholar. He had evidently come up with a nomination to a scholarship and had only to wait to be formally admitted. The date of this ceremony is given us in another entry in the 'Registrum Parvum,' under the heading 'Nomina Scholasticorum.' This entry has hitherto, I think, been overlooked²: '1581. Maii 7. Marlin electus et admissus in locum dni Pashley³.'

On admission to a scholarship a student paid a fixed fee to the College. We accordingly find in the College Accounts⁴ for the year ending Michaelmas 1581 in a list of payments 'Pro introitu in Convictum mri et socior. et scholarium' the entry 'Marlin iij^s iij^d⁵.'

What was the scholarship which had been held by Pashley and to which Marlowe succeeded? The answer to this question gave me some trouble, and to save trouble to others, I will go into the facts a little closely. If I say more than is necessary for the purpose of elucidating the life of Marlowe, I hope it will be taken as a small contribution to College history.

In the year 1560 the only scholarships tenable at Corpus Christi College were six which had been founded in 1548 'ex benevolentia mri et sociorum.' Each scholar, says Masters⁶, 'was to have after

¹ Dr Stokes used these arguments to enforce the same conclusion in a letter to the *Athenæum*, Sept. 1, 1894. The regulation referred to is printed in Heywood and Wright's *University Transactions*, i, 222.

² Dr Stokes in his *History of C. C. C.*, p. 84, speaks of Marlowe's going to Cambridge 'perhaps as the first holder of the Canterbury scholarship which John Parker had just founded in the name of his late father, the Archbishop.'

³ Christopher Pashley (or Pashlie) matriculated as pensioner of Corpus June 15, 1575, B.A. 1578, M.A. 1582.

⁴ The College Accounts referred to in this paper are found in a volume labelled 'Audits etc. 1575-1590.'

⁵ Pensioners, as will be seen from the same list, paid an admission fee of xii^d. As Marlowe never paid this, it is clear that he was regarded from the beginning as virtually a scholar.

⁶ *History of C. C. C.* (1753), p. 200.

the rate of 8*d.* per week for commons, a small allowance *per ann.* for Landress and Barber, together with a Chamber and his Reading in the Hall free.' The weekly sum allowed for commons was subsequently augmented successively to 10*d.* and 12*d.*

Some years later Archbishop Parker founded an additional scholarship partly out of the effects of John Mere, of whose will he was a supervisor, partly from the voluntary contributions of himself and others¹. The first mention of this scholarship in the College Accounts occurs in those of the year ending Michaelmas 1565².

In 1567, by an indenture dated June 24, Parker founded three scholarships the holders of which were to be nominated by the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich and to be called 'Norwich scholars.' These scholarships seem to have been first held in the year 1567-1568, as the accounts of that year show a leap in the sum spent on scholars from xi^l ii^s to xxiiij^{li} xii^s xi^d. This is however perhaps partly to be accounted for by a rise in the weekly allowance for commons.

The accounts of the next year show a further rise in the sum devoted to scholarships, which now amounts to xli^{li} xj^s vj^d. This is owing to fresh foundations made by Parker. By an indenture of May 31, 1569³, he established three 'Canterbury scholars' to be nominated by the Dean and Chapter out of Canterbury School—the money for the maintenance of these scholars coming from some tenements in Westminster. By one of May 22 he founded two more scholarships from the revenues of the Hospital of Eastbridge, Canterbury. By one of August 6 he founded two additional Norwich scholarships—the holders to be nominated by the Dean and Chapter from the schools of Norwich, Wyndham and Aylsham. The Eastbridge scholars were at first coupled in the College Accounts with the three Canterbury scholars. Thus in this year, 1569, we have the entry

'Et in denār. solut. pro cominabus quinque
Scholasticorum Norwic. et quinque aliorum
Scholasticorum Cantuar. partim ex reddit.
Westmōn. et Estbrige iuxta xii^d'

The weekly sum paid to each scholar has now risen, as we see, to 12^d. The accounts of this year give the names of the five Norwich scholars (Pickering, Golde, Leeds, Bradley, Fowler) and of the five

¹ Masters, *ibid.*, p. 85.

² Masters' date (p. 200) must be incorrect, whether he means that Mere was 'Bedle' in 1569 or that the scholarship was founded in that year.

³ Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 290.

Canterbury and Eastbridge scholars (Scott, Thacster, Braine, Cotton, Nychols).

Things remained at this point till the year 1575 when the College Accounts show that Parker had founded three more scholarships. The different groups of scholars (apart from those on the foundation of the Master and Fellows or on that of Mr Mere) are now divided into

5 Norwich scholars.

5 'ex redditibus Westmonasterij et partim ex redditibus de Estbrige¹.'

3 ex fundacione Matthei Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis 'iuxta xii^d in septimana pro rata residentie cuiusque eorum in Collegio' (Thexton, Poynter, Pashley).

What do we know of this last foundation?

Archbishop Parker had died on May 17 of this year, 1575. In his will made on April 5 preceding² he had provided for the creation of three more scholarships. Clause 16 runs as follows:

'Item volo quod Executores mei paratum reddant cubiculum in eo collegio (sc. Corporis Christi) jam vocatum *A Storehouse*, pro tribus aliis meis scholasticis inhabitandis, pro quibus singulis volo tres libras & sex solidos octoque denarios per annum dari, juxta formam quam Executores mei scripto suo praescribent. Quorum Scholasticorum primum electum volo per successores meos in Schola *Cantuar.* & in ea urbe oriundum: Secundum electum volo è Schola de *Aylesham*: & tertium è Scholâ de *Wymondham*: In hiis duabus villis oriundos³.'

Strype tells us that the Archbishop's purpose was carried out '*per chartam* 7^o Augusti 20 Q. Eliz. [i.e., 1578]'—while Masters⁴ seems to imply that nothing was done till 1580 when the Archbishop's son, John Parker, Esq., founded three scholarships in accordance with his father's will, but reserved the nomination of the scholars to himself during his life. But the College Accounts seem to prove that the scholarships had been created immediately after the Archbishop's death. While the three scholarships which we find entering into the accounts of Michaelmas 1575 correspond exactly to those established by the will, the accounts of the years from 1576 to 1590 show no trace of any fresh

¹ In 1580 and subsequent years these are made into two groups, one 'fundat. per reddit. ex hospitali Eastbridge (2),' the other 'fundat. ex reddit. tenementorum in Westmonasterio (3).'

² The will is printed by Strype, *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 188.

³ Strype, Appendix, p. 191, gives 'A list of bequests...paid for the said Archbishop' from the MSS. of Rev. N. Battely. Here we find 'To Bennet College for three Scholars £200.' Unfortunately the list is not dated.

⁴ p. 202.

foundation except one created by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1577, for which payments first appear in the accounts of Michaelmas 1578.

In the accounts of the year 1575-1576 and in those of subsequent years the three scholars of Parker's last foundation are grouped, not with the Canterbury scholars, as might have been expected, but with the five Norwich scholars. Under the heading '*pro stipendio octo scholasticorum ex fundacione Matth. Cantuarien.*' occur eight names, Goold, Goldinge, Plumb, Abse, Dix, Thextone, Poynter, Pashley. The first five we know from previous records to have been the Norwich scholars, the last three are the scholars of the last foundation.

This grouping was preserved till the year 1590, at any rate.

We may now keep our eyes on the scholars of the last foundation. All of them appear with the prefix 'D.' (Dominus, the title of a B.A.) in the fourth quarter of 1578-1579, Lewgar replaces D. Poynter in the third quarter of 1579-80 (he had been admitted to the scholarship on April 12, 1580¹), and 'Marlin'² replaces D. Pashley in the second quarter of the year 1580-1581. His name had even appeared in the list of scholars for the first quarter of that year, but this had apparently been an error. In that quarter the name is crossed out, and 'Pashlye' written above.

Marlowe then, though perhaps rightly called a 'Canterbury scholar,' was not one of the earlier foundation. He came under the provisions of the scholarships founded by Archbishop Parker's will, and evidently held that scholarship which was reserved for a native of Canterbury educated there in the Free School. He was probably nominated to the scholarship by Mr John Parker, the Archbishop's son. I have not seen the 'charta' referred to by Strype³ nor any other documents describing the qualifications which Parker demanded in these scholars and the advantages conferred on them. I must be content therefore to follow Masters who tells us that the qualifications demanded of the scholars of the last foundation as well as the allowances and residence prescribed for them were much the same as those of the Norwich scholars. The latter, as we hear, were to be born of honest parents, and to be chosen between the ages of 14 and 20, being first well instructed in grammar, able to write and sing, and if it might be to make a verse. They were to enjoy their exhibitions for six years, if they should be disposed to enter into holy orders, otherwise no longer than three. Upon their admission the College was to provide chambers for them and make them the like allowance as to other scholars. No scholar was to be

¹ College Order Book.

² His admission through some neglect was not recorded in the Order Book.

³ See preceding page.

absent more than a month in the year, and that with leave, and whatever profits arose from vacancies, were to be employed upon napery and necessities for their table.

Strype adds¹: 'For the more Convenience and Benefit of the Scholars founded by him, [Parker] afterwards Anno 1574 allotted them Chambers in the College, and procured them several Books to be used in common by them in their studies. The Chambers were on the East side of the College for three of which (if no more) the Archbishop provided Implements, viz. Beds Mattresses Bolsters and Coverlids of Tapestry Chairs and Tables, that is, one of each sort belonging to each Chamber, which cost him Ten Pound Eight Shillings. The Books which were for the common use of all the six² Norwich Scholars were chained, and remained within the Under-Chamber of the Tenth Chamber on the East side. And they were these:

Textus Bibliæ cum Gloss. Lyræ in quatuor Voluminibus.

Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum Versionibus Vulgat. & Erasmi.

Paraphrasis Erasmi Super Novum Testament. in duobus Voluminibus Latine.

Concordantie Bibliorum.

Lexicon Græco-Latinum, recognitum An. 1562.

Thesaurus Linguae Roman. & Britannic. per Thom. Cooper Anno 1565.

Thesaurus Linguae Latin. in tribus Voluminib. recognit. Anno 1561.

Lexicon Latino-Græc. Anno 1554.

Historia Antiquitat. Cantabrigiæ. Anno 1574.'

As we do not know more definitely the conditions laid down by Parker for his new scholars, we must assume with a certain reservation that the above conditions applied to them. We do know that while the Norwich scholars were to occupy the three ground-floor chambers on the east side of the quadrangle (the present Old Court), the new scholars were to reside in a chamber previously called the Storehouse, that is, the ground-floor room at the north-west angle of that court, marked A in the plan in Willis and Clark's *Architectural History*, vol. iv³. That then is where Marlowe must have taken up his abode with his chamber fellows Thexton⁴ and Leugar⁵.

¹ p. 291.

² Strype includes in the six a Bible-clerk.

³ This is clear from Josselin's *Historiola*, ed. Clark, 1880, p. 24.

⁴ Robert Thexton or Thexston matriculated as pensioner of Corpus June 15, 1575, B.A. 1578, M.A. 1582. Probably son of the vicar of Aylsham (Masters' List, p. 48).

⁵ Thomas Leugar, B.A. 1583, M.A. 1587. There is no record of his matriculation.

We have seen that every scholar was to receive xii^d a week, but it was 'pro rata residentie cuiusque eorum in collegio.' Hence if we know what sum a scholar received in any given quarter, we know for what proportion of that quarter he had been in residence. He could only receive 13^s—(in the fourth quarter, for some reason, 14^s seems to have been the maximum)—if resident for all his weeks. If he received less than this, we know that his residence had been short in proportion. Marlowe was credited with his scholarship from the second quarter (the Lent Term) of 1580–1581 to the second quarter of 1587 (inclusive). For all these years, except for the year 1585–1586, the College Accounts are preserved, and register the payments made to him. Accordingly we obtain a most interesting knowledge of the extent of his residence.

I now give the facts in regard to the three scholars of Parker's last foundation during Marlowe's time.

1580–1581	in 2 ^a Trimestri	3 ^a Trim.	4 ^a Trim.
	D ^s Thexton xiijs ^s	D ^s Thexton xiijs ^s	D ^s Thexton x ^s
	Leugar xiijs ^s	Leugar xiijs ^s	Leugar iij ^s
	Marlin xii ^s	Marlen xiijs ^s	Marlen xij ^s

Accordingly, if our data are correct, Marlowe had resided in College from the beginning of the year to Michaelmas with the exception of one week or perhaps two in the last quarter. (In that quarter some other scholars receive xiiij^s.)

1581–1582	in 1 ^a Trim.	2 ^a Trim.	3 ^a Trim.	4 ^a Trim.
	D ^s Thexton xii ^s	D ^s Thexton } Monday ¹ } xij ^s	Monday ii ^s	Monday xiiij ^s
	Lewger xiijs ^s	Lewger xiijs ^s	Lewger viij ^s	Lewger ii ^s
	Marlin xiijs ^s	Marlin xiijs ^s	Marlin xiijs ^s	Marlin vij ^s

In this year Marlowe seems to have resided continuously from Michaelmas to the following summer and then have absented himself for six or seven weeks.

1582–1583	in 1 ^a Trim.	2 ^a Trim.	3 ^a Trim.	4 ^a Trim.
	Munday xij ^s	Munday xj ^s	Munday iij ^s	Munday xi ^s vj ^d
	Lawgar iiij ^s	Lewger xiijs ^s	Lewgar ix ^s	Lawgar xi ^s
	Malyn xij ^s	Marlin xiijs ^s	Marlin vij ^s	Marlin xiiij ^s

¹ The 'Registrum Parvum' has the entry 'Maii 11. Monday electus et admissus in locum dni Thexton.' The date is 1581, but probably 1582 is meant. In this case Monday like Marlowe drew his allowance before being formally admitted to his scholarship. D^s Thexton had been admitted a Fellow on February 5 (College Order Book). Monday is not the John Munday who was Senior Fellow of C. C. C. in 1626 and whose election to the Mastership was quashed, but Thomas Monday, matriculated as Sizar of Corpus March 1, 1579, B.A. 1583. He had perhaps been Marlowe's schoolfellow at Canterbury (Ingram p. 38). One would have expected him to come from Aylsham or Wymondham, but perhaps no candidate was forthcoming from one of these schools.

Here Marlowe breaks his year's residence for seven weeks between Lady Day and Midsummer.

1583-1584	in 1 ^a Trim.	2 ^a Trim.	3 ^a Trim.	4 ^a Trim.
	D Munday xij ^s	D Monday x ^s	D Monday iii ^s	Cokman ¹ iiij ^s
	D Lewgar xij ^s	D Lewgar viij ^s	D Lewgar viij ^s	D Lewgar xiiij ^s
	D Marlyn xij ^s	D Marlin xiiij ^s	D Marlyn xiiij ^s	D Marlin xj ^s vi ^d

Here Marlowe can only have been absent for a week or so in the first quarter, perhaps towards Christmas, and for a fortnight in the summer.

It will be noticed that he receives the prefix denoting the B.A. degree in the first quarter of the year. This is a natural mistake, or anachronism, on the part of a bursar making up his accounts at the following Michaelmas. As a matter of fact Marlowe only became B.A. at the end of the second quarter of this year. The 'supplicat' preserved in the University Registry runs as follows—(where words are included in square brackets part of the original document has been cut away):

'Supplicat Christopherus Marlin ut d[uodecim?] termini completi in quibus ordinarias lectiones audiuit (lice[t non omnino] secundum formam Statuti) una cum omnibus oppositionibus r[esponsionibus] cœterisque exercitijs per statuta regia requisitis sufficiant ei [ad respon]-dendum quæstioni.

Thomas Harris pr[ælector].'

Mr Ingram gives a facsimile of the page of the University Grace-Book of the same date which shows 'Marley' in the order of his seniority.

To return to the scholarship payments. The next record is as follows:

1584-1585	in 1 ^a Trim.	2 ^a Trim.	3 ^a Trim.	4 ^a Trim.
	D ^s Lewgar	D ^s Lewgar	D ^s Lewgar	D ^s Lewgar
	D ^s Marlin iiij ^s	D ^s Marlin viij ^s vj ^d	D ^s Marlin iiij ^s	D ^s Marlin v ^s
	Cockman xij ^s	Cockman xiiij ^s	Cockman iiij ^s	Cockman xiiij ^s

In this year of bachelorhood Marlowe was absent on the average more than half of every quarter, while his fellow-scholar Lewgar was apparently not in Cambridge at all.

The records for 1585-1586 are wanting.

¹ William Cockman matriculated as Sizar of Corpus Oct. 13, 1582, B.A. 158½, M.A. 1589.

Then we have :

1586-1587

in 1 ^a Trim.	2 ^a Trim.	3 ^a Trim.	4 ^a Trim.
D ^s Lewgar	D ^s Lewgar ii ^s	(name omitted from list)	
D ^s Marly ix ^s	D ^s Marlye v ^s vj ^d	(name omitted from list)	
D ^s Cockman xii ^s	D ^s Cockman xj ^s	D ^s Cockman	D ^s Cockman xiiij ^s

Marlowe was in residence for rather more than half his weeks between Michaelmas 1586 and Lady Day 1587. He had then drawn his scholarship for six full years, not counting that first term before his election and admission, and in accordance with Parker's prescriptions (in the case of the Norwich scholarships, at least) it now came naturally to an end. To have held it for even six years, if Parker's wishes were observed, Marlowe must have given out that he intended to take holy orders. If he was next heard of as a writer for a London playhouse, one may imagine that the College authorities would look on him with some disfavour.

However, though no longer a scholar, he had perhaps resided a few more weeks before taking his M.A. degree in July. The 'supplicat' preserved in the University Registry runs as follows :

'Supplicat venerentijs vestris Christophorus Marley vt nouem termini completi (post finalem eius determinationem) in quibus lectiones ordinarias audiuit (licet non omnino secundum formam statuti) vna cum omnibus oppositionibus responsionibus ceterisque exercitijs per statuta regia requisitis sufficiant ei ad incipiendum in artibus.

Robertus Norgate

Henricus Ruse prælector.'

Dr Robert Norgate (who died 2 Nov. following) was Master of Corpus Christi College during the whole of Marlowe's time there.

Mr Ingram gives a facsimile of the page of the University Grace-Book for 1587 in which the M.A.'s of the year appear in the order of their seniority. Those 'Ex coll. corp. xpi.' include 'dno Thome Lewgar' and 'Chr. Marley.'

No successor to Marlowe in his scholarship was elected for some months. Under the date 'A^o 1587 Noueb. 10th' the 'Registrum Parvum' has the entry 'Bridghman eletus [sic] et admissus in locum donj Marley.' But apparently some hitch occurred, or there is a mistake in our documents, for the College Order Book dates Bridgeman's admission five months later. Under the date 'Vicesimo septimo Aprilis Anno 1588' it

has the record 'Jacobus Bridgman¹ electus et admissus est discipulus huius Collegij in locum Cantuariensis scholaris vacantem quia M. Parker secundum ordinationem Domini Archiepiscopi patris sui alium ad supplendum locum prædictum tempore constituto ad collegium non miserit.' A further discrepancy occurs when we find from the accounts that 'Bridgman' has already paid his iii^s iiij^d 'pro introitu' (his fee on succeeding to a scholarship) in the year ending Michaelmas 1587. This would make us think that the entry in the Order Book should be dated 1587. Even so, however, the 'Registrum Parvum' would leave us with a difficulty. The records of the quarterly payments to scholars for the year 1587-1588 are unfortunately missing. Bridgman is however in the place where we should expect him—among the eight scholars partly Norwich, partly the three of the last Parker foundation—in the first quarter of 1588-1589.

It is noticeable that the formula of the Order Book omits Marlowe's name, though it is usual in such a formula of admission that the name of the late holder of the scholarship should be stated. Is this an indication that Marlowe was in some way in bad odour with the College authorities?

It will be observed that the statement in the Order Book about Mr John Parker's failure to send up a scholar, is a further proof that the scholarship held by Marlowe was one on Parker's last foundation.

The new information afforded by the College Accounts will probably be found interesting in several respects. I will call attention to one small point, that of the spelling of the poet's name. The accounts though kept year by year by different bursars are singularly consistent in giving it up to Michaelmas 1585 as Marlin, Marlen, Malyn or Marlyn. After the missing year 1585-1586, they give it in 1586-1587 as Marly, Marlye. The College Order Book in recording his admission as a pensioner in '1580' calls him Marlin, as also when recording his admission to his scholarship in May 1581. The University record of his matriculation in 1580-1 has Marlin, the supplicat for his B.A. degree in 1583-4 has the same form, but the entry in the Grace-Book of that date has 'Marley.' The supplicat for his M.A. degree in 1587 and the entry in the Grace-Book have Marley. It looks as if he had regularly used the name Marlin in his first years of residence, but had come to adopt Marley later. He is 'Christopher Marley of London' when giving his recognizance to appear to answer a charge on October 1,

¹ James Bridgman matriculated as Sizar of Trinity June 18, 1586, M.A. (Corpus) 1593, S.T.B. 1600. There is no record of his bachelor's degree.

1588¹. Peele in the prologue to his *Honour of the Garter* written a month after Marlowe's death addresses him as 'Marley, the Muses' darling for thy verse.'

On the other hand he was entered in the Canterbury baptismal register in 1564 as 'the Sonne of John Marlow'² and this apparently was the form used by his father and mother, though his father was sometimes called by others 'John Marley' or 'Marlyn'³. The earlier records of the family at Canterbury seem to alternate between 'Marley' and 'Marlowe.' It remains therefore a puzzle why the poet should have allowed himself to be known as Marlin during the early years of his Cambridge life, and a little strange that after that name was discarded he should have been known indiscriminately as 'Marley' and 'Marlowe.'

One other conclusion seems to be indicated by the facts given in the College Accounts. Marlowe could not well have found time to serve in the Low Countries in any of the years for which we have information, though we may, if we like, imagine him to have taken a term or two off for this purpose in the year 1585-6 of which we know nothing. This however is unlikely. Nor can we suppose that he went abroad after taking his M.A. degree in July 1597. If *Tamburlaine* appeared in that year, Marlowe must at once have plunged from the quiet Old Court of Corpus into the bustling Bohemian life of the London playhouse.

I am indebted to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College for their kind permission to publish the above facts.

[POSTSCRIPT. I might have mentioned that Marlowe's name appears in a document in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS. 33. 43) entitled 'Nomina Professorum, et Auditorum, omnium Artium, et Scientiarum in Vniuersitate Cantabrigia Anno Regni Elizabethæ vicesimo tertio 29^o die Octobris Anno Domini 1581.' While 'D. Thexton' heads the list of Corpus men who were hearing lectures in Philosophy, Mathematics and Greek, Munday comes 15th, Leugare 19th and 'Merling' 27th among the 29 hearing lectures in Dialectic or Logic. Nine junior students are entered for Rhetoric.]

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

¹ *Middlesex Sessions Roll*, ed. Jeaffreson, I, 189 (quoted by Mr Sidney Lee in the *Athenæum*, Aug. 18, 1894).

² See the facsimile given by Mr Ingram, p. 21.

³ Ingram, pp. 17, 265, 266, 267, etc.

SHORT STORIES AND ANECDOTES IN SPANISH PLAYS.

BRIEF narratives, called *cuentos*, *cuentecillos*, *ejemplos*, *ejemplicos*, *historias*, or *consejas*¹, abound in the Peninsular drama of the Golden Age, despite the rash generalisation of a recent writer, whose name need not be recalled. 'Fables and anecdotes,' he avers, 'are so rarely found in Spanish literature of this time that it is worth while to draw attention to their occurrence in the *Donado*' (a novel published in 1624). It may be doubted, on the contrary, whether any other modern literature, including medieval sermonology, has such a well-nigh inexhaustible storehouse of anecdotes and fables². In few plays are short stories wholly wanting: some have as many as half a dozen, and Calderón even took occasion to parody the practice in *Dicha y desdicha del nombre*, where Tristán indulges in them as freely as his cousin german, Sancho Panza, in proverbs—and like the proverbs of Don Quixote's squire, the stories are not always pat to the purpose.

We are all familiar with the example in Calderón's *Life is a Dream* (I)³. It is related of a philosopher that he was so poor that he sustained himself on herbs. 'Can there be anyone,' he said to himself, 'poorer and sadder than I?' And when he turned round, he found a reply on seeing another philosopher picking up the leaves which he had cast aside.

Cuentan de un sabio, que un día
Tan pobre y mísero estaba,
Que sólo se sustentaba
De unas yerbas que cogía.
¿Habrá otro (entre sí decía)
Más pobre y triste que yo?
Y cuando el rostro volvió,
Halló la respuesta, viendo
Que iba otro sabio cogiendo
Las hojas que él arrojó.

¹ Doubtless also *patrañas*, *fábulas*, *fablillas*, etc.

² Fables will be discussed elsewhere: but it may be noted here that historians of Spanish literature have wholly overlooked countless precious gems, some of which do not suffer by comparison with Juan Ruiz's masterly renderings.

³ To facilitate reference, the stories are numbered.

This *décima*¹ is typical of what the late Archbishop Trench characterised as 'little fables or other narratives, compositions perfectly rounded and complete in themselves, [which] occur not infrequently in Calderón²'—and, of course, in other dramatists. So concise and artistically contrived are these anecdotes or stories in cameo, that they arrest the attention even of those who only care to sip in Spanish dramatic literature, and the wonder is that they have been neglected so long. Sr Menéndez y Pelayo, in his recent history of the Spanish novel, which is sufficiently comprehensive in scope to include *facezie*, never even alludes to them. A considerable garner will be found, however, in two volumes of 'stories, thoughts and witticisms from Tirso, Moreto, Lope de Vega, Calderón and Alarcón,' published some years ago by Eduardo Bustillo and Eduardo de Lustonó³; but their collection is amateurish and far from complete. Another somewhat more pretentious collection is Jiménez y Hurtado's *Cuentos españoles contenidos en las producciones dramáticas de Calderón, Tirso, Alarcón y Moreto, con notas [!] y biografías*, Madrid, 1881.

It is my purpose here to rehabilitate these waifs of a bygone century. Those who deem such *nugae* unworthy of so much labour need only be reminded that no sharp distinction can be made between anecdote and story, that a poet like Dante did not disdain to give artistic form and setting to a mere anecdote about Trajan, that similar narratives have often suggested very pretentious productions, to cite only Jean Aicard's most recent play, *Le Manteau du roi* (*Der König im Bade*).

It was probably Lope de Vega who popularised *cuenticillos*. As early as 1598, Juan de Ochoa seems to allude to their insertion in plays, when he says, addressing dramatists:

Y de un librito, *Alivio de viandantes*,
Hurtáis los dichos y sacáis concetos⁴.

That collections of anecdotes like Timoneda's, Cruz's and others, were thoroughly ransacked by dramatists in search of material is an axiom. The following parallel versions will show how thinly veiled the poet's theft remained. In Melchor de la Cruz's *Floresta Española*, Chap. VI, we read:

¹ Calderón's source was probably Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (X), ed. Knust, p. 323.

² *Life's a Dream*, 1856, p. 223.

³ *Galas del ingenio*, Madrid, s.a. (1890?).

⁴ That is, if the book referred to is Cristoforo Zabata's *Diporto de' viandanti*, or Timoneda's *Alivio de caminantes*. There remains the possibility that Ochoa refers to plots.

Uno, que era tuerto de un ojo, topó una madrugada, quando quería amanecer, á un corcobado, y díxole: Compadre, de mañana habéis cargado. Respondió el corcobado: Por cierto sí, de mañana es, pues vos no tenéis abierta más de una ventana.

Rojas Zorrilla versified the anecdote in the following manner (II):

Un día al amanecer
Dijo un tuerto á un corcovado:
Muy de mañana ha cargado
Vuesarced al parecer.
Ya se ve que es de mañana,
Dijo el corcovado al tuerto,
Pues que vuesarced no ha abierto
Más de media ventana.

Obligados y ofendidos, Act I¹.

It is significant that Cervantes indulged but sparingly in the new vein. His *Don Quixote* and other works abundantly attest familiarity with *exempla*, but in his dramatic works there is only one instance of an anecdote such as we are concerned with here. It occurs in *La entretenida*², a comedia that is conceived, moreover, in the manner of the Lope school, as Cervantes understood it.

In form, the *cuentecillo* owed much, at the outset, to classical models like Anacreon's *Love stung with a bee*, or Martial's *On Euclides*. The medium may have been Italian, especially as Alamanni and other cinquecentists were very prolific in compositions of this kind. One of Lope's versions of Anacreon's epigram cited above is as follows (IX):

Una vez dicen que Amor
Quiso coger un panal,
Y una abeja, al mismo igual,
Le dió notable dolor.
Quejóse á su madre bella,
Y ella entonces le replica:
'También tu eres cosa chica,
Y das tal dolor con ella³.'

¹ The same *Floresta* was probably the source of the following narratives: (III) A mistake arising out of the use of the words *albardas* and *alabardas* (Cruz, vii, i, 24; Lope, *La llave de la honra*, i, xv). (IV) How a student secured lodging when the innkeeper's wife was in the throes of parturition (Cruz, ix, i, 1; Tirso de Molina, *El castigo del penséque*, i, iv). (V) The retort of a lady whose *trancera* was fairer than her *delantera* (Cruz, xi, iv, 7; Tirso, *La celosa de sí misma*, i, iii). (VI) The preacher who sent his servant to a butcher called David (Cruz, v, i, 1; Calderón, *Dicha y desdicha del nombre*, ii). (VII) A widow and the *caroza* (Cruz, iv, vii, 1; Calderón, *ibid.*, ii), etc.

² (VIII) *Pidióle á una fregona...* (Act iii).

³ *El testimonio vengado*, ii, iii. Lope offers another version in *Pobreza no es vileza*, iii. Needless to say, this most famous of idylls—Theocritus' (?) designation—was very popular in Spain. Among other versions made during the seventeenth century may be noted Quevedo's and Manuel de Villegas's. Italian renderings (by Alamanni, etc.) and some at least of the many French versions (by Ronsard, Belleau, Baif, etc.) were, not unlikely, accessible in the Peninsula.

The practice of repeating stories may be further illustrated by the following references: (X) Jupiter (variant Venus) and the man who loved a cat (Lope, *El Príncipe perfeto*, ii, xiv, and *El Castigo sin Venganza*, iii). (XI) One who fed on poison became sick when the supply was exhausted (Calderón, *Saber del mal y del bien*, i, iv, and *Para vencer á amor, querer vencerle*, iii). (XII) One who was mending his breeches, when asked what

It will be in order now to take up stories individually. In Mira de Mesqua's *El Martir de Madrid*, licensed September 3, 1619, occurs one (XIII) of a captive who would in ten years teach an elephant to speak. When asked how, he replies that at the expiration of the time set, he himself, the king, to whom the boast had been made, or the elephant would be dead:

Tengo el exemplo delante
del que se obligó á los daños
sino enseñaba en diez años
á hablar un elefante:
que diciendo otro cautibo,
¿cómo te puedes librar
si en efeto a de llegar
el término executibo?
risueño le respondió

.....¹
que alguno se moriera,
el rey, elefante, o yo:
y ansí el negocio ha finado².

In 1616 Lope de Vega dramatised this anecdote in *El Príncipe perfeto*³. As he had been anticipated by Cervantes, it may be well to present the two versions in full. Lope's rendering is as follows:

<i>Letrado.</i>	Advierto
	Una cosa extraña y nueva.
	¿Es bien que mi habilidad
	Tan peregrina se pierda?
<i>Rey.</i>	¿En qué la tienes?
<i>Letrado.</i>	Escucha:
	En que, fuera de mis letras,
	Haré tan notables cosas,
	Que será la menor dellas
	El hacer que un elefante
	Hable nuestra propia lengua.
<i>Rey.</i>	¿Un elefante!
<i>Letrado.</i>	¿Eso dudas?
	Intenta, Señor, la prueba
	Con los que Gama ⁴ ha traído,
	O á mil muertes me condena.
<i>Rey.</i>	¿En qué término le harás
	Hablar?
<i>Letrado.</i>	Diez años.
<i>Rey.</i>	Pues sea:
	Él y el elefante estén
	Presos, mientras que le enseña.
<i>Alcalde (ap. al Letrado).</i>	Hombre, ¿qué es lo que habéis dicho?
	¿Cómo intentáis tal quimera?

was the new(s), replied, nothing but the thread (Calderón, *Dicha y desdicha del nombre*, I, and *Nadie fie su secreto*, III), etc.

¹ This line is defective in my copy.

² MS. Biblioteca nacional, Madrid, fol. 56 (2) vo.

³ Ed. Rivad., p. 135. It may be noted here, as a trifling addendum to the Rennert-Chorley bibliography (p. 527), that a third part was promised. See close of the play (in Vol. IV, not Vol. II).

⁴ Vasco (de) Gama, the navigator.

Letrado. Callad, Alcalde, ¿no veis
Que en diez años que me quedan
De término, es imposible
Claramente que no muera
Yo, ó el Rey, ó el elefante?

Cervantes' version forms the sub-plot of *La gran Sultana*, published in 1615. In Act II a captive, Madrigal by name, appears before a judge (in Lope's play the king acts in the same capacity) and, in order to free himself, says:

Y aquel valiente elefante
Del Gran Señor, yo me ofrezco
De hacerle hablar en diez años
Distintamente turquesco;
Y cuando de esto faltare
Que me empalen, que en el fuego
Me abrasen.

On being released, he is reminded by Andrea that he himself does not speak Turkish, but he retorts:

Habrà tiempo en diez años
De aprender el turco y griego.
Andrea. ¿Al cabo no has de morir,
Cuando caigan en el caso
De la burla?
Madrigal. No hace al caso;
Déjame agora vivir;
Que en término de diez años,
Ó morirá el elefante,
Ó yo, ó el Turco...

Plans 'aft gang aglee,' and Madrigal is forced to resort to the footwear of Villadiego:

Porque no hay que esperar á los diez años
De aquella elephantil cátedra mía.
Mas vale que los ruegos de los buenos
El salto de la mata¹.

The well-known story of *The glove and the lion* (XIV) occurs in Mira de Mescua's *Galán valiente y discreto* (ed. Rivad., p. 36 c):

En Castilla sucedió
Que una dama arrojó un guante,
En presencia de su amante,
A unos leones; entró
El galán, y le sacó,
Y luego, á su dama infiel
Le dió en el rostro con él...

¹ For parallels and bibliography see the present writer's study on Sebastian Mey's *Fabulario*, in *Modern Language Notes*, 1906, p. 201. The Sieur d'Ouville's version in *L'Élite des contes de...* (ed. Ristelhuber), No. xxxix, is very similar.

This story, so briefly rounded off by Mira, forms the plot of Lope's *El guante de Doña Blanca*, and suggested the opening scenes of Miguel Sánchez's *La isla Bárbara*¹.

In Lope's *El Castigo sin venganza* (Act II) is told the story (xv) of Antiochus and Seleuchus. Lope's version has a twofold interest; in the first place, it is interrupted by dialogue, and secondly, it has a parallel in the main plot of the play itself. Lope, moreover, used it as the plot of another play, *La gran columna fogosa*².

Lope tells the following story (xvi) of Dante, not found in Papanti's *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*:

Cuál era de todo el mundo
El mas discreto, quería
Saber un rey, y aquel día
Dante, en las letras profundo,
Le dijo que el más discreto
Fué Demócrito, aquel sabio,
Sin hacer á nadie agravio,
Más prudente y mas perfeto;
Y era porque re reía
De todo cuanto pasaba;
Que si Heráclito lloraba,
Fué necia filosofía.
Ciento y veinte años vivió
Demócrito con su risa;
El llorón se dió más prisa;
Que á sesenta no llegó.

(*Quien ama no haga fieros*, ed. Rivad., p. 451.)

The part of this anecdote which is concerned with Democritus and Heraclitus, was popularised by Valerius Maximus³. Lope's version differs slightly.

The well-known story of *El huevo de Juanelo*, told also of Columbus, is thus referred to by Calderón (xvii):

Lo del huevo de Juanelo,
Que los ingénios más grandes
Trabajaron en hacer
Que en un bufete de jasper
Se tuviese en pie, y Juanelo
Con solo llegar y darle
Un golpecito, le tuvo.

¹ The anecdote has been made familiar by Brantôme, Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, Bandello, Schiller, Leigh Hunt, Browning, etc. See Liebrecht, in *Germania*, vii, pp. 419 ff.; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Lope*, ed. Acad., ix, pp. lxxxv ff.; Puymaigre, in *Revue Hispanique*, 1895, pp. 166 f.; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages arabes*, viii, p. 146.

² Ed. Acad., p. 206. Lope's source would be Bandello, ii, lv, and he, in turn, refers to Petrarch's *Trionfo d'Amore*. See Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, ed. 1906, ii, p. 72, for ultimate sources and parallels. The motive was used by Torres Naharro in *La Aquilana* and in several English plays.

³ Other references will be found in Cristoval Suárez de Figueroa's *Plaza universal...* (1615), vii, p. 33.

Las grandes dificultades,
Hasta saberse lo son;
Que, sabido, todo es facil.

(*La dama duende*, II.)

Lope, in *Santiago el verde* (ed. Rivad., p. 198), narrates a familiar story of the Emperor Frederic (XVIII). This monarch, before besieging a certain city, gave permission to the women to carry out whatever they could bear on their backs, whereupon they carried out their husbands¹.

A legislator (XIX) decreed that, as a punishment for adultery, the eyes should be taken out. When his son was found guilty of this offence, the legislator took out one of his son's eyes and one of his own. Lope, *El amigo hasta la muerte* (ed. Rivad., IV, p. 884)².

MILTON A. BUCHANAN.

TORONTO.

¹ Mexia, in the *Historia Imperial...*, fo. cexlvii, vo., ed. 1564, the usual source in Spain for such lore, tells the anecdote of Conrad III.

² Lope refers to this story in *El marqués de Mantua*, ed. Acad., XIII, p. 305. The first Spanish version is probably that of the *Libro de Castigos é documentos*, ed. Rivad., p. 105; the source, Valerius Maximus, is given. Moreto developed the theme into a play, *La fuerza de la ley*.

(*To be continued.*)

ON THE TEXT OF THE PROSE PORTION OF THE 'PARIS PSALTER.'

THE Old English Prose Version of the first fifty Psalms, which is preserved in the so-called *Paris Psalter* (Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds latin 8824), has not received the attention it deserves. Until lately, it has been accessible only in Thorpe's *Libri Psalmorum*, etc. (Oxford, 1835), long since out of print. And this edition falls so far short of modern requirements of exactness, as to be of small value until corrected laboriously with the aid of Tanager's collation (*Anglia*, VI, Anzeiger).

About three years ago therefore, I undertook the preparation of a new and critical text, together with a detailed grammatical analysis. As far back as Easter, 1907, I carefully examined and re-collated the Paris Codex; but I was unable to have the whole of my work ready for the press until the beginning of last year. In the meantime, there has appeared a new edition of the Prose Psalms under the auspices of Professor J. W. Bright, of Johns Hopkins University. As the publication of my own work, which, I ought to mention, was announced in *Englische Studien* (XXXVII, 176) in the autumn of 1906, has thus been stopped, it may perhaps not be out of place to record here a few notes and emendations which are the result of actual study of the MS. and its linguistic forms.

Let us first consider a few readings which stand out in contrast to the general usage of the Codex and are obviously the work of a late scribe or scribes. Owing to the impossibility of comparison with other MSS., one is, of course, unable to sift out such late readings with certainty in every case; but at any rate some attempt to do so ought to be made.

33² MS., Th(orpe), Br(ight), *herod*. Read *hered*. Our text keeps the I and II Conjugations absolutely distinct, the only exceptions being *gremiað* 5¹¹, which indeed is found in early WS., and *gegyrion* 34²⁴.

34²⁴ MS. Th. Br. *gegyrion*, an extremely late form. Read *gegyrwen*. In all other examples of *gierwan* and *smierwan* in our text, the old regular forms are preserved; viz., *gegyred* 44¹¹, *gesmyredest* 22⁷, *gesmy-*

rede 2² 44². It is possible that the ending *-ion* is due merely to careless copying; for the same three letters occur immediately above the word, in the expression (*beslepen h*) *i on* (*hy*) of the line before.

26² 48¹⁸ *afærd, forwyrnd*. Read *afær[e]d, forwyrn[e]d*. Except in the case of verbs in *d, t*, these are the only examples of syncopated past participles in the text; whereas there are 49 examples of *-ed*, among which the form *afæred* actually occurs (26⁴). Aelfric, too, has only *forwyrned, afæred*. The two short forms then, are certainly due to a late scribe.

23¹ *gefylð* must also be corrected to *gefylled*, not with Th. and Br. to *gefylð*.

15¹ 16¹² 30² 40¹⁰ *gehealde, gehwyrfe, efste, arære*. These forms of the Imperative stand alone. On the other hand we have of the strong long stems, of the strong short stems, and of the weak long stems, 48, 13 and 61 examples respectively without the final *e*, among which occur *gehwyrf* twice and *geheald* four times. It is to be noted, however, that a form *lære* occurs once in the Hatton MS. of the *Cura Pastoralis*. Perhaps, then, the four Imperatives in *-e* are to be retained in the text.

hig 2⁴, 9¹⁹, 10⁷, 17^{14, 18, 32} etc. This spelling is of comparatively rare occurrence. Any editor who, as Bright does, regularly alters *mani* to *manig*, should for the sake of consistency remove also this late WS. converse spelling of *-ig* for *ī*.

2⁹ MS. and editors *wylst*. Read *wyl[d]st* and note the retention of the *d* in all similar stems in our text, e.g. *gescyldst, gehyldst*, etc.

5⁵ *specað*. Perhaps read *sp[r]ecað*. This *r* is dropped sporadically, it is true, even in early WS.; but there are 32 examples of *spr-* in our text.

8⁶ MS. Th. Br. *gesetest*. Read *geset[t]est*. If a Present had been intended here, the form would probably have been *gesetst*, as in 44¹⁷; for uncontracted forms are extremely rare. (The ratio of uncontracted forms to contracted is: weak, 14:109; strong, 6:170.) But we have to do here with a Preterite, 'constituisti.' Cf. *gesettes* VespPs. CantPs., *gesettest* RegPs.

In all the above cases, conservative editing, I admit, might reasonably leave the text untouched and relegate emendations to the foot-notes. I pass on to MS. readings which are too obviously faulty to be left as they stand. It will be noticed that, of the large number of such faulty readings, which were either emended unsatisfactorily or passed over

altogether by Thorpe, the majority have been reproduced by Bright with great faithfulness: in the few cases in which the American scholar ventures on an independent reading, he would have done better to trust to his predecessor.

9⁶ MS. *heora þu towurpe*, Th. 'vox ceastra deest,' therefore Br. *heora ceastra*, etc. The right word to supply is *byrig*; cf. 30²⁴ 45⁴ 47^{1, 2, 7}.

10¹ MS. *laere me*, overlooked by Th., also by Br. Supply *ge*.

17¹¹ MS. *betwu* with mark of abbreviation over the *u*. Br., following Th. again, resolves into *betwux*. Read *betwuh* and cf. 16².

17¹³ MS. *offlugon*, *t* above the line and in another handwriting. Th. (text) *offlugon*; Th. (notes), Br. *oft lugon*. Though I have been unable to discover any other example, I should prefer, with Wülfing, to keep the word as first written. Cf. the verbs with the prefix *of-*, in Bosworth-Toller's *AS. Dictionary*, in Wülfing's *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen* (§ 109), and in Napier's *Contributions to Old English Lexicography* (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1906).

18⁶ MS. Th. *þe ne gyre mistlica godes gesceafta*; Br. *gyrre*. We have no evidence that **gyrran* was ever used transitively. In the second place, the meaning 'garrere,' 'sonare,' makes no sense here. In the third place, the corresponding Latin passage, 'quorum non audientur voces eorum,' shews what has happened to the text—the copyist has simply omitted two letters. Read *g[eh]yrè*.

20⁴ MS. *he þe bæd*. The correct reading is noted by Tanger. Th. by an oversight has omitted *þe*, and Br. again reprints him faithfully.

21¹⁵ MS. Th. Br. *gerimde*. There is certainly a scribal mistake here. Supply *synt*, or read *gerimdon*.

23³ MS. Th. *Hwa is þæs wyrðe þæt astige*. Br. supplies *he* before *astige*, probably unnecessarily.

23⁸ MS. *eowge ecan geatu*. Br. of course reads *eowre* with Th. The right emendation is either *eowru* or *eower*.

27¹ MS. Br. *hopige*. This is clearly a mistake of the scribe's; read then, with Th., *cleopige*, 'clamabo,' and cf. *VespPs.*, *CantPs.*, *RegPs.*

29¹¹ MS. *wlite hrægl*. Th., copied again by Br., reads *hwite hrægl*. This does indeed appear a second time in our text (34¹³). I hold, however, both passages to be corrupt and prefer to read *witehrægl*. Cf. a similar expression in the metrical part of the *Paris Psalter* (68¹¹):

*Gif ic mine gewæde on witehrægl
Cyme cyrde.*

Cf. also the compounds *witehus*, *witesteng*, etc.

29^u MS. Br. *beyrgdst*, Th. *gebyrgdest*. Read *begyrdst* and cf. 17³⁷.

31³ MS. *mægen*. Th. *mægn*, overlooked by Tanger. Br. also *mægn*.

34⁹ MS. Th. *gefo hi*; Br. *gefon hi*. A mere slip of the copyist's probably. Or could he have been influenced by the contracted forms of the verb used before *ge* and *we*?

34¹³ MS. Br. *þe ic hi to sende*. Read *him* with Th. The scribe has simply forgotten to put in the required stroke over the *i*.

34¹⁴ MS. Br. *þeahþeah hi*; Th. *þeah hi*. Read *þeah þe hi*.

35^{arg} MS. *Judas him dydon*; Br. *dyde*. Read with Th. *Jud[e]as*.

37²⁰ MS. Th. Br. *tælað*. Correct of course to *lætað* and cf. 43¹⁸.

38¹⁵ MS. Br. *nifara*. Th.'s reading *n[d]fara* seems preferable.

39¹⁵ MS. *þu gearige*; Th. (notes), Br. *þu me gearige*. Th. reads correctly in his text *þu me arige*. Cf. 39²¹.

39¹⁶ MS. *afyrranne*; Br. *afyrrane*, a printer's error.

41³ MS. Th. *ic gehyrde mine secgan*. Br. alters *mine* into *to me*. Th. (notes) 'post *mine* nom. subst. deesse videtur.' I should prefer to regard this as an example of the absolute use of the relat. pron. Very similar examples are recorded by Wülfing (*Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, § 252). Cf. the phrase 'me and mine.'

41⁴ Br., copying Th. without reflexion, supplies *ic* after *gemunde*, quite unnecessarily.

41⁸ MS. *hefug*; Th. Br. *-ig*. Emendation is needed probably; for we have, as far as I know, no other records of *hefug*. Cf. however *hefogoston* in the *Blickling Homilies* (E.E.T.S., p. 75), and Streitberg, *Urgerm. Grammatik*, § 96.

41¹¹ MS. Th. Br. *mysceað*. Read *hysceað*.

42³ MS. *þa þe*; Br. *þa þe me*. Th. reads rightly *þa me*. It is probable that *þa* alone could be used as a relative (cf. Wülfing, *loc. cit.*, § 274); but there is no room here for a relative, for the Latin text is 'ipsa me deduxerunt.'

44¹⁸ MS. *cneorisse*. Th. alters needlessly into *-nesse*, and Br. shews again his faith in him. Since the year 1888, editors of Old English texts have had no excuse for not knowing that the termination *-nisse* was already in use in early WS.

45² MS. Br. *eall eorðe*. More probable is Th.'s emendation, *ealle*.

45³ MS. *swa þer muntas*, Th. *þær*; Br. *þa*. The MS. reading makes good sense.

48⁶ MS. Th. Br. *wuldrað*. This is clearly a mistake of the copyist's, and was caused most likely by the occurrence of the letters *-að* in the

word *gylpað* immediately before. Our text contains no example of the late WS. plural termination *-að*; whereas *-iað* occurs 75 times.

49ⁿ MS. Th. Br. *ceap*. Taking into consideration the translator's addition of the words *ealra duna*, I should like to emend to *sceap*.

With reference to the division of the Psalter into verses, there are two reasonable courses open to an editor. Either he can closely follow the MS. in this matter—thanks to the initialer this is an easy task in the case of the *Paris Psalter*; or, to facilitate reference, he can choose the division of a standard version, such as the Vulgate. Thorpe has chosen the former course, but does not always follow it consistently: Bright has in the following cases simply reprinted the inaccuracies of Thorpe's text.

17³⁷ begins at *Ac feollon*, as Tanger has already noted. The þ in *þu me begyrdest* is no initial.

24^{7, 8}. There is great confusion here. *For þone...rihtwis* has been misplaced in the Codex immediately after the verse *Forþam...wegas*. Tanger's note does not show clearly that *For þone...rihtwis* forms a separate verse (7). Verse 8 is formed by *Forþam...wegas*, and a new verse (9) begins with *Ealle godes*.

12⁴. This verse, notwithstanding Tanger's note, is given correctly in Thorpe's edition: the concluding word is *deaðe*. But in place of Th.'s v. 5, there are two verses in the Codex: [þ]y læs...þonne he and [þ]a þe me swencað...gelyfe; the initials are lacking in both cases.

For the other passages in which Thorpe and his imitator have tacitly departed from the MS., reference may be made to Tanger's valuable article.

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SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS: AN EXAMINATION.

III¹.

THOSE who are inclined to make a 'root-and-branch' study of the plays that pass current under the name of Shakspeare for the purpose of obtaining a thorough knowledge of his style will do well to avoid the common practice of beginning with the earliest ones and working onwards. To do so is to begin with plays that are in all probability not very largely the work of Shakspeare, and in any case are not characteristic of him. One may adopt such a plan in connection with Scott or Thackeray, Byron or Shelley, because in the first place there is no doubt as to what are their early works, and because in the second place the whole or almost the whole of their first-period work was done alone. Concerning Shakspeare's early efforts, on the contrary, all is doubt: some may be extant, unrecognised as his: some, included among his works, may be mainly the outcome of the labours of others. In any case it is tolerably certain that he began as a pupil and as an imitator; and therefore to begin with the plays of his first period is to run the risk of acquiring a false impression of his literary manner. It is better and wiser to start with plays that may reasonably be assumed to belong to the middle of his third period, and work thence onward to his plays of supposed latest date and then from the starting-point backwards to the commencement of his career. One may take as the middle of the great writer's third period the early part of the year 1601; and as the seventeenth century began, according to the reckoning of the day, in the month of March that month may be taken as giving the actual point of departure. If we adopt the chronology of one of the critics most highly endowed and most highly esteemed—Professor Dowden—we shall then read in the following order the plays which appear in the first folio:—*Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, *All's Well*, *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus*, *Othello*,

¹ Continued from *Modern Language Review*, Vol. III (July 1908), p. 355.

Lear, Macbeth, Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, Timon, Cymbeline, The Tempest, Winter's Tale, Henry VIII, Twelfth Night, As you like it, Much ado, The Merry Wives, The Taming of the Shrew, Henry V, Henry IV (2), The Merchant of Venice, John, Richard II, Romeo and Juliet, Richard III, Henry VI (parts 2 and 3), Midsummer Night's Dream, Two Gentlemen, Comedy of Errors, Love's Labour's Lost, Henry VI (part 1), Titus Andronicus. This order, working onward for the first 14 plays, and backward for the remaining 22, is as nearly that of a majority of the critics as any that is to be found, and it does as well as any other for a basis. It is accordingly in that order, omitting the four latest plays, which have been already discussed, that they are dealt with here.

The first six, as they appear in the folio (and no notice will be taken of other versions), are entirely the work of Shakspeare. *Julius Caesar* is almost certainly of two dates, though but little of the early work is left. There is plenty of reason to believe that the play in some form was in existence in 1599, when Weever penned an allusion to it and Jonson ridiculed a line from it in his *Every Man out of his Humour*. The original play, of which traces are visible here and there, must have been of very early date; witness this passage (from v, 3):

Pin. So I am free; yet would not so have been,
Durst I have done my will. O Cassius!
Far from this country Pindarus shall run,
Where never Roman shall take note of him.

Mes. It is but change, Titinius; for Octavius
Is overthrown by noble Brutus' power,
As Cassius' legions are by Antony.

Tit. These tidings will well comfort Cassius.

Mes. Where did you leave him?

Tit. All disconsolate,
With Pindarus, his bondman, on this hill.

Mes. Is not that he that lies upon the ground?

Tit. He lies not like the living. O my heart!

and so on for the remainder of the scene. The only argument used against an early date for the play is its absence from Meres' list of Shakspeare's plays in 1598, but Meres' list does not pretend to be an exhaustive one, and if this play was as early and as stiff as the few passages still extant serve to indicate, it is little wonder that it was not mentioned among the round dozen he honours with notice. That it was greatly curtailed is shown by the frequency with which characters who are on the stage are allowed to remain mute. Note particularly that the Lepidus of III, 1 (who is not the Lepidus of

iv, 1) appears only once and does not speak, that in v, 3, Strabo, Volumnius, and Lucilius are all mute, while two non-characters, Labeo and Flavius, are addressed instead of the two former, and that Lucius is confounded with Lucilius.

That Shakspere's *Hamlet* was founded on an early work by Kyd is now generally admitted, but the folio version contains no fragments of the early play. Even where Kyd was most probably followed (as in the catalogue of woes in iv, 5) his verse was not retained. The language and the run of the verse show no signs of belonging to more than one period, but for all that it seems probable that it underwent some revision by the master even after he had made it entirely or practically his own. Thus, i, 1, the doings in which are related in i, 2, was probably the result of a revision, the mistake being made of retaining the subsequent scene describing what is there shown. In iii, 2, again, we are confronted with the incredible circumstance of the king witnessing unmoved the dumb show rendering the acting of his crime. Is it not likely that in the old play the dumb show was sufficient to arouse the conscience of the royal criminal, and that the subsequent performance was an afterthought on the part of the dramatist? The quarto absolutely proves revision, but that text is beyond the scope of this paper.

All's Well contains numerous signs of alteration or condensation. In ii, 1 Bertram and Parolles take no notice of the entry of the king, and probably the three speeches following were not in the original version; in ii, 3 reference is made to Lafew's son, the reference being understandable only on the assumption that he was a character in the play as at first written; in the same scenes the third lord's speech has dropped out; Violenta, one of the *dramatis personae*, never speaks, and appears only in one scene (iii, 5), where Helena's 'Please it this matron' infers that Mariana was the only person present besides herself, Diana, and the widow; the steward is named only in the text (in iii, 4); Morgan is also named only in the text (in iv, 3); the clown is not named till v, 2, and then only in the text; much confusion is caused by the failure to name (except in the text in one scene) the two Dumains, who are styled in the stage-directions throughout iii, 6, iv, 1, and iv, 3 merely '1st Lord' and '2nd Lord' and are probably identical with the first and second lords of ii, 1 and iii, 1, and perhaps with those of i, 2, but are not among the lords in ii, 3; in v, 3 the king says to Diana 'You said you saw one here in court could witness it,' though the play as it exists gives us no speech of Diana's to such effect; and, finally, Parolles' moralising at the end of iv, 3 implies that an end has been

made of him, whereas he appears again (twice) in Act v. On grounds of style the same conclusion of play-revision must be arrived at, early work being I, 3, that part of II, 1 beginning with the king's fourth speech after Lafeu's second exit, part of II, 3, the sonnet in III, 4, and III, 5. Though in the latter portion of II, 3 the rhyme is more jerky and central-paused than is usual in Shakspeare, though III, 7 is unusually free from double endings, and though the run of the verse in portion of II, 1 and the beginning of v, 3 differs somewhat from that elsewhere, there need be no doubt that the play is entirely Shakspeare's; but the epilogue is of doubtful authorship.

Measure for Measure shows no clear sign of being of more than one date, though the concluding of one scene with a 4-foot verse passage is strange in a Shaksperian play dating apparently from the year 1604. It may be noted that one character, Varrius, never speaks, that Juliet is mute in two of her three scenes, Barnardine in one of his two, and Claudio in the concluding scene. It may therefore be surmised that it has been cut down for stage purposes.

The concluding portion of *Troilus* has been declared to be largely non-Shaksperian, and it is quite likely that the final scene is a late addition to the rest of the play, (which would account for the inconsistency of making Aeneas the leader of the Trojan forces, though he has been declared in v, 6 to have been captured by the Greeks), and even that the drama originally ended with v, 3, as is rendered probable by the fact that the folio concludes that scene with the three closing lines of the play; but the style of the verse throughout speaks distinctly in favour of Shakspeare's sole authorship, though the prologue is not his. It should, however, be obvious that the play is of more than one date, the Cressid portion of IV, 5 being in quite the manner of *Love's Labour's Lost*. There are frequently mute characters on the stage and Antenor, who appears in three scenes, never once opens his mouth. That in its first form the play dates from no later than the very early part of Shakspeare's second period is shown not only by the style of such of it as is left, but also by the references in Willobie's *Avisa* (1594). The mention in v, 2 of *Much Ado* of the name of Troilus as having been already used in blank verse affords perhaps further proof of an early date.

Is it not possible that the unfinished character of this play, at the close of which Troilus and Cressida seem to be altogether forgotten, may be due to an intention on the part of the poet to pen a sequel? The line in the epilogue, 'Some two months hence my will shall here be

made' infers as much. If ever written, this doubtless dealt with the revenge which in his penultimate speech Troilus promises to achieve. In conclusion, attention may be drawn to the inconsistency in the drawing of Ajax.

The only portions of *Othello* which arouse any feeling of doubt as to their authorship, are the third gentleman's speech in II, 1, and to question Shakspeare's sole authorship on that score would be absurd, for the speeches mentioned are, if not manifestly his, at least possibly his. If, however, it is tolerably certain that the play is wholly his, so should it be certain that it is not entirely of one period. The patch of rhyme (18 lines) in I, 3 is likely to be of comparatively early date, and it is difficult to believe that the explanations addressed by the characters to the audience can have been penned at the late date at which the bulk of the play as it stands was written. Founded on an earlier play (also by Shakspeare) it was written apparently in 1604, in which year it was given at Court, but as printed contains additions of much later date.

Of the plays as taken in the order adopted here, *Lear* is the first containing work which is not Shaksperian. As it appears in the folio (and indeed in the quarto version also, but to a less extent) it has apparently been shortened for acting purposes, but it has also had some matter inserted to add to the popularity of the play with those who liked comic relief to heavy tragedy. There are passages here that no one would suppose to be Shakspeare's if they appeared out of 'Shakspeare.' Such are the last speech in III, 2, the bulk of Edgar's third last speech in IV, 1 (from 'Poor Tom' to 'waiting-women'), parts of III, 4 (from Edgar's entry to 'Modo he's called, and Mahu'), parts of III, 6, while Gloucester is off the stage, and parts of IV, 6, between Lear's entry and the gentleman's. It is worthy of note that the above-mentioned speech in III, 2 is found only in the folio, not in the quarto; that of the second passage named only the first dozen and a half words find a place in the folio; and that of the fourth about half appears in the quarto alone. Too much weight must not, however, be attached to this circumstance, since many of the passages omitted in the folio are unquestionably Shaksperian in style. In any case the great bulk of the play is undoubtedly his, the non-Shaksperian portions consisting only of the Fool's prophecy and some 'poor Tom' nonsense. The closing speech in III, 6 is either non-Shaksperian, or of early date. The latter conclusion seems preferable, in which case it is to be supposed that Shakspeare went over the play twice. May it not be that in the course of the shortening a scene showing the arrival of Oswald and Kent at Cornwall's court has been

dropped out, the description of the scene being inserted in II, 4 to make up for the omission? Until this is given it is not clear what has led up to the events in II, 2. It may be added that Lear's chief speech in IV, 6 bears considerable resemblance to the style and tone of the *Revenger's Tragedy*.

Macbeth is, like *Lear*, not entirely the work of Shakspeare, though again the insertions are neither numerous nor important. The Cambridge Editors give a formidable list of spurious passages but the only ones that there is reason to deprive Shakspeare of are III, 5 and Hecate's speech and song in IV, 1. The writer of these may have been Middleton, but there is no real resemblance to his style, and they may merely be the work of one familiar with his play *The Witch*. Why Shakspeare should be so generally denied the credit of the Porter's soliloquy in II, 3 is not clear. It is like his work, and the effectiveness of its introduction in its place should be evident. That the play has been curtailed is obvious, and some importance may attach to the fact that the accentuation of Dunsinane in IV, 1 differs from that given it in Act v. Whether, as Mr Fleay supposes, portion of IV, 1 dates from 1593—4 is not clear.

Antony and Cleopatra, though of unusual length, may be judged by the number of times that characters are suffered to remain mute on the stage to have undergone some abbreviation. Its authorship is beyond question.

Coriolanus is practically entirely Shakspeare's, the only passage clearly not his being the patch of twelve rhyming lines introduced into II, 3. In II, 1, III, 2, and v, 2 there seem to be traces at times of yet another writer; but Shakspeare's hand is in all these, and there need be no doubt of his sole authorship of them. This play affords considerable evidence of the truth of Professor Thorndike's assertion that in his later years Shakspeare came under the influence of the younger dramatist, John Fletcher.

Timon, the most unpleasing of all the later plays of Shakspeare, is, beyond all reasonable doubt, only partly his. As to what parts are not his there may be much difference of opinion; and the responsibility for the non-Shaksperian portions has never been definitely settled. The tendency amongst the critics has been to deprive Shakspeare of the discredit of the most unsatisfactory portions of the play, and to allot to another writer most of the cut-and-thrust of the conversation of Apemantus, though in this connection it is to be noted that a somewhat similar abusive railer appears in *Troilus and Cressida*, which stands alone with *Timon* as a Shaksperian representative of that indefinite

class of play to which the theatrical manager of to-day gives the distinctive name of 'drama.' Shakspeare's share of the play is I, 1 (minus probably the portion between the entry of Apemantus and the sounding of the trumpets), II, 1, 2 (minus probably the Apemantus portions), III, 6, IV, 1, 2 (with the exception of the last 21 lines), 3 (to Flavius' entry), v, 2, 3, 5; and perhaps III, 4 and v, 1 also contain some of his work. The tone of III, 1 is that of the *Revenger's Tragedy*, but it is also that of portion of *Lear*.

How Shakspeare came to be concerned with another author in the production of this play may be variously accounted for. It has been supposed by some to have been primarily the work of the other writer, fitted for the stage by Shakspeare; while some have regarded it as a play of Shakspeare's pieced out by the other. That it has been twice written, or else patched by one on the ground-work of another is evident. The failure of the poet and painter to enter in IV, 3 after Apemantus has announced their approach (their visit to Timon not occurring till the next act) is a good proof; and others are—the entry of Lucius, Lucullus, and Sempronius in I, 2, whereas the conversation (evidently theirs) is carried on by 1st, 2nd, and 3rd lords; the substitution of three unnamed lords for these three in III, 6; the dropping of Ventidius after Act I, though in III, 3 he is spoken of as having been tried, and though in Act I Shakspeare has plainly shown an intention to make a feature of his gross ingratitude; and the vagueness of III, 5, which does not tell us whom Alcibiades is defending (anyone reading the scene alone would naturally suppose that it was a character in the play who was referred to). There is much confusion also as to the servants of Timon, and probably the Servilius of II, 2, III, 2, and III, 5, is identical with the Lucilius of I, 1, the original author's name for the character having been misread by the reviser of the play. Otherwise it is difficult to see why the named servant Lucilius should be dropped, and so many unnamed ones take his place. In II, 1 and II, 2 Caphis is used as a creditor's servant: in III, 4 three other named and three unnamed servants of creditors appear. Of these three unnamed ones, one is a servant of Lucius, and two are servants of Varro. One of the latter appears again in II, 2, where is also an unnamed servant of Isidore. Neither Varro nor Isidore is a character, the only creditor who appears being a senator, the master of Caphis, who enters in II, 1, and whom his servant is, in II, 2, unable to name. The death of Timon too is singular, taking place off the stage, and the information given in regard to it being sudden and unexpected.

Twelfth Night is wholly the work of Shakspeare, but is clearly of more than one date. The last eighteen lines of III, 1 and portions of v, 1 (particularly the sixteen verses beginning 'I'll sacrifice the lamb') are fragments of the earlier version, and there are many signs of alteration—notably the confusion as to the title of Orsino, and the two allusions to a difficulty between Malvolio and the unnamed sea-captain, leading to the latter's incarceration. That it was performed privately in February 1601—2 is known, and there is a certain allusion in III, 2 to a map published in 1599. It is possible also that this scene contains a reference to Coke's baiting of Raleigh at the latter's trial in November 1603. If so, this must have been an insertion after the first production of the revised version of the play, for the manner of the earliest portions is obviously of very much earlier date than 1599. How early they may be cannot be said with any certainty, but it is to be noted that III, 1 contains what seems to be a very clear reference to Tarleton, whose house was the Tabor next to St Benet's Church, in Gracious Street. The famous clown died in 1588, a date which most of the critics will deem far too early for even the first draft of this splendid fruit of Shakspeare's genius; but probability is lent to the belief that in its first form it dates back to the time of Tarleton by, firstly, the Clown's reference to the transmigration of souls, the Pythagorean theory having been revived by Bruno on his visit to England, 1583—5; secondly, the similarity of the usage of Viola by the Duke to Julia's employment by Proteus on his love-errands (*Two Gentlemen*); and, thirdly, the resemblance of the scheme of the play, with the wonderful likeness of Viola and Sebastian, to that of the *Comedy of Errors*, with the twinness of the Antipholi. *Comedy of Errors* dates certainly no later than 1593—4, and may date much earlier, and there is good reason to group it and the first version of *Twelfth Night* amongst Shakspeare's very earliest productions.

As You Like It is also entirely Shakespere's. It has undergone some revision, as shown by an allusion in IV, 1 to the act of 1605 'to restrain the abuses of players' and by a certain amount of confusion between the characters. It is a marriage play, scamped or altered towards the finish.

Much Ado also is of single authorship, but of more than one period. There are many signs of alteration and abbreviation. In I, 1 Claudio's uncle is spoken of as if he were to be a character, but he is never introduced; in the next scene Antonio's son is similarly mentioned as if he were a character, but he too never appears; in II, 3 Claudio

speaks of Beatrice as Leonato's daughter; and the George Seacoal of III, 3 becomes Francis Seacoal in III, 5. The play certainly dates prior to August 1600, when it was entered in the Stationers' Register for publication. Some critics assert that it was not in existence when Meres' work was published, because it is not mentioned therein, and others argue that it must be identical with the play that Meres calls *Love's Labour's Won*. Thus the one set dates it between 1598 and 1600, and the other not later than 1597—8. It is in favour of the latter view that *Love's Labour's Won* must have been a companion play to *Love's Labour's Lost*, and that *Much Ado* approaches more nearly to the scheme of that play than any other Shaksperian drama, but it is against it that the title of *Love's Labour's Won* would not be particularly appropriate. *The Tempest* and the *Taming of the Shrew* have both been suggested as identical with *Love's Labour's Won*, *As You Like It* has been hinted at, and *Twelfth Night*, the claims of which do not seem to have been advocated, is likelier than any of them; but the majority of the critics have pinned their faith to *All's Well*. However that may be, it is difficult to conceive of Shakspeare's adopting as the hero of a play at so late a date as 1598 so unattractive a person as Claudio, one capable of behaving with the callousness that he exhibits after Hero's supposed death. The mature Shakspeare would scarcely have allowed one whom he wished his audience to respect to treat so lightly a death for which he was in a sense responsible and to outrage the feelings of the public by intimating that he looked forward with greater pleasure to the winning of his second bride than he had done to his union with the one he had lost. The contrast between the earlier and the later styles may be seen by a comparison of III, 1 or portion of v, 4 with the bulk of IV, 1 or v, 1. The latter should certainly not date later than 1598, while the former is ascribable to 1592 or thereabouts. That this is likely is shown by the fact that one of Julius' 'Plays derived from English Sources' (1594) has the same plot.

Of *The Merry Wives* there is but one scene—IV, 1—the authorship of which is doubtful; but there is much reason to regard the play as of more than one date, and there are many matters in connection with it of which no satisfactory explanation can be given. The character of the joke played on the Host by Caius and Evans is very indistinct, due probably to curtailment. Mrs Quickly is certainly not the Dame Quickly of Henry IV and Henry V; and Shallow, though deliberately connected with the Shallow of 2 Henry IV, does not seem the same. In II, 3 the Host addresses Shallow as 'Master Guest,' though otherwise

there is nothing to show that he was staying at the Garter. Of the quarrel between him and Falstaff which is the main subject of the opening scene nothing is heard afterwards. Part of IV 4 seems to be of early date, and perhaps the best way of accounting for the above-mentioned facts is by supposing that Shakspeare, given scant notice (so says the tradition; and indeed the construction of the play shows many signs of haste) to provide a comedy showing Falstaff in love, utilised for the purpose the ground-work of an old play of his own, boldly renamed some of the characters with the names of persons in the *Henry IV* plays, and was not very careful to fit them to their requirements. It is also in accordance with this scheme that Fenton is (in III, 2) made a former companion of Prince Hal and Poins. (It is noteworthy that the text of the original quarto states nothing of the sort, and also that it gives no hint of the identity of Shallow with Sir Thomas Lucy.) The play contains an allusion suggesting a date not much later than 1592, and it may be the *Jealous Comedy* acted by Lord Strange's men at the Rose in January 1592—3. The likeliest view is that it was rewritten into the form which is supposed to be, but is indeed very imperfectly, represented in the quarto of 1602 (which contains work not Shakspeare's), and that the play underwent still further revision subsequently, for the folio version contains allusions to events of 1603 and 1605. It may be added too that there is, as has been pointed out by Mr Fleay, an extraordinary resemblance between the Host of this play and the Host of the *Merry Devil*. It must be supposed that this is due to imitation, for it is hard to see Drayton's hand in the *Merry Wives* or Shakspeare's in the *Merry Devil*, although there are other curious circumstances connecting the two plays. It may perhaps be worthy of note that in IV, 3 and IV, 6 of the *Merry Wives* the Host does not speak in quite the same vein as elsewhere.

E. H. C. OLIPHANT.

LONDON.

(To be concluded.)

ZWEI ALTFRANZÖSISCHE MARIENGEBETE.

II.

CE SONT LES XV JOES NOSTRE DAME SAINTE MARIE.

- fol. 176 r. I Douce dame tresglorieusse,
Mere de Deu, leaus espouse,
Marië mere tresmillee,
Amïe coraument amee
5 De celui qui cet bien amer,
Tresluissant estoille de mer,
Par cui nos tuit avons lumiere:
Voirement la joie premiere
Que tu hëus do dous Jhesu,
10 Le tuen trescoral fil ce fui,
Quant Gabriël o grant clartei
De par lo roi de majestei
fol. 176 v. Te dit lo salut amerous,
Le beau, le dous, lo saverous
15 Et dit que do saint Esperit
Conceveroiez sans respit
Et anfanterioiez sans poinne,
Vierge pure de grace ploidne,
Lo savaor de tot le monde.
20 Tresdouce, an cui toz biens habonde,

Var. 1 T. doulce d. gloriouse. 2 Meire D. serour. 3 meire t. honoree.
4 couraïusement aim. 5 b. sceit ameir. 6 luisans meir. 7 Per c. trestuit.
8 Donneis moi la j. p. 9 eus dou doulz. 10 Que li tiens courtoiz filz fut.
11 ot. 12 De part lou roy de majesteit. 13 dist lou salus amerouz. 14 Lou
biaulz lou doulz lou saverouz. 15 dist dou. 16 Conceveroïs s. nulz r. 17 E.
se l'anfanterioies. 18 Sens corrompre de neirs ne voinne. 19 Lou salveour de
tout lou m. 20 Tresdoulce en c. touz b. habunde.

Par la joie qu'adont hëus,
 Que tant humblement recëus
 Qu'après si treshaute novelle
 Te vosis appeller ancelle,
 25 Toi depri je, tresdebonaire,
 Que tu adroice mon afaire
 Et m'espurge do mal d'orguil
 Dont trop sovent santir me suel.

II Vierge dame, pure pucelle,
 30 Tresdouce dame, demoiselle,
 fol. 177 r. Volontiers me deliteroie
 An la toie seconde joie:
 Quant santis de ton fil Jhesu
 Que tu avoiez concëu
 35 San nul charnel atochement,
 Et que fui cil plenierement
 Sentis en toi, roïne eslite,
 La vertu dou saint Esperite,
 Et que tez ventres virginaus,
 40 Que tant estoit purs et læaus,
 Dou mervouilleus concentement
 Centi le dous angrossement,
 Et que tes cuers et t'arme ardoient
 Dou feu d'amor et enflammoient.
 45 Douce dame, en la remembrance
 De la jöusse cognoissance
 Que tu hëus de ton signor
 An celle delitousse ardor

fol. 177 v. Te pri je, tresleauz Marie,
 50 Que me garde do mal d'anvie.

III Damoiselle, tresdouce sainte,
 Douce vierge, pucelle ençainte,

21 Pour l. j. qu'aidonc eus. 22 Ke. 23 Car a, sai haulte n. 24 T. volcis
 appelleir a. 25 Te requiers. 26 entendes ai m. 27 me gette dou maul
 d'orguel. 28 sovant sentir. 29 Douce meire, p. p. 30 T. gentils d. et dam.
 31 En. 32 Volent. 33 sentis d. t. filz. 34 l'avoies conceut. 35 Sens
 nulz charnelz atouchements. 36 si priveement. 37 roïne eslute. 38 E. t.
 v. virgineaulz. 39 Qui loiaulz. 40 mervillouz concevement. 41 Sentit lou
 doulz engroxement. 42 Ke ton corps e. t'airme ardoit. 43 d'amour e. enflai-
 moit. 44 Douce d. e. remembrance. 45 joieuse cognoissance. 46 ëus signour.
 47 Per c. delitouse amour. 48 loial aïe. 49 dou maul d'env. 50 Douce
 et s. 51 Douce v. tres douce dame.

La toie tierce joie fui,
 Que tu hëus dou douz Jhesu,
 55 Quant Helyzabeth visitas
 Et humblement la saluas.
 Celle resut le tien salu,
 Plainne fui de tote vertu
 Et li enfes qu'elle portoit;
 60 Et quant sëus qu'elle savoit
 Que tu la mere Deu estoiez
 Et que tu le fil Deu portioiez
 Et humblement, par grant honor,
 T'apella mere son signor:
 65 De la joie qu'adont hëus
 A chanter ton cuer esmëus
 fol. 178 r. Et si feïs chanson nouvelle,
 Que l'on magnificat appelle;
 Pour ce quë an l'avespremant
 70 Do mont par ton anfantemant
 Nos commansa a ajorner,
 Le fait sainte Eglise chanter
 Chascun jor per election
 A vespre per devotïon.
 75 Or te pri je, dame jöusse,
 Per ceste joie delitousse
 Que tu de toute ire m'efface
 Si qu'a Jhesu ton chier fil place.

IV Douce dame, flors coloree,
 80 Tu soiez totjors honoree;
 Fille ton pere, amie, suers,
 La quarte joe perce cuer:
 Ce fut quant mervoilleusement

53 fut. 54 Ke t. eus d. roy J. 55 El. visitais. 56 lai saluaiz. 57 Et
 elle lors de ton salut. 58 Emplit de tres sainte vertut. 60 scëus. 61 lumiere
 de D. estoies. 62 qu. lou filz de D. pourtoies. 63 H. et per g. amour.
 64 T'apellait meire ton signour. 65 qu'adonc eüs. 66 De chanteir os t. c. esmeut.
 68 Qu'ele m. 69 ceu dame a l'avesprement. 70 Dame a t. 71 Nous
 comansait a ajourneir. 72 Nous f. sainte esglise chanteir. 73 Chesun jour
 p. devocion. 74 vespres yceste chanson. 76 celle j. delitouse. 77 touz pechiés
 me gairde. 78 Que ai t. filz puisse plaie. 79 Dame d'onour, flour c. 80 soies
 touz jours. 81 F. deu meire a. suer. 82 fehlt. 83 Se f. q. mervillouse-
 ment.

fol. 178 v. 85 De toi nesqui virginalment,
 Sans nulle poinne et sans pechié,
 Li gloriôus rois de pitié.
 Douce dame, quel joie avoiez
 Quant tu corporelment veoiez
 Le biau, le douz, le desirrei,
 90 Que IX moix avoiez pourtei
 An ton trespur, precïous cors!
 Antre tes brais et tes tressors,
 Dont te pouoies aasier,
 Sovent et tandrement baisier
 95 Et acoler le dous anfant.
 Par celle joie si tresgrant
 Te pri je, dame, que m'aïde,
 Delivre moi de tote accide,
 C'est de toute male paresce
 100 Et de toute vaine tristesse.

fol. 179 r. V Sainte roïne, simple ancelle,
 Noble norrice, fors pucelle,
 Ensoigne moi, dame, et amer
 La quinte joie et a conter
 105 Des pastors et de lor venue
 Quant la clartei orent vëue
 Et an l'ore de l'enfanter
 Oïrent les anges chanter,
 Qui anoncerent liement
 110 La joe de cel nasement;
 Et as ensoignes quë il virent
 Corrurent vëoir et si virent
 Tot ansi com dit lor estoit;
 Et tes cuers, dame, que faisoit?

84 Nasquit d. toy v. 85 Sens senz pechiés. 86 gloriouz pitiet. 87 Doulce
 d. queil j. avoies. 88 Q. corporeilment lou vëoies. 89 Lou belz, lou doulz, lo
 desireit. 90 mois avoies pourteit. 91 En t. t. doulz p. corps. 92 Dedens
 t. b. iert t. trezors. 93 pooies aasier. 94 Soventes foiz et a baisier.
 95 escolleir lou doulz enf. 96 Que c. 97 T. p. d. qu. tu m'ayde. 98 Et
 m. d. d. tout. 99 malle peresse. 100 malle t. 101 Haulte dame. 102 N.
 royne tres forte p. 103 Ensigne m. d. a ameir. 104 recorder. 105 Dez
 pastours e. d. lour v. 106 lai clarteit. 107 a l'oure de l'anfanteir. 108 aingres
 chanteir. 109 Si lour nonc. liement. 110 naiss. 111 des signes que il y v.
 112 fehlt. 113 Tout ensi lour. 114 tez.

115 Il se delitoit an grans joiez
 De ces chansons que tu ioies,
 Tresjoïssoient le cuer:
 Dame, si me fai geter fuer
 L'ardor de male covoitisse
 120 Par ceste joie qu'a aprise,
 Et si estin an moi le vice
 De la grant puor d'avarice.

fol. 179 v.

VI Sainte pucelle, estoile clere,
 Riche dame, trespïe mere,
 125 Tresdebonaire, or me desploie
 L'encoisson de ta siste joie:
 Ce fui, dame, quant li iii roi
 Devotement et sans desroi
 S'an vindrent devers oriant
 130 Et per l'estoile soulement,
 Qui per mirasle les menoit,
 Vindrent en Bethlëem tot droit
 Pour ton bel anfant aorer;
 Et por l'anfant plus honorer,
 135 De lor tressors, que orent overs,
 Il offrirent iii dons divers
 Per mout tresgrant senefiance,
 Tresprecïousse, sans dotanse.
 fol. 180 r. En grant joie estoit tes corages,
 140 Toz avoiez les avantages,
 Miezs savoiez, que ne fasoient,
 Ceu que lor don senefïoient.
 Grant joie avoiez de l'enor
 Qu'a ton fil et a ton signor
 145 Faisoient par lor bel present;

115 en grant joie.	116 Et ces chouses toutes nettoies.	117 Et em-
baitoies en ton cuer.	118 or f. de moy geteir fuers.	119 Ardour d. malle
covoitise.	120 Per yc. j. que j'ai aprise.	121 esting en moy lou v.
g puor.	123 cleire.	124 meire.
125 debonnaire.	126 La chanson d.	127 fut troiz rois.
128 sens desrois.	129 Se mirent.	131 Que
132 tout.	133 beil aoreir.	134 pour honoreir.
135 lour tresors	136 Si o. dyv.	137 Et a moult gr.
138 precïouse sens	139 A g. j. fut couraiges.	140 Tous avoies l. avantaiges.
141 Mieuls	142 lez dons.	143 avoies de l'onour.
144 Que a t.	145 per honour p.	

Et por lor dous aorement
 Me garde trestote ma vie
 Do vilain mal de glotenie.

VII Roisne de tresbone color,
 150 Que sans pechié et sans dolor
 Têus an ta sainte gecine
 Quarante jors, sainte roïsne:
 Il n'avoit qu'aspurgier en toi,
 Mais por bien acomplir la loi
 155 A Tample ton anfant portas
 Et a l'auter lou presentas.
 fol. 180 v. Dame, quant tu l'ëus offert
 A Symëon tot an apert,
 Quant antre ces bras lo resut
 160 Anunsa ceu qu'anoncier dut
 Et s'escria hardiemant:
 'Ciz est lumiere de la gent
 Et gloire dou peuple Israel.'
 Tresdouce, ceu t'estoit mout bel
 165 Quant tu oïz qu'ansi parloit,
 Et sainte Anne lo tesmonnoit;
 Ceu te dona, vierge saintisme,
 De ton fil la joie septisme.
 Par iceste tresgrant liosse
 170 Et par la toie grant largesse,
 Vierge noite, vierge trespure,
 Garde mon cuer de toute ordure
 Et de toute deshonestei.
 Dame, trop mavais ai estei;
 175 Fai moi anvers ton fil tel plait
 Que me pardoint ce qu'ai meffait.

146 pour lou bialz aornement.	147 gairde trestoute.	148 Dou glout.
149 Rose d. t. bonne colour.	150 sens pechiet dolours.	151 Gëus en la s.
gessine.	153 purgier e. toy.	154 Maiz pour b. espurgier l. loy.
155 Au temple t. enfant portaiz.	156 auteil presentaiz.	158 S. lou tint en a.
159 en ses brais lou receut.	160 Anunsait anuncier deut.	161 s'escrïait moult
haultement.	162 Cist e. li mirëurs des gens.	163 pueple.
164 douce, yceu e. moult beil.	165 oys qu'anci.	166 lou tesmoignoit.
167 Se t. donnait dame saintime.	168 filz septime.	169 ycelle grande lyesse.
170 per grande proesse.	171 Virginité v.	172 Gardeiz m. corps d. toutes ordures.
173 toutes deshonestei.	174 j'ai t. malvaise esteit.	175 envers filz mon p.
176 Qui m. perdoint touz mes meffai.		

- VIII Mere, mere, pucelle tanre,
 fol. 181 r. Fai moi, tresdouce dame, entendre
 De ton fil l'uitisme loïsse,
 180 Ou avoiez si grant destresce,
 Quant fuis en Egypte exillie
 Por Herode et por sa mesnie,
 Qui ne queroient fors la vie
 De ton anfant par grant anvie.
 185 Mais, dame, il te fui mout bel
 Quant an la terre d'Israël
 Retornas do païs estrange
 Par l'amonestement de l'ange,
 Qui nonça que cil mors estoit
 190 Qui la mort de l'anfant queroit.
 A recor de ceste grant joie
 Ton confort, dame, a moi anvoie,
 fol. 181 v. De toz mes pechiez me delivre
 Et me fai si netement vivre
 195 Que je puisse par bien ovrer,
 Mon tresdous païs recouvrer.

- IX Sainte roïne coronee,
 Belle de cors bien aornee,
 La nosme joie fui mout grans,
 200 Dame, quant tez fiz ot xii ans;
 Il fui mou tresbez damoisés,
 Otor ala li bons, li bez,
 An Jherusalem a la feste.
 Premiers i hëus grant moleste;
 205 Par iii jors perdis ton anfant
 Et après lo trovas ceant
 Antre les mastres sagement,

177 Belle meire p. tenre. 178 douce. 179 filz l'uitime lyesse. 180 Ou tu avoies gr. 181 fus. 182 Pour maignie. 183 Qu'il n. quar. 184 chier filz et per envie. 185 Maiz fut moult beil. 186 en Israhel. 187 Retournais dou payx estrainge. 188 Et per angre. 189 anunsait q. mors estoient. 190 queroient. 191 retourner d. c. j. 192 nous envoie. 193 De nos anemis nous d. 194 se nous f. saintement v. 195 nous puissions per b. ouvrir. 196 Nostre doulz paiz recouvrer. 197 Haulte royne coronee. 198 d. touz biens a. 199 Lai nuevime j. fut grant. 200 filz. 201 fut moult t. bialz damoiselz. 202 Otoy aloit li boins li belz. 203 En lai. 204 en ëus. 205 Per treiz jours enf. 206 pues lou trouvais tu seant. 207 Entre l. maistres saïgem.

Oioit les antantivement
 Et si sustilmant opposoit
 210 Que li puples s'an mervilloit;
 fol. 182 r. Dont si tresgrans et sage entente
 Apparoit an telle jovente!
 Grant joie hëus do retrouver,
 De l'escouter, dou ramener.
 215 Tresdouce, par celle grant joie
 Ramoinne moi a droite voie
 Et si me fai, tresdebonaire,
 Par san parler et par san taire.
 Roïsne de virginitei,
 220 Par celle grant humilitei
 Que tez fiz si tresdoucelement
 S'an vint a ton commandement
 Humblement me fai obëir
 A quanque lui vient a plasir.

X Tresesmerree, treseslite,
 La dessisme n'et pas petite,
 Quant as noces Archetreclin
 Fit tes dous fiz de l'ëve vin
 fol. 182 v. Par sa devine poestei,
 230 Dont primes ot manifestei
 A ses deciples de sa gloire.
 Toi pri en la sainte mermoire
 De cel bel mirasclé devin
 Et de la plantei dou bon vin,
 235 Dont furent tuit rasacié,
 Qu'aiez de moi tresgrant pitié.
 Dame, mes cors est si malades,
 Plains de velin et frois et fades!

208 Qui tant bien et esseneement. 209 tant subtilment. 210 pueples s'en
 mervilloit. 211 Que si grant sens, si grant e. 212 Apparisoit en teil juvente.
 213 ëus dou retourner. 214 Et qu'avec toi vot aleir. 215 douce per ycelle j.
 216 Rameneiz moy. 217 Si nous faites. 218 Per sens parler et per sens t.
 219 Roïne de virginitei. 220 Per humilitei. 221 filz doucement. 222 Se
 mist en t. 223 nous f. obeyr. 224 Et lui en plaisir. 226 Lai dexime n'est
 p. petite. 227 archedeclin. 228 Fist tez douz filz de l'yawe. 229 Per sai
 tres digne poesteit. 230 Tout premier ot manifesteit. 231 dissiples. 232 Tres
 douce a la s. memoire. 233 belz miracle. 234 lai planteit boin. 235 D. il
 f. trestuit hauciés. 236 Aies de nous t. g. pitiet. 237 nos cuers sont malades.
 238 froiz et frailes.

- Dame, de mes maus me delivre
 240 Et me fai si netement vivre
 Totjors an droite charitei
 Et me garde en bone santei.
- XI Douce dame tressecoirauble,
 Tresbenigne, tresamiauble,
 245 Ques hons porroit a ce monter
 Qu'il s'eût dire ne conter
 fol. 183 r. La grant plantei et la largesce
 De la toie onzime liesce !
 Il n'estoit se mervoille non,
 250 Tant estoit bel siu cermon
 Et tantes mervoilles faisoit :
 Les paralitiques sanoit,
 Li musel estoient mondei
 Et li avugle ralumei ;
 255 Les contrais faisoit droit aler,
 Les sors oïr, les mus parler,
 Il sanoit toutes maladiez
 Et as mors randoit il la vie
 Et per lou sien commencement
 260 Cessoient la mers et li vent.
 Les cors plains dou saint Esperite
 Randoit et sains et sauf et quite
 Et .v. mil hommes repleni
 De .v. pains qu'il lor departi ;
 fol. 183 v. 265 Et tant autres mirascles grans
 Fasoit comme li rois poissans.
 Bien te dëus, dame, esjoïr
 De ceu vëoir et de l'oïr.
 Per ceste joe si pleniëre

239 Doulce de touz maulz d. 240 f. que nous soiens tuit yvres. 241 Dou
 vin de sainte chairitei. 242 Qui nous gairt an droite santei. 243 Tres cour-
 toise, tres secourrauble. 245 Qui se poroit ai toy monteir. 246 Qui poïst
 panceir et conteir. 247 clarteit lairgesse. 248 joie et o. liesse. 249 n'i ot
 merveille. 250 estoient belz ses sermons. 251 Que lez malaidies garissoit.
 252 Et tant de miraïcles faisoit. 253 musiaus en e. mondeis. 254 aveugles
 enlumineis. 255 Lez aleir. 256 Lez xours oyr parleir. 257 garissoit t.
 malaidies. 258 az ren. lai. 259 p. son soul comandement. 260 lez. m. vens.
 261 corps des malvais e. 262 Il les ren. et s. et quittes. 263 homes raemplit.
 264 p. d'orge qu'il partit. 265 d'auteurs miraïcles grant. 266 Faisoit com li
 tres poïssant. 267 devies d. renjoir. 268 En son v. venir oyr. 269 plainniëre.

270 Te pri je, douce dame chiere,
Que ton dous fil vers moi apaie

Dame, je a tant a garir,
A monder et a esclarcir,

275 A restorer et redrecier,
A delivrer et appasier
Que je ne sa de moi que dire.
Se mirasce n'i fait ci Sire.

XII Tresdouce de tresgrant honor

280 Et tresplainne de grant amor,
A bien orer ansoingne moi,
A panser et parler de toi,
A ta douzime joie dire :

fol. 184 r.

Premiers hëus assez mertire,
285 Que oncques mere tant n'an sosfri,
Quant vëis que tez fiz sosfri
En souverainne pacience
Et en merveilleusse ignoscence
Si delirousse passion

290 Pour la notre redemption.
Trop fui tes cuers en grant destroit,
Tu savoiez que estoit,
Quë il lo t'avoit anuntié
Et comant il iert sans pechié

295 Concëus et nes et nosriz
Et ces biaux fais et ses biaux diz
Et la grant purtei de ta vie ;
Et quant vëis que par anvie,
Sans achoison, a si grant tort,

300 Fui laidis et jugiez a mort
Et vilmant an croix clofichiez,

270 prions nous dame tres ch. 271 Ke t. doulz filz ver nous apaixes. 272 Qui nous garisse de nos plaies. 273 Tant ait en nous d. a g. 274 Et a mondeir et aclairir. 275 restoreir et a redressier. 276 delivreir et a paier. 277 saix vous. 278 miraicle li sires. 279 T. digne honour. 280 Tres p. de tres g. doulsour. 281 Bonne a servir ensigne moy. 282 panceir parler toy. 283 lai dous. 284 ëus tant de merite. 285 C'onq. femme t. n'en senti. 286 ton filz souffri. 287 souv. pat. 288 souverainne ignorance. 289 La dolerouse 290 nostre redempcion. 291 Tez cors fut a trop. 292 savoies quelz il e. 293 Et coment il t'av. nunciet. 294 Et que il estoit sens p. 295 neiz norris. 296 sez b. faiz et sez bialz d. 297 purteit sa. 298 per env. 299 Sens oquixon et. 300 Fut l. e. jugies. 301 vilainnement clofichiés.

fol. 184 v.

Dont fui tes dous cuers tresperciez,
 Dont fui ta douce arme navree
 De celle delirousse espee
 305 Que Symeon t'avoit contee.
 Mais autrement fui restoree
 Quant li tresdous resuscita
 Et quant ces amis visita
 Et geta de celle occulte
 310 Qu'il avoient tant estei.
 Par celle joie mout disauble
 Te pri je, dame delitauble,
 Fai vers ton fil por moi priere
 Quë il me doint an tel meniere
 315 La soie sainte passion
 Recorder par devotion
 Qu'a sa joie puisse venir
 Et an lui vivrë et morir.

XIII Douce dame, sainte Marie,

fol. 185 r.

320 Vierge pure, vierge florie,
 Toute ma joie et m'esperance
 Et m'avouee, car m'avance
 Et si me met an droite voie
 De dire ta tressime joie:
 325 Ce fui quant li tres dous Jhesus
 Se monta sor les cieiz lassus,
 Mout te plaisoit, dame, a vëoir,
 Com verais Deus par son pooir.
 Li apostre le convoioient
 330 De lor iaux tant com il pooient.
 Certes, dame, grant joie avoiez
 Quant tu ton fil autel vëoiez
 An si tresmervouilleusse gloire

302 Adonc fut tez c. tresperciés. 303 Donc fut tai douce airme. 304 dolo-
 rouse. 305 nunciet. 306 Maiz haltement refut haulciés. 307 doulz resus-
 citait. 308 ses visitait. 309 getait obscurteit. 310 Ou esteit. 311 Per
 c. choze veritauble. 313 a t. filz pour nous proiere. 314 Qu'il nous d. en teil
 maniere. 316 Recourdeir per devocion. 317 Qu'en sa gloire puixiens v. 318 en.
 319 Sainte et pure vierge M. 320 va'llant. 321 Nostre j. nostre e. 322 Nostre
 voie c. nous a. 323 nos m. en. 324 la trezime. 325 fut doulz. 326 Si
 montait el cielz. 327 Moult. 328 vrai deu et per. 329, 330 fehlen.
 331 avoies. 332 tres doulz filz veoies. 333 En si t. merveilleuse joie.

Et si tresjoousse vitoire
 335 Monter si tresapertemant
 Et si tressignoriement.
 Sainte honoree, debonaire,
 fol. 185 v. Sainte dame, que porra faire
 Ce ci de moi ne te sevient?
 340 A ceste joie te covient
 Que tu tresefforceiement
 Prië ton fil omnipotent
 Que il mon cuer traie apres lui,
 Qu'an lui soient tuit mi refui,
 345 Qu'an lui soient a totjors
 Et mui delit et mes amors.

XIV Belle flors de virginitei,
 Aornee d'umilitei,
 Pors de salut, celle de miel,
 350 Tamples d'amors, porte de ciel,
 Mout fuis doucement embrassee
 Et hautement enluminee
 An ton quatorzeme delit
 Quant santis dou saint Esperit,
 355 Que tez dous fiz sor ces amis,
 fol. 186 r. Si com il lor avoit promis,
 Et langue de feu lor tramt.
 Tresdouce mere Jhesucrist,
 Langue dè feu me fai avoir:
 360 Li feus alume pour vëoir
 Et li feus art por eschaufier
 Et la langue est por parler.
 Dame, se je par ta proiere
 Avoie langue an tel meniere

334 a si joieuse vict. 335 Monteir. 337 S. Marie d. 338 vierge que
 pouns nous f. 339 e de nous y ne te sov. 340 comant. 341 amerousement.
 342 Jhesu o. 343 Qu'il nos cuers traicet envers. 344 nos refus. 345 Et en
 l. touz jours. 346 nos d. et noz confors. 347 flour de virginiteit. 348 umiliteit.
 349 Porte de l'air porte du ciel. 350 Temple enmiellee de miel. 351 Moulit fut
 doucement embrassee. 352 hault. 353 A cest quators. 354 sentiz. 355 Quant
 tez doulz filz s. ses a. 356 lour a. permis. 357 En langue de f. lou. 358 douce
 meire. 359 nous faiz. 360 Le feu a. tout p. 361 airt pour eschaufier.
 362 li l. parler. 363 Douce s. j. per tai. 364 L. a. de celle m.

- 365 Que veraïement m'allumat
 Et par sa clarteï me donast
 Bien cognoistre ma petitesse
 Et de lui la tresgrant largesce,
 Et me feïst bien eschauffer
- 370 Jhesucrist et mon prome amer,
 Et me feïst mes pechiez dire
 Et Deu loer et moi despire :
 Ainsi porroie je venir,
- fol. 186 v. Ma douce dame, et avenir
- 375 A la toïe quinzeme joïe,
 Dont volantiers me santiroïe.
- XV La quinzeme fut la darrene,
 Sor toutes autres souverainne,
 Quant de cest siegle dus passer.
- 380 De plusors leus fit asambler -
 Toz les apostres an celle hore
 Deus li tiens peres sans demoure
 Pour faire tot a sa droiture
 Ton obseque et ta sepulture.
- 385 En Paradis fuz lors portee
 Et davant ton fil presantee;
 Do ciel te fit dame et roïne
 Et toute riens a toi encline.
 En l'enor de toutes cez joiez
- 390 Te pri je, dame, que tu m'oïez
 Mes prieres, mes orisons,
- fol. 187 r. Et de toutes mes mesprisons
 Me fai pardon et aquitanse
 Par ta pitié, par ta poissanse,
- 395 Si que m'arme soit an la gloire
 De Paradis par ton aitoire.
 Amen an di, douce Marie,
 A cui je rent m'arme et ma vie.

365 vr. enluminaist.
 368 de Deu haultesce.
 moy d.
 376 volent. me senteroïe.

366 per s. clarteit m. donnaist.
 369 pechies.
 370, 371 fehlen.
 374 doulice.

367 De b. c. mai p.
 372 loweir D. et
 375 lai t. quinzime.

ANMERKUNGEN.

3 *millee*. Weitere Fälle von Reduktion des betonten und unbetonten *ie* zu *i* im Lothring. verzeichnen Bonnardot in Bouteiller's Ausg. der *Guerre de Metz* (Paris, 1875) S. 440 und Apfelstedt im *Lothringischen Psalter* (Heilbronn, 1881) S. xix. P hat regelmässig *miellee*.

8 Es fehlt das Verbum des Hauptsatzes, das *fui* (v. 10) nicht sein kann; s. Anm. zu v. 13 des ersten Textes. P und O vermeiden die Anakoluthie.

19 *savaor*, von Godefroy angeführt nach dieser Stelle; vergl. *pugnaour* im *Orson de Beauvais*, v. 2862, und *pechaor* in *Li Regres Nostre Dame*, Str. 275, 1 (Var.) der Ausgabe von A. Långfors (Paris, 1907); s. dazu die Einleitung, S. xcviij.

21 *Par* statt *pour*; desgl. v. 76, 96, 120, 169, 170, 215, 220, 269.

26, 50 *adroice, garde*. Über diesen Imperativ in einem mit *que* eingeleiteten Satze s. Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.*, I (2. Aufl.), S. 25 ff.

31, 32 in O umgestellt.

36 L. nach O: *Et que tu ci* (=si) *p.*; *que* ersetzt *quant*, sowie v. 39 und 43.

40 Hs. *prou, darüber purs*; Hs. Charleville: *surs et roiaus*. *Que*=qui.

41 Besser *concevement* mit O und Ch.

43 *corps* (cors) vorzuziehen mit O und Ch. *arme* aus *anima* (Diss.) altfr. Hss. sehr geläufig; s. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr.*, I, 445 und Körting, *Lat.-Roman. Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl., Art. 659.

46, 75 *jousse* (dreisilbig); die richtige Schreibung ist *jousse* 334; vergl. *joe* 82, 110 und in der Überschrift (sonst stets zentralf. *joie*), welche reduzierte Form sich noch häufig im *Orson de B.* findet: v. 364, 1928, 3390, 3412 und *joant* 'joyeux' v. 3377.

51 Ch hat *t. pieue* s.

52 *pucelle ençainte* wurde vom Schreiber von O für anstössig befunden und dem Reime zum Trotz in *tres douce dame* geändert.

57 Ch: *Et elle lués a ton salut*.

58 Ch: *Fu p. d. sainte vertu*.

72—74 Ch=O.

77, 78 Ch: *Q. t. d. t. oeuvre mauvaise Me delivre si que a Dieu plaise*. Wegen *que* mit dem Imp. s. Anm. 26.

92 Statt *et lies ert*.

97 S. Anm. 26.

98, 99 Die beiden Verse sind von Godefroy angeführt als Belegstelle für das Wort *accide* 'insouciance, indolence, paresse.' S. Körting, *Wörterbuch*, 112, *acedia*= 'mürrisches Wesen, üble Laune.'

103 *et für a* (praep.) über *ai(t)*, eine in volkstümlichen lothringischen Texten nicht selten anzutreffende Schreibung, die jedoch in unserer Handschrift befremdet, da diese nicht den mundartlichen Nachlaut *i* nach *a* sondern die entgegengesetzte Erscheinung, die Reduktion von *ai* zu *a*, begünstigt. Siehe darüber Bonnardot in seiner textkritischen Studie zu Bouteiller's Ausgabe der *Guerre de Metz*, S. 436 und Glossaire s. v. *et*, sowie Keuffer in *Romanische Forschungen*, VIII, S. 465.

111 Der Hiatus kann vermieden werden, wenn man mit O *qu'il y virent* liest.

117 Der Vers ist zu kurz; etwa: *Tresjoissoient* (5 silbig) *tuit li cuer* oder *Qui tr.* (in aktivem Sinne) *le cuer*.

131, 233, 265, 278 *mirascle*, von Godefroy nach unserem Texte und einer Stelle aus Wace's *Conception* (Hs. Br. M. Add. 15606 fol. 55^c) in sein Wörterbuch (Compl. s. v. *miracle*) aufgenommen, ist mit *sustilmant* 209, *sosfri* 285 und 286 (und Einfluss der Praep.) *nosriz* 295 umgekehrte Schreibung, da *s* vor Kons. längst verstummt war, wie die Reime *gecine : roïsne* (nach *rois*) 151, 152, *allumat : donast* 365, 366 und *tramit : Jhesucrist* 357, 358 zeigen; s. noch *et* (=est) 226.

132 Die Hs. hat *paradis*, gebessert in *bethleem*.

146 folgt in Hs. Douce das Verspaar: *Doulce meire dou roy de gloire, Per ycelle sainte memoire*.

148 Hs. *gloteriie*.

149 Bessere: *Rose* mit O.

153 *aspurgier*, lothr. für *espurgier*.

155 Hs. *anfans*.

159 *ces*=*ses*; ebenso 296, 308, 355. Vgl. *ceant* 206.

165 Hs. *ploroit*, gebessert in *parloit*.

169 Wegen *liosse* mit Reduction von *oi* zu *o* (vergl. *lioisse* 179) s. die Einleitung.

174 In der Fassung O war das Gebet für eine Dame bestimmt.

196 ist wohl nach O zu lesen: *Ma t. douce païs r*.

199 Die befremdliche und unsichere Kurzform *nosme* (der erste Schaft des *m* ist in der Hs. von den beiden folgenden getrennt) ist wohl von dem Schreiber aus metrischen Gründen gebildet worden (wegen *mout*). Es ist daher mit O zu lesen: *La neuvisme* (oder *nuev.*) *joie fui grant*. Vgl. noch die Analogieform *dessisme* (v. 226) für regelm. *disme*.

210 *puples* (*peuple* 163) *avugle* 254; über diese Schreibung, welche auch im *Lyoner Yzopet* (s. Einl., xxxiii) begegnet, s. zuletzt Långfors, *Li Regres Nostre Dame*, S. vii.

226 *dessisme*, Analogieform zu *septisme*, *uitisme*. Hs. *petitte*.

232 *mermoire* mit pleonastischem *r* (vor *m*) durch Assimilation wie *armors* in v. 163 des anglonorm. Textes.

246 *sëut*, Konjunktiv für *sëust*.

250 Statt *siu* lies *sui* (nach *mui* 346) und demgemäss *estoient* mit O; die beiden Pluralformen (Masc.) des unbetonten Possessivpronomens *mui*, *sui* finden sich z. B. im *Lyoner Yzopet*, s. Einl. S. xix. Betreffs *tui* im Lothr., das unserem Texte fehlt, vgl. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, II, S. 114.

259 Bessere: *comandement*.

261 *saint*, Euphemismus? Besser mit O *ma(u)vais* zu lesen; dann ist *esperite* dreisilbig.

271 fehlt der Reimvers, der nach O gelautet haben mag: *Qui me garris de ma plaie*. *Que* mit Imp., s. Anm. 26 und v. 342.

277 Für unmögliches *sap* der Handschrift habe ich die mundartliche Form *sa* in den Text gesetzt; vgl. *Orson de Beauvais*, v. 515: *Or ne sa se ma mere li feroiz esposer*.

285, 286 Identischer Reim, zu verbessern durch Aufnahme der Var. *senti* in den Text; l. auch *Qu'onques*.

288 *ignocence* (wohl durch Einfluss von *ignorance*, s. Var.) begegnet noch im *Lyoner Yzopet* v. 110.

289, 304 *delirousse*. Letztere Stelle bei Godefroy s. v. *deliros* 'enragé, furieux,

effroyable.' Besser entspricht dem Sinne die Lesart der Oxforder Handschrift (*doloureuse*), dessen Schreiber das seltene Wort wohl unbekannt war.

292 Das Wort nach *que* ist unleserlich; die Ergänzung der Stelle ergibt sich aus O.

295 Hs. *comceuz*.

314 Hs. *menire*.

327, 328 in O umgestellt.

332 Hs. *an tel*. Morel vermutet *an cel* (für *ciel*).

333 Hs. *ainsi*, in *an si* geändert, da *an* in der Hs. nie den Nachlaut zeigt.

339 *Ce*=se.

344 Hs. *am lui*.

357 Bessere: *En l.* nach O.

370 *prome*<*proximum*, auch im *Lothringischen Psalter* (S. XLIV).

NACHTRAG.

SCHLUSSSTROPHE DER OXFORDER HANDSCHRIFT¹.

- fol. 185 r. Benoite et tresbien aornee,
 Dame sor toutes aoree,
 La toie siste (!) ascention
 Ce fut la consummation
 5 De toutes joies et la quinzime,
 Quant de cest siecle, qu'est l'abisme—
 Ceu est vallee, ceu est exil—
 Ou² noblement, sens nulz perilz,
 Fut tes corps et ton armé³ levee
 fol. 185 v. 10 Come(nt) røyne (et) co|ronnee.
 Sor touz les ordres de laissus
 Est tes bialz filz li doulz Jhesus,
 Li tresdoulz souloiz de justice:
 T'ait a la soie dextre mise
 15 Et fait et fit tant de l'onour
 Comme tes filz et ton signour;
 Et fist a honoreir sa meire.

¹ Nach der von E. Stengel (*Mittheilungen aus franz. Handschriften der Turiner Universitätsbibliothek*, Halle, 1873) bekanntgegebenen Probe—die 2 ersten und 3 letzten Zeilen—enthielt diese Strophe auch die oben erwähnte, 1904 vernichtete Turiner Hs.

² Vielleicht *ou* zu streichen und *et* nach *noblement* einzusetzen.

³ Lies *l'arme*.

- Dame aaisiee, dame cleire,
 Dame de grant delices plainne,
 fol. 186 r. 20 Or yes assise a lai fontaine
 De touz biens, de touz honours,
 Plainnement sor lez biens d'amour.
 Or cognoiz tu bien l'uniteit
 De ceste sainte triniteit;
 25 Tu es la maistre consilliere:
 Or nous secour per tai priere,
 Comme fille deprie lou peire,
 Ausi commande comme meire
 Au saint Esperit com amie.
 30 Or y perrait pouxa[n]t amie¹
 Com priereiz lou hault signour,
 Si com il est flours de doulour,
 Fontaine de chariteit,
 De courtoisie et de piteit,
 35 Habundance grande et plainniere
 De delices et de lumiere,
 De joie, de gloire et de graice,
 Que il en cest siecle nous faice
 A lui servir si tresforment
 fol. 187 r. 40 Et saintement | et doulcement
 Qu'en la fin lou puissiens vëoir
 Tenir, embraissier et avoir.
 Dites amen que Deus l'otroit.

J. PRIEB SCH.

WIEN.

¹ Identischer Reim. Die Stelle scheint verdorben, vergl. *poissant* v. 266 (Var.).

‘AHRIMANES.’

BY

THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK.

ALTHOUGH renewed interest has been taken recently in the works of Thomas Love Peacock, a large amount of literary matter from his pen still remains unnoticed and unpublished. Among these efforts, which include three plays, an *Essay on Fashionable Literature* and a considerable number of letters, perhaps the most remarkable is the unfinished poem *Ahrimanes*. It is contained in one of the two volumes (No. 36816) of Peacock's literary remains which are in the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum, having been purchased by them from Mrs Edith Clarke in 1903. Following it is a lengthy outline in prose for its completion which is reproduced, with some alterations, in a series of prose sketches divided into twelve cantos. Both the poem and the prose descriptions of the continuation are holographic, but it is difficult from the writing to say when they were written. The only allusion to it that the writer has been able to find is contained in Sir Henry Cole's *Biographical Notes* (p. 11), of which only ten copies were printed in 1875. Cole inaccurately states that the manuscript consists of a fragment of the first canto and attributes that to the date 1810, but it would be interesting to know upon what grounds he does so. A part of the subject-matter resembles somewhat the poem *Necessity* published in Cole's 1875 edition of Peacock's works (Vol. III, p. 105) which was written after 1811, while the birth of primogenial love given in Stanzas V. and XIX. recalls a note belonging to the first canto of *Rhododaphne* (Cole's edition of Peacock's works, Vol. III, p. 158) which was first published as late as 1818. Besides, the following poem shews the influence of Shelley, in spite of its pessimistic tone, and it was not until 1812 that Shelley and Peacock met and their friendship began. Moreover, it will be shewn later on

that it was the outcome of Peacock's intercourse with one of the many eccentric friends that Shelley gathered round him at Bracknell and with whom Peacock became first acquainted in the autumn of 1813.

AHRIMANES.

Man's happiest lot is not to be :
And when we tread life's thorny steep,
Most blest are they who earliest free,
Descend to death's eternal sleep.

CANTO I.

In silver eddies glittering to the moon,
Araxes rolls his many-sounding tide.
Fair as the dreams of hope, and past as soon,
But in succession infinite supplied,
The rapid waters musically glide.
Now, where the cliffs' phantastic shadow laves,
Silent and dark, they roll their volumed pride :
Now, by embowering woods and solemn caves,
Around some jutting rock the struggling torrent raves.

II.

Darassah stands beside the lonely shore,
Intently gazing on the imaged beam
As one whose steps each lonely haunt explore
Of nymph or naiad,—grove, or rock, or stream—
Nature his guide, his object, and his theme.
Ah no—Darassah's eyes these forms survey
As phantoms of a half-remembered dream :
His eyes are on the water's glittering play :
Their mental sense is closed—his thoughts are far away.

III.

But central in the flood of liquid light,
A sudden spot its widening orb revealed,
Jet-black amid the mirrored beams of night,
Jet-black and round as Celtic warrior's shield,
A sable circle in a silver field.
With sense recalled and motionless surprise,
Deeming some fearful mystery there concealed,
He marked that shadowy orb's expanding size,
Till slowly from its breast a form began to rise.

IV.

A female form : and even as marble pale
Her cheeks : her eyes unearthly fire illumed :
Far o'er her shoulders streamed a sable veil,
Where flowers of living flame inwoven bloomed ;
No mortal robe might bear them unconsumed :
A crown her temples bound : on such ne'er gazed
Eyes that had seen primeval kings entombed :
Twelve points it bore : on every point upraised
A star—a heavenly star—with dazzling radiance blazed.

V.

Lovely she was—not loveliness that might
 In mortal heart enkindle light desire—
 But such as decked the form of youthful Night,
 When, on the bosom of her —¹ sire,
 With gentler passion she did first inspire
 The gloomy soul of Erebus severe;
 Ere from her breast, on wings of golden fire,
 Primordial love sprang o'er the infant sphere,
 And bade young Time arise and lead the vernal year.

VI.

Her right hand held a wand, whose potent sway
 Her liquid path, the buoyant waves, obeyed,
 Still as she moved, the moon-beams died away,
 And shade around her fell—a circling shade—
 That gave no outline of the wondrous maid.
 Her form—soft-gliding as the summer gale—
 In that portentous darkness shone arrayed,
 Shone by her starry crown, her fiery veil,
 And those refulgent eyes that made their radiance pale.

VII.

'Why—simple dweller of the Araxian isle'—
 Thus, as she passed the shore, the genius said—
 'Seek'st thou this spot, to muse and mourn the while,
 Beside this river's ever murmuring bed,
 When gentle sleep has her dominion spread
 On every living thing around but thee?
 The silent stars, that twinkle o'er thy head,
 Shed rest and peace on hill, and flower, and tree;
 All but the eternal stream, that flows melodiously.'

VIII.

Solemn her voice, as music vesper peal
 From distant choir to cloistered echo borne,
 Where the deep notes through pillared twilight steal,
 Breathing tranquillity to souls that mourn.
 The awe-struck youth replied: 'Of one so lorn
 Can'st thou, empyreal spirit, deign require
 The secret woes by which his soul is torn?
 Sure from the fountain of eternal fire
 Thy wondrous birth began, great Mithra's self thy sire.

IX.

'Through many an age amid these island bowers
 The simple fathers of our race have dwelt:
 To them spontaneous nature fruits and flowers,
 By toil unsought, with partial bounty dealt:
 At Oromazes' sylvan shrine they knelt.
 And morn and eve did choral suppliance flow
 From hearts that love and mingled reverence felt,
 To him who gave them every bliss to know
 That simple hearts can wish, or heavenly love bestow

¹ Word illegible.

X.

'But years passed on, and strange perversion ran
 Among the dwellers of the peaceful isle :
 And one, more daring than the rest, began
 To fell the grove, and point the mossy pile ;
 And raised the circling fence, with evil will,
 And to his brethren said : These bounds are mine :
 And did with living victims first defile
 The verdant turf of Oromazes' shrine ;
 Sad offering sure, and strange, to mercy's source divine.

XI.

'And ill example evil followers drew ;
 Till common good and common right were made
 The fraudulent tenure of a powerful few :
 The many murmured, trembled, and obeyed.
 Then peace and freedom fled the sylvan shade,
 And care arose, and toil, unknown before :
 And some the hollowed alder's trunk essayed,
 And left, with tearful eyes, their natal shore.
 Swift down the stream they went, and they returned no more.

XII.

'And I too, oft, beyond that barrier-rock,
 That hides from view the river's onward way—
 Where, eddying round its base with ceaseless shock,
 The waves, that flash, and disappear for aye,
 Their parting murmurs to my ear convey—
 In fancy turn my meditative gaze,
 And trace, encircled by their powerful sway,
 Some blooming isle, where love unfettered strays,
 And peace and freedom dwell, as here in earlier days.

XIII.

But one there is, for whom my tears are shed ;
 A maid of wealthier lot and prouder line :
 With her my happy infant hours I led ;
 And sweet our mutual task ; at morn to twine
 The votive wreath round Oromazes' shrine—
 She mourns a captive in her father's home—
 Alone I rove, to murmur and repine—
 Alone, where sparkling waves symphonious foam,
 I breathe my secret pangs to heaven's empyreal dome.'

XIV.

'Leave tears to slaves'—the genius answering said—
 'Adventurous deed the noble mind beseems.
 Oh shame to manhood ! thus, with listless tread,
 In tears and sighs and inconclusive dreams
 To waste thy hours by groves and murmuring streams.
 I bring thee power for weakness, joy for woe,
 And certain bliss for hope's fallacious schemes,
 Unless thou lightly thy own weal forego,
 And soon the splendid lot thy bounteous fates bestow.

XV.

'This gifted ring shall every barrier break :
The maid thou lovest thy wandering steps shall share :
When night returns, with her this isle forsake,
From this thy favored haunt : my guardian care
To waft ye hence, the vessel shall prepare.
The monarch of the world hath chosen thee
High trust, and power, and dignity to bear,
I come, obedient to his high decree,
To set from error's spell thy captive senses free.

XVI.

'Deem'st thou, when blood of living victims flows,
'Mid incense smoke, in denser volumes curled,
That Oromazes there a glance bestows,
A glance of joy, to see the death-blow hurled ?
No—far remote in orient clouds enfurled ;
Nor prayer nor sacrificial rite he heeds.
His reign is past : his rival rules the world.
From Ahrimaues now all power proceeds :
For him the altar burns : for him the victim bleeds.

XVII.

'Parent of being, mistress of the spheres,
Supreme Necessity o'er all doth reign :
She guides the course of the revolving years,
With power no prayers can change, no force restrain ;
Binding all nature in her golden chain,
Whose infinite connection links afar
The smallest atom of the sandy plain
And the last ray of heaven's remotest star,
That round the verge of space wheels its refulgent car.

XVIII.

'She to two gods, sole agents of her will,
By turns has given her delegated sway :
Her sovereign laws obedient they fulfil :
Inferior powers their high behests obey.
First Oromazes—lord of peace and day—
Dominion held o'er nature and mankind.
Now Ahrimanes rules, and holds his way
In storms : for such his task by her assigned,
To shake the world with war, and rouse the powers of mind.

XIX.

'She first on chaos poured the streams of light,
And bade from that mysterious union rise
Primordial love : the heavenly lion's might
Bore him rejoicing through the new-born skies.
Then glowed the infant world with countless dyes
Of fruits and flowers : and virgin nature smiled
Emerging first from ancient night's disguise
And elemental discord, vast and wild,
Which primogenial love had charmed and reconciled.

XX.

'Then man arose: to him the world was given,
 Unknowing then disease, or storm, or death:
 The eternal balance, in the central heaven,
 Marked the free tenure of his equal birth,
 And equal right to all the bounteous earth
 Of fruit or flower, his pristine food, might yield.
 Nor private roof he knew, nor blazing hearth,
 Nor marked with barrier-lines the fruitful fields,
 Nor learned in martial strife the uprooted oak to wield.

XXI.

'Then Oromazes reigned. Profoundly calm
 His empire, as the lake's unruffled breast,
 When evening twilight melts in dews of balm,
 And rocks and woods in calm reflection rest,
 As if for aye indelibly imprest.
 Were those fair forms, in peerless light arrayed.
 No sigh, no wish, the peaceful heart confest;
 Save when the youth, beneath the myrtle shade,
 Wooed to his fond embrace the easy-yielding maid.

XXII.

'No pillared fanes to Oromazes rose:
 For him no priest the destined victim led.
 The choral hymn, in swelling sound that flows,
 Where round the marble altar streaming red
 The slow procession moves with solemn tread,
 His empire owned not:—but his bounty grew,
 By prayer or hymn nor sought nor merited:
 No altar but the peaceful heart he knew—
 His only temple-vault, the heaven's ethereal blue.

XXIII.

'Such was the infant world, and such the reign
 Of cloudless sunshine and oblivious joy;
 Till rose the scorpion in the empyreal plain,
 In fated hour, their empire to destroy,
 And with unwonted cares the course alloy
 Of mortal being and terrestrial time;
 That man might all his god-like powers employ
 The toilsome steep of wealth and fame to climb,
 To rugged labor trained and glory's thirst sublime.

XXIV.

'To Ahrimanes thus devolved the power,
 Which still he holds through all the realms of space.
 He bade the sea to swell—the storm to lower—
 And taught mankind the pliant bow to brace,
 And point the shaft, and urge the sounding chace,
 And force from veins of flint the seeds of fire;
 Till, as more daring thoughts found gradual place,
 He bade the mind to nobler prey aspire,
 Of war and martial fame kindling the high desire.

XXV.

'For him on earth unnumbered temples rise,
 And altars burn, and bleeding victims die :
 Albeit the sons of men his name disguise
 In other names that choice or chance supply,
 To him alone their incense soars on high.
 The god of armies—the avenging god—
 Seva or Allah—Jove or Mars—they cry :
 'Tis Ahrimanes still that wields the rod ;
 To him all nature bends, and trembles at his nod.

XXVI.

'Yea, even on Oromazes' self they call,
 But Ahrimanes hears their secret prayer.
 Not in the name that from the lips may fall,
 But in the thought the heart's recesses bear.
 The sons of earth the power they serve declare.
 Wherever priests awake the battle-strain,
 And bid the torch of persecution glare,
 And curses ring along the vaulted fane—
 Call on what name they may—their god is Ahrimane.

XXVII.

'Favor to few, to many wrath he shews :
 None with impunity his power may brave.
 Two classes only of mankind he knows,
 The lord and serf—the tyrant and the slave.
 Some hermit sage, where lonely torrents rave,
 May muse and dream of Oromazes still :
 Despised he lives, and finds a nameless grave.
 The chiefs and monarchs of the world fulfil
 ——¹ Ahrimanes behests—the creatures of his will.

XXVIII.

'Say—hadst thou rather grovel with the crowd,
 The wretched thing and tool of lordly might,
 Or, where the battle-clarion brays aloud,
 Blaze forth conspicuous in the fields of fight,
 And bind thy brow with victory's chaplet bright,
 And be the king of men?—Thy choice is free.—
 Receive the ring.—Observe the coming night.—
 The monarch of the world hath chosen thee
 To spread his name on earth, in power and majesty.'—

XXIX.

She said and gave the ring. The youth received
 The glittering spell, in awe and mute amaze
 Standing like one almost of sense bereaved,
 That fixes on the vacant air his gaze,
 Where wildered fancy's troubled eye surveys
 Dim-fitting forms, obscure and undefined,
 That doubtful thoughts and shadowy feelings raise,
 Leaving a settled image on the mind :
 Like cloud-built rocks and towers, dissolved ere half-combined.

¹ Word illegible.

XXX.

Nor stayed she longer pale: but round her form
 A sable vapor, thickly mantling drew
 Its volumed folds, dark as the summer storm.
 It wrapped her round, and in an instant flew,
 Scattered like mist, though not a zephyr blew,
 And left no vestige that she there had been.
 The river rolled in light. The moonbeams threw
 Their purest radiance on the lovely scene;
 And hill, and grove, and rock, slept in the ray serene.

CANTO II.

I.

Spake the dark genius truly, when she said,
 That Ahrimanes rules this mundane ball?
 That man in toil and darkness doomed to tread,
 Ambition's slave and superstition's thrall,
 Doth only on the power of evil call,
 With hymn and prayer, and votive altar's blaze?
 Alas! whenever guiltless victims fall,
 Wherever priest the sword of strife displays
 Small trace is there, I ween, of ancient Oromaze.

II.

Yet if on earth a single spot there be,
 Where fraud, corruption, selfishness and pride
 Wear not the specious robes of sanctity,
 With hypocritic malice to divide
 The bonds of love and peace by nature tied
 'Twixt man and man, far as the billows roll,—
 Where idle tales, that truth and sense deride,
 Claim no dominion o'er the subject soul,—
 There Oromazes still exerts his mild control.

III.

But not in fanes where priestly curses ring,—
 Not in the venal court, the servile camp,—
 Not where the slaves of a voluptuous king
 Would fain o'erwhelm, in flattery's poison-clamp,—
 Truth's vestal torch and love's Promethean lamp,—
 Not where the tools of tyrants bite the ground,
 'Mid broken swords and steeds' ensanguined tramp,
 To add one gem to those that now surround
 Some pampered baby's brow,—may trace of him be found.

¹ 'It is possible to sacrifice victims—human victims—without cutting their throats or shedding a drop of their blood and that too under the name and with the specious form of justice. It is possible to display the sword of strife and be a very effective member of the church militant without the visible employment of temporal weapons. If a man can be robbed of his liberty and his property for the calm exposition of his opinions on speculative subjects it is of little consequence whether the instrument of oppression be a grand inquisition or an attorney general.' (This is crossed through in pencil and appears to be an allusion to Shelley.)

IV.

The star of day rolled on the radiant hours,
 And sunk again behind the western steep.
 The dews of twilight bathed the closing flowers.
 The full-orbed moon, amid the empyreal deep,
 Restored the reign of silence and of sleep.
 Again Darassah seeks the moonlit shore,
 But comes not now in solitude to weep:
 He leads the maid his inmost thoughts adore,
 To tempt with him the stream, and unknown scenes explore.

V.

A bark is on the shore: the rippling wave
 With gentle murmur chafes against its sides.
 Shrinks not the maid, that barrier-rock to brave,
 Whose jutting base the eddying river chides?
 Fear finds no place, where mightier love presides.
 They press the bark: the waters gently flow:
 The light sail swells: the steady vessel glides:
 The favouring breeze still follows as they go:
 They pass the barrier-rock: they haste to weal or woe.

VI.

He holds the helm: beside him sits the maid:
 Her arms around her lover's form are twined:
 Her head upon her lover's breast is laid:
 Pressed to his heart, in tenderest rest reclined,
 Lulled by the symphony of wave and wind,
 To lonely isles and citron-groves she flies
 (By fancy's spell in fondest dreams enshrined),
 Where love, and health, and peaceful thoughts suffice
 To renovate the bowers of earthly paradise.

VII.

Less pure Darassah's thoughts: ambition's spell
 Had touched his soul, and dreams of power and fame;
 But feeble yet, and vague: nor knew he well,
 Whence those disturbed imaginations came,
 That touched his breast with no benignant flame.
 No state too proud, no destiny too high,
 For her he loved his wildest thought could frame.
 What might not that mysterious ring supply,
 That now had given her love, and life, and liberty?

VIII.

But the calm elements—the placid moon—
 The stars, that round her rolled in still array—
 The plaintive breeze—the stream's responsive tune—
 The rapid water's silver-eddying play,
 That tracked in lines of light their onward way—
 The solemn rocks, in mossy shade that frowned—
 The groves; where light and darkness chequering lay—
 Breathed on his mind the peace that reigned around,
 And checked each turbid thought that erst had entrance found.

IX.

The nightingale sang sweetly in the shade :
 The dewy rose breathed fragrance on the air.
 Who now more blest than that fond youth and maid,
 Whom the swift waters of Araxes bear,
 One common lot, or good or ill, to share ?
 If ill—light falls the shaft of adverse fate,
 When mutual love assuages mutual care :
 If good—can bliss the feeling mind await,
 Unless one tender heart its joys participate ?

X.

So thought Kelasris, wrapped in dreams of hope ;
 Nor deemed how soon, in time's delusive reign,
 The brightest tints of youthful fancy's scope
 Fade in the vast reality of pain,
 That speaks the omnipotence of Ahrimane.
 But while the light bark glided fast and free
 And not a cloud obscured the ethereal plain,
 The gale—the stream—the night-bird's melody—
 Touched in her soul the chords of tenderer harmony.

XI.

The stars grow pale, and o'er the western verge
 Of heaven the moon her parting orb suspends ;
 She sinks behind the hill. The eddying surge
 Reflects the deepening blush that morning lends
 To eastern mountain's top, where softly blends
 Its misty outline with the reddening sky.
 Tow'rd heaven's high arch the lark exulting tends :
 Lost in the depth, invisible on high,
 He makes the rocks resound with his sweet minstrelsy.

XII.

The sun comes forth upon the mountain top.
 The wide earth feels his vivifying sway.
 The dewy flowers uncloze, and every drop
 Light trembling on the leaf—the moss—the spray—
 Beams like a diamond in the streams of day :
 All nature glitters like an orient bride,
 Whom countless gems and fairest flowers array.
 The scattered mountain mist flies fast and wide,
 Like incense to the shrine of morning's radiant pride¹.

XIII.

The bark glides swiftly on : new scenes expand
 In day's full splendour now distinctly seen.
 The light acacia blooms along the strand.
 Deep groves of pine, where laurels wave between,

¹ This stanza was changed by Peacock. Lines 2, 6, and 7 are crossed through and the following alternative given for the last two lines :

The scattered mist flies far the heaven upborne
 Like earth's glad incense to the shrine of morn.

Rear their dark tufts of everlasting green :
 The sunbeams on the glossy laurel play,
 A trembling flood of silver-radiance sheen.
 Now the vast oak o'ercanopies their way ;
 And now the beetling crag, with sapless lichens gray¹.

This fragment of the poem that Peacock intended to complete in twelve cantos reflects the same opposition to established institutions and beliefs that was shared by Shelley and his friends. Hogg has related several anecdotes about one of these whom he calls 'J. F. N.' and to whom Peacock alludes under the same initials. This gentleman was a Mr Newton who first met Shelley on August 5, 1812. His wife's sister was the Mrs de Boinville whom Shelley once described in a letter to Peacock as 'the most admirable specimen of a human being I had ever seen,' and who, with her daughter Cornelia Turner, was the means of initiating Shelley and Hogg into the beauties of Italian poetry. This lady possessed a house at Bracknell in Berkshire where Shelley frequently stayed after he had given up his own country house there. He was naturally attracted by Mr Newton's firm belief in vegetarianism which had been expressed in his essay entitled *The Return to Nature* printed in 1810—three years before Shelley published his own pamphlet *A Vindication of Natural Diet* on exactly the same subject and with precisely the same tendency. It was while staying with Shelley that Peacock met Mr Newton at Bracknell in 1813 and we know from his correspondence with Shelley that he was in the habit of meeting the De Boinvilles—and therefore probably the Newtons—as late as 1819. In his *Memoirs of Shelley*, Peacock has given us some information about Mr Newton which supplies the source from which he derived the poem *Ahrimanes*, although he himself makes no allusion to it whatever. (See Cole's edition of Peacock's *Works*, Vol. III, pp. 405, 406.) According to him Mr Newton was the 'best worth remembering' of Shelley's strange and eccentric friends at Bracknell :

He was an estimable man and an agreeable companion, and he was not the less amusing that he was the absolute impersonation of a single theory, or rather of two single theories rolled into one. He held that all diseases and all aberrations, moral and physical, had their origin in the use of animal food and of fermented and spirituous liquors ; that the universal adoption of a diet of roots, fruits, and distilled water, would restore the golden age of universal health, purity, and peace ; that this most ancient and sublime morality was mystically inculcated in the most ancient Zodiac, which was that of Dendera ; that this Zodiac was divided into two hemispheres, the upper hemisphere being the realm of Oromazes or the principle of good, the lower that of Ahrimanes or the principle of evil ; that each of these hemispheres was again divided into two compartments, and that the four lines of division radiating from the centre were the prototype of the Christian cross.

¹ Peacock crossed through lines 2, 6 and 7, but substituted nothing in their place.

The two compartments of Oromazes were those of Uranus or Brahma the Creator, and of Saturn or Veishnu the Preserver. The two compartments of Ahrimanes were those of Jupiter or Seva the Destroyer, and of Apollo or Krishna the Restorer. The great moral doctrine was thus symbolized in the Zodiacal signs:—In the first compartment, Taurus the Bull, having in the ancient Zodiac a torch in his mouth, was the type of eternal light. Cancer the Crab was the type of celestial matter, sleeping under the all-covering water, on which Brahma floated in a lotus-flower for millions of ages. From the union, typified by Gemini, of light and celestial matter, issued in the second compartment Leo, Primogenial Love, mounted on the back of a Lion, who produced the pure and perfect nature of things in Virgo, and Libra the Balance denoted the coincidence of the ecliptic with the equator, and the equality of man's happy existence. In the third compartment, the first entrance of evil into the system was typified by the change of celestial into terrestrial matter—Cancer into Scorpio. Under this evil influence man became a hunter, Sagittarius the Archer, and pursued the wild animals, typified by Capricorn. Then, with animal food and cookery, came death into the world, and all our woe. But in the fourth compartment, Dhanwantari or Æsculapius, Aquarius the Waterman, arose from the sea, typified by Pisces the Fish, with a jug of pure water and a bunch of fruit, and brought back the period of universal happiness under Aries the Ram, whose benignant ascendancy was the golden fleece of the Argonauts, and the true talisman of Oromazes.

It can be easily seen by comparing *Ahrimanes* with the above account of Mr Newton's crotchet for zodiacal representation that Peacock was indebted to him not only for the underlying idea of his poem but for many of its details as well. This is still further proved by the following outline of the poem, written by its author, which is useful for purposes of comparison and as indicating, at any rate, to some extent what *Ahrimanes* would have been like had it ever reached completion.

Necessity governs the world. Subordinate to her are four principal genii; the creating, the preserving, the destroying and the restoring spirits. Obedient to her first command the creating spirit El-Oran poured light on chaos from which mysterious union arose primogenial love. Under his vivifying influence nature originated and existed in purity. This being accomplished in its destined period, the preserving spirit—Oromazes—assumed his delegated empire and ruled the infancy of nature when all was equality and happiness. This destined period being likewise accomplished the destroyer—Ahrimanes—assumed his sway. He brought with him into the world long species of moral and physical evil, and first corrupted the nature of man by making him a hunter and giving him a thirst for blood, whence originated war and discord and turbulence, the selfish thirst of unbounded possession, the atrocities of avarice and tyranny and superstition. Under his iron reign we live anticipating the destined period of the restoring power.

When the reign of the preserving spirit was ended he retired with his genii to the extremities of the south, where he drew an impenetrable veil around the bowers of his repose. The mariner then glides over a boundless ocean and seeks in vain the shores of the southern world.

And some of his genii come forth from time to time to mingle with mankind knowing that through their ministry must the reign of the restorer be brought on. Thus the world is never totally abandoned by the spirits of good. Few indeed are the favoured mortals that can know and feel their influence: but to them is given an impulse and a power of mind which rises triumphant over all the tyranny of Ahrimanes. They fix their eyes on the high futurity promised to their posterity

and hold their steady course through the evil of life like the iron bark of the enchanter through the waves of the storm, which remained one and indissoluble amid the wildish [*?wildest*] conflicts of wind and sea which might be submerged by superior power but could neither be changed nor broken.

Such is the picture of the virtuous man struggling with calamity—a picture which the preserver contemplates with joy from his southern paradise, which the restorer hails with anticipative delight as the omen of his terrestrial reign.

When Ahrimanes first assumed his sway over man and the world his genii rapidly effected their task of misery and corruption. Blood flowed in feuds and in war at the beck of tyrants and on the altar of superstition where he was worshipped under unnumbered names by the abject and terrified race of man. He delighted in the spectacle of war and desolation: he sent forth beasts of prey and signalled his dominion by storms and earthquakes and volcanoes. Men fell prostrate before him and only seemed emulous who should be his most effectual votaries. But as he threw his glance over the world he discovered that some of the genii of Oromazes still lingered among mankind in the mountain-vales and by the shores of the lonely torrents and that some individuals of the human race still resisted his power.

In particular he distinguished an island in the Araxes where the inhabitants yet lived in primitive simplicity. To this island he despatched a chosen number of his genii. They effected their task of corruption with rapidity: but two lovers Darassah and Kelasris remained incorruptible. Against these therefore they directed the full torrent of their vengeance. The genii of Oromazes watch over their fate: but the power of the evil genii becomes gradually superior. Discord and violence and rapine now reign among the islanders. The father of Kelasris tears her from Darassah to give her to another. She flies to her lover's cottage whither she is pursued but he succeeds in conveying her to the shore of the Araxes where they find a boat in which they embark.

Descending the stream they take refuge among some peasants—worshippers of Oromazes. An inundation of the river destroys the village. Driven from their asylum they wander a long and weary way and at length arrive at a city, where they observe innumerable pictures of misery and vice. The sultan sees Kelasris, forcibly takes her from her lover and confines her in his seraglio. Darassah ineffectually attempts to defend her and is conveyed to a prison. At midnight the city is besieged by a hostile force—taken and sacked—the prison is broken open—the seraglio is on fire. Darassah enters it, finds Kelasris and escapes with her to the deserts. They live peacefully in an oasis.

They discover a vast body of sand rushing towards them from a distance. They escape but the oasis is buried. They fall into the power of robbers who sell them as slaves. Darassah is sent to labour in a diamond mine. The Ahrimannic genius of the mines addresses him. He escapes from the mine and enters a deep forest. Despair and meditated suicide. He meets Kelasris accompanied by a beautiful female who has escaped with her from the seraglio to which the Arabs had sold her. The noise of pursuit is heard. They fly. A temple of Oromazes appears in view. The high priest makes his appearance. They appeal to his protection which he promises. The sultan appears. The priest says he cannot oppose God's vicegerent on earth and is about to deliver up his applicants when the female companion of Kelasris discovers herself to be an Oromazic genius. She rebukes the priest for profaning the name of Oromazes by calling himself his minister when he is in reality the slave of Ahrimanes, but as the dedication of the temple to his name gives Oromazes power over it she will destroy it and its pernicious minister. She destroys the temple, but an Ahrimannic genius interposes and saves the priest saying that priests and kings are the peculiar objects of the care of Ahrimanes and that while they serve him faithfully they shall be safe.

The lovers escape to a city on the shore of the Persian gulf. The city is afflicted with famine and pestilence. Darassah is seized by the latter. Kelasris attends him. He recovers. They embark on board a vessel in the port and sail into the Pacific Ocean. Storm and shipwreck. Darassah is thrown on shore and afterwards Kelasris—apparently dead. Here they find a simple people. A volcanic

eruption devastates the island. An Ahrimannic genius appears and desires them to pay homage to Ahrimanes. They refuse. The Oromazic spirit appears, commends them and tells them they are worthy to participate in the happiness of the southern world: intermingling her speech with a prophecy of the restorer. She then directs them to embark in a small boat which will bear them to the dwellings of Oromazes. The poem concludes by depicting the submersion of the island and the departure of the lovers for the southern world. The boat sails securely on, though assailed by violent tempests raised by Ahrimannic spirits imaging the course of virtue through the storms of life.

It only remains to conjecture why Peacock did not bring to a conclusion this poem of which he had mapped out such a big plan and which he had started in such a promising way. Soon after he probably began it the first novel *Headlong Hall* appeared, to be followed at fairly regular intervals by four others. It is true that his most lengthy effort as a poet—*Rhododaphne*—appeared in 1818; but apart from this his attention was, for the most part, turned aside from poetry and directed into a new channel. Perhaps also he could not reconcile himself with Mr Newton's idea that the restoring power should eventually gain the upper hand, and did not care to alter this by deviating from the theory of the friend from whom he had borrowed his plot. For in spite of the antagonism to all forms of revealed religion, and to nearly all social institutions together with those that support them, which he shared with Shelley and which he has given vent to in his description of Ahrimannic rule, he did not share his young friend's passion for reforming mankind or his enthusiastic and idealistic belief in the future destiny of the world. It is therefore quite possible that he did not continue the narrative of Darassah and Kelasris—which notwithstanding all the obstacles they meet is distinctly a record of progress—because he did not wish to ridicule himself by adding one more contradiction of his own sentiments and convictions to the bundle of inconsistencies which his interesting works curiously enough contain.

A. B. YOUNG.

LONDON.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

GASCOIGNE AND SHAKSPERE.

HALPIN's theory (or rather Boaden's, to give credit to the true originator) that a well-known passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II, i, 148—168) refers to the Kenilworth festivities has been generally accepted, though the suggestion that Shakspeare described the incidents from his recollection of a visit made as a boy of eleven seems fanciful. He is more likely to have come across the account of the festivities in the contemporary pamphlet, or in the reprint of it in Gascoigne's collected works of 1587, which seem to have had a large circulation, if one may judge from the numerous copies surviving in various libraries. In Gascoigne's account we have the 'fireworks shewed upon the water'; 'Tryton in likenesse of a Mermaide.....commanding...the waves to be calme'; and 'Protheus.....sitting on a *Dolphyns* backe.....With in the which *Dolphyn* a Consort of Musicke was secretly placed'—presumably the originals of the

mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music.

The 'fair vestal throned by the west' can only be Elizabeth, and Gascoigne himself describes the attack upon her heart which he had planned on Leicester's behalf. There was prepared a 'shew' to have been presented before her Majesty in the forest, the argument of which was Diana's concern over the loss of one of her best-beloved nymphs called Zabeta, suspected of having been won to the train of Juno.

'The Nymphes returne one after another in quest of *Zabeta*: at last *Diana* her selfe returning and hearing no newes of her, invoketh the helpe of her Father *Jupiter*. *Mercurie* commeth downe in a cloude sent by *Jupiter* to recomfort *Dyana*, and bringeth her unto *Zabeta*: *Dyana* rejoyceth, and after much freendly discourse departeth: affying her selfe in *Zabetaes* prudence and pollicie: She and *Mercurie* (being departed) *Iris* commeth downe from the Rainebowe sent by *Juno*: Perswad-

ing the Queenes Majestie that she be not caryed away with *Mercuries* filed speach, nor *Dyanaes* faire words, but that she consider all things by prooffe, and then shee shall finde much greater cause to followe *Juno* then *Dyana*.

It would be no wonder if the Queen refused to give ear to the uncommonly direct hint contained in the concluding words of Iris:

Then geve consent O Queene,
to *Junoes* just desire
Who for your wealth would have you wed,
and for your farther hire
Some Empresse wil you make,
she bad me tell you thus:
Forgeve me (Queene) the words are hers,
I come not to discusse.
I am but Messenger,
but sure she bade me say,
That where you now in Princely port,
have past one pleasant day:
A world of wealth at wil,
you hencefoorth shall enjoy
In wedded state, and therewithall,
holde up from great annoy
The staffe of your estate:
O Queene, O worthy Queene,
Yet never wight felt perfect blis,
but such as wedded beene.

'This shewe was devised and penned by M. Gascoigne, and being prepared and redy (every Actor in his garment) two or three dayes together, yet never came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing, then to lack of opportunitie and seasonable weather.'

The weather was evidently wet, and the Queen hastened her departure, in spite of the lamentations of 'Deepe desire' from the holly bush.

The imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.

'Deepe desire' was long ago identified by Nicholls as the representative of Leicester's aspirations and regrets, but 'Due desert,' the other of the 'two sworne brethren which long time served hyr,' has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted. Yet it is obvious that some personal reference is intended by Gascoigne's mysterioux phrases:

'She dyd long sithens convert *Due desert* into yonder same *Lawrell* tree. The which may very well be so, considering the *Etimologie* of his name, for we see that the *Lawrel branch* is a token of triumph, in all *Tropheis* and given as a reward to all Victors, a dignitie for all degrees, consecrated and dedicate to *Apollo* and the *Muses* as a worthie flower, leafe or branch, for their due deserts. Of him I will hold no longer discourse, because hee was *Metomorphosed* before my tyme, for your Majestie must understand that I have not long helde this charge.'

Might not Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, be intended by 'Due desert'? In the previous March he had been appointed Earl Marshall

of Ireland, and he was away campaigning at the time of the Kenilworth festivities. He had some reputation, not only as a general, but as a man of letters; he was said to be particularly interested in the study of history, and there are extant certain poems which are ascribed to him. His house, Chartley Castle, was the next great estate Elizabeth visited on this progress. There she was entertained by Lettice, Countess of Essex, who had been present at Kenilworth, and who, according to the received interpretation of the passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, was the 'little western flower,' upon whom 'the bolt of Cupid fell.' It is certain that Leicester's attentions to her had by this time already begun to excite remark, and that he was secretly married to her within two years of her husband's death.

Mr Dover Wilson has suggested that in the prologue to *Pyramus and Thisbe* Shakspeare was parodying Gascoigne's prologue to *The Glasse of Government*. It is in the same measure (? Bottom's 'eight and eight'), with the same arrangement of alternate rhymes ending with a couplet; and there is possibly an intentional echo of Gascoigne's unhappy phrases:

What man hath minde to heare a worthie Jest,
Or seekes to feede his eye with vayne delight:
That man is much unmeete to be a guest,
At such a feaste as I prepare this night.

This disavowal of the intent to please might be ludicrously recalled by Quince's 'If we offend, it is with our good will'; and Shakspeare's later lines:

We do not come, as minding to content you,
Our true intent is,

reproduced the very words of Gascoigne's prologue

Content you then (my Lordes) with good intent,
though the resemblance may be merely accidental.

JOHN W. CUNLIFFE.

MADISON, WIS. U.S.A.

THE TITLE OF BURTON'S 'ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.'

Robert Burton in the first part of the title-page of his *Anatomy* (or *Melancholy*, as it should rather be called¹) might seem to be indebted to a passage in Salustius Salvianus' *Variarum Lectionum de re medica*

¹ Cf. the Appendix to Burton's Will, where he leaves 'half my Melancholy Copy' to be disposed of by his executors.

libri tres, lib. ii, cap. 1 ('De Melancholia & Mania morbo, & eius curatione'), p. 95, Rome, 1588 (the edition which Burton apparently used): 'Quinque a nobis veniunt consideranda de Melancholia, & Mania, primo quid sit, secundo quaenam sint causae huius affectionis, tertio signa, quarto prognosticum, quinto, & vltimo curationem' [sic]. Compare 'The | Anatomy of | Melancholy: | What it is. | With all the Kindes, Cav- | ses, Symptomes, Prognosticks, | and Severall Cvres of it' (Second edition¹, 1624). Burton frequently quotes from Salustius Salvanus.

But the division here employed was not uncommon. See Partition 1, sect. 1, memb. 1, subs. 3, 'which [sc. the diseases of the mind] I will briefly touch and point out, insisting especially in this of *Melancholy*, as more eminent then the rest, and that through all his kinds, causes, symptomes, prognostickes, cures: As *Lonicerus* hath done *de Apoplexiâ*, and many others, of many such particular diseases.'

In any case this division, like so much else in Burton's book, is no quaintness or peculiarity of the author, but something natural to anyone writing a serious and practical treatise on the subject.

EDWARD BENSLEY.

ABERYSTWYTH.

CHAUCEUR'S CAPTIVITY.

It will be remembered that Chaucer was taken prisoner in the French Campaign of 1359-60, and that he himself testifies, in the Scrope-Grosvenor case, that before his captivity he saw Sir Richard Scrope 'before the town of *Retters*.' This Sir Harris Nicolas would have identified with Retiers in Brittany; but modern editors had far more probably conjectured *Réthel* in the Ardennes. This conjecture is proved beyond doubt by a passage in Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, which I here subjoin:

Le prince [de Galles] tient soun auant dit chemin par Seint Quyntin & par Retieris, ou ly enemys meismes arderoint lour vile pur destourber lour passage, les gentz de qi conquistrent passage au chastel Purcien, ou passa par Champain, aprocha lost soun pier adeuant de Reyns. (*Scalacronica*, ed. Stevenson. Maitland Club, 1836, p. 188.)

Gray's information about Edward III's campaigns is unusually detailed and trustworthy; and from this passage it plainly appears (i) that *Retieris* = Réthel; for Château-Porcien is a large village in the *arrondissement* of Réthel, and (ii) that Chaucer was in the Black

¹ I quote from this edition as the first is not at hand.

Prince's division—for Edward had divided his great army into three columns, commanded by himself, the Black Prince, and Henry Duke of Lancaster, which effected a junction at Reims. Interesting details of the route of Chaucer's division, and the fighting by the way, are given by Gray a few lines above this passage.

G. G. COULTON.

EASTBOURNE.

'PIERCE THE PLOWMANS CREDE,' 372.

Leeue it well, lef man	and men ryzt-lokede,
þer is more pryue pride	in Prechours hertes
þan þer lefte in Lucyfer	er he were lowe fallen.

Both in his *Specimens of English Literature*, 1394–1579, and in his recent edition of the *Crede* (1906), Professor Skeat explains 'ryzt-lokede' as 'righteous, just,' from A.-S. 'rihtlic,' with which it seems difficult to connect it phonetically. Is it possible that the hyphen is wrong, and that the phrase means 'if one looked (i.e. observed) aright'? 'Men' would then be the phonetic weakening of 'man,' as in Chaucer, *C. T.*, *Prologue*, 149, 'Or if men smoot it with a yerde smerte.' Stratmann gives four instances of the form 'lokede' in M.E.

W. H. WILLIAMS.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

OCCLEVE, 'DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM,' 299, 621.

Also who was hyer in filosofye
To, Aristotle in our tunge but thow?

Professor Skeat in the glossary to his *Specimens* explains 'hyer' as 'higher.' But should not the right reading be 'heyr' = 'heir'? Can one say 'higher to' for 'higher than'? Besides, if this were possible, the context is against it. Occleve in his *Lament for Chaucer*, says of the poet, 'to Tullius was neuer man so like amonges vs,' and 'The steppes of Virgile in poysye thou folwedest eke.' Is it likely, considering the estimation of Aristotle in the middle ages, that Occleve would make Chaucer his superior in philosophy, after making him only equal to Cicero in rhetoric and inferior to Virgil in poetry? Whereas to make him his 'heir' would be perfectly consistent.

But or they twynned thenz they pekked moode.

Professor Skeat explains 'pekked moode' as 'pecked mud; or, as we should now say, ate dirt.' But, apart from the improbability of 'mud' being spelt 'moode,' the phrase occurs in Skelton, *Against the Scottes* (Dyce, I, p. 189), 'Who so therat pyketh mood, The tokens are not good To be true Englysh blood,' where Dyce explains it as 'grows angry, picks a quarrel,' and this meaning suits both passages.

W. H. WILLIAMS.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

FRAGMENT OF AN UNKNOWN MIDDLE ENGLISH POEM.

The following poem is found in a manuscript copy of a late thirteenth century law treatise at Lincoln's Inn, Hale 135. What are now the fly-leaves were originally the covers of this manuscript. Two of these leaves contain a mass of memoranda relating to one Alan de Thornton and extending in chronological order from 1297 to 1311. The poem is written at the top of a page and immediately before a memorandum for 31 Edward I. Although written in a hand different to that of any of the other entries it is clearly of the same period, and there is no reason for doubting that it was inserted before the memoranda which follow it. We may therefore date it at least as early as 1303. Unfortunately that part of the poem which was written near the outer edge of the page has become so rubbed and worn that some of the words are obliterated.

No(w)spri(nke)s the sprai. al for loue icche am so seeke that slepen
ine mai. this endre dai als()i me rode o mi.....s...h()i hwar a litel mai
bigan to singge. the clot him clingges wai es him i louue l(on)g(in)ge
sal libben ai. Nou sprinkes, etc. Son icche herde that mirie note yider
i drogh i fonde hire...an herber swot under a bogh. With ioie inogh.
son i asked thou mirie mai hwi sinkes tou ai? Nou sprinkes the sprai,
etc. than answerde that maiden swote midde wordes fewe. mi lemman
me haues bi hot of louue trewe. he chaunges a newe. thiif i mai it shal
him rewe. bi this dai. Now sprinkes.

GEORGE E. WOODBINE.

LONDON.

DANTE, 'DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA,' I, vii.

Since the appearance of the July number of this Review, containing a note from me on the phrase 'non ante tertium equitabis,' I have learnt from Mr A. G. Ferrers Howell that a similar explanation was suggested in a note to the second edition of his translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Dent, 1904). I regret that I overlooked his prior publication; and rejoice to find that an interpretation which I have for the last dozen years felt certain was the true one, is confirmed by his authority and that of Mr Wicksteed, the general editor of Dante for the series.

A. J. BUTLER.

LONDON.

DISCUSSIONS.

THE LOCALITY OF 'KING LEAR,' ACT I, SCENE II.

Mr Hunter, in his acute and interesting Note in the last number of the *Modern Language Review*, has given reasons for thinking that the scene of *King Lear*, I, ii, is still that of I, i, and not, as since Pope has been generally assumed, Gloucester's castle. And he believes that, when this is recognised, the apparent improbabilities of I, ii disappear. As in my *Shakespearean Tragedy* I have dwelt on these improbabilities, and as Mr Hunter refers to me, I should like to say a few words on his Note.

He has succeeded, I think, in showing (1) that, if we confine our attention to I, ii, we may most naturally take the scene to be that of I, i; (2) that, accordingly, we may suppose Gloucester, Edmund, and Edgar to be living under three separate roofs¹; (3) that on this supposition some of the improbabilities of I, ii are considerably reduced (I cannot say more than this, but I leave the question undiscussed). His success confirms the very important rule that we ought never to accept without question the stage-directions of our editions. This rule I have tried to observe, and it should have led me to suspect that Pope's stage-direction here was wrong.

Mr Hunter's success, however, depends on a condition; and this condition is that we confine our attention to I, ii. Now obviously it is not safe to do this. And, if we extend our limits, what is the result?

After I, ii, 'the scene in which the Gloucester interest is next resumed' is II, i; and here the scene, says Mr Hunter, is undoubtedly laid, where it is usually placed, at Gloucester's castle (or house, as Shakespeare calls it). Now between I, ii and II, i a great deal has happened. The Fool has had time to pine away; there are rumours of dissension between Cornwall and Albany; Lear, who has been staying with Goneril, and has observed a change in her treatment of him, has quarrelled with her; he sets out to go to Regan, and, finding that she has left home for Gloucester's house, he is coming on there. Thus the interval between I, ii and II, i cannot be short, whether or no we

¹ This, however, is not 'clearly suggested,' much less 'actually proved,' by the explicit mention of Edmund's 'lodging.' The word in Shakespeare may perfectly well mean a mere room. See Schmidt.

suppose that Lear's words 'within a fortnight' (I, iv, 316) give an indication of its length¹.

What then have Gloucester, Edmund and Edgar been doing during this interval? According to Mr Hunter, in I, ii, on the day after the events of I, i, they are still at the place where those events occurred. I do not know why he calls this place a 'city,' but at any rate it is a place where Gloucester, Edmund, and Edgar are supposed to be under three separate roofs. Edmund shows the forged letter to his father. He is told to find Edgar and to apprehend him. He objects to the latter order, but promises to arrange for the father to overhear a conversation between the sons on the subject of the letter, 'and that without any further delay than this very evening.' He then persuades Edgar to keep out of his father's way for the present, to retire to his (Edmund's) lodging, and, if he stirs abroad, to go armed. The idea suggested is that the scene enacted in II, i is to take place at once, this very evening. But it does not; and when next (in II, i) we meet with Gloucester and his sons, that considerable interval has elapsed. Edmund, for some reason left totally unexplained, has failed to produce Edgar; and, during the interval, not only have Gloucester and Edmund gone into the country, but Edgar has gone too. *And he has gone to the same place!* While his father has set guard to catch him, he is concealed somewhere upstairs in his father's house (II, i, 19). Could anything be much more improbable,—except indeed Edgar's subsequent exploit of returning from his hollow tree to his father's house in order to deliver a soliloquy (see *Shakesp. Tragedy*, p. 260)? And, curious to relate, the place where we find Edgar in II, i, seems to us, as we read, to be just the place where, on the old hypothesis, we left him in I, ii, Edmund's room in Gloucester's house in the country.

What is the conclusion? That Mr Hunter's supposition is wrong? I do not say that. But I say that, on his supposition and on any other, the story is here grossly improbable, and the place-indications misty in the extreme.

I do not know whether it is of any use to go further; but, if we must make a hypothesis, perhaps the most probable is this. Shakespeare, if he imagined any place at all for I, ii (and I think it improbable that he did not), imagined the place of I, i. But it was not necessary for stage purposes to indicate a place, and he may have known that the spectators would not trouble their heads about the matter, and still less about the question of one roof or three. In II, i, on the other hand, it *was* necessary to have a definite place, for the plot required that almost all the chief persons should meet at Gloucester's house in the country. So he put Edgar into concealment in his father's house, confident that the spectators would not ask the awkward question how and when he got there. We, in studying the play, ask this question; and a stage-manager now has to ask it, because in our theatre everything happens

¹ This, I think, is the obvious interpretation, and it is that of Mr Daniel in his *Time-analysis*. But the meaning *might* be that Lear was required to dismiss fifty of his knights within the next fortnight.

somewhere in particular, and not on a bare platform as universal as the world. He would do best, I incline to think, to put *i*, *ii* where Pope put it, and to excise the indications of time. He would thus avoid the absurdity which follows on Mr Hunter's view,—a view, however, which (apart from the question of the three roofs) seems to me probably correct.

I should like to associate myself with Mr Hunter in his praise of Dr Perrett's excellent study¹.

A. C. BRADLEY.

LONDON.

WYATT AND THE FRENCH SONNETEERS.

IN a short note appended to his interesting article *The Elizabethan Sonneteers and the French Poets*², Prof. Kastner denies my thesis³ that Saint-Gelais translated the sonnet 'Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine' from Wyatt. His comment is: 'This is *a priori* highly improbable, and Mr Berdan's arguments do not convince me.' To convince Prof. Kastner I must show that *a priori* the situation is sufficiently probable to merit consideration. This might be done by citing the few other borrowings in the French from the English—as is notably the case of Chaucer—by showing that the English language was understood at the Court of France—a condition which is historically probable—or by proving that the Italian influence, *Petrarchismo*, reached England before it reached France. If this last be true, *a priori* my contention is not highly improbable. This, then, is the way I shall try to meet the question.

The possibility of confusion here arises from the fact that, while Tottel's *Miscellany* represents the work of a past generation, it was not published until 1557, eight years later than the beginning of the Pléiade. Thus it is easy to class it mentally as the first of the Eliza-

¹ A word must be added on a small matter. I remarked in my book that Gloucester appears to be unacquainted with his son's handwriting. Mr Hunter quotes Gloucester's words, 'It is his' (*i*, *ii*, 66), and suggests that I may have overlooked them. My remark was hardly worth making, but it represented my interpretation of the passage, which runs thus in the Folio:

Glou. You know the character to be your Brothers?

Bast. If the matter were good my Lord, I durst swear it were his: but in respect of that, I would faine thinke it were not.

Glou. It is his.

Bast. It is his hand, my Lord: but I hope his heart is not in the Contents.

I took 'It is his,' following Gloucester's question, to be an instance of his feebleness in allowing himself to be guided by Edmund, a trait strongly marked in this scene. I was not satisfied, however, that the Folio reading is right. *Q₁* reads 'It is his?' and *Q₂* 'Is it his?' and the readings of the Quartos are frequently superior to those of the Folio. I used the words 'appears to be' to show that I did not regard my interpretation, which I still think the most probable, as certain.

² *Modern Language Review*, April 1908.

³ *Modern Language Notes*, February 1908.

bethan type, where the normal method was to borrow from the French. Prof. Kastner himself has done such notable work in the English imitations of Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Desportes¹, that no more need be said. His last article blighted the hopes of my colleague, Mr McCune, who had in manuscript Daniel's indebtedness to Du Bellay. Even here the Italian cannot be ignored. Lodge's sonnet, *Phyllis*, xxviii, 'Not causeless were you christened, gentle flowers,' is a fairly close rendition of Ariosto's fourth sonnet, 'Non senza causa il giglio e l' amaranto.' But the general tendency among Elizabethan writers is markedly towards translation from the French.

On the other hand, when one considers the writers of Tottel, especially Wyatt, not as Elizabethan but as Tudor sonneteers, the same statement does not hold. As yet, aside from Prof. Koepfel's article in *Anglia*², to my knowledge not a single French original has been found for the poems of Wyatt, while Italian sources are manifold. Of the two coincidences between Wyatt and Saint-Gelais mentioned by Prof. Koepfel, one, 'Like to these unmesurable montayns,' whatever may be the direct original of the Saint-Gelais, has been discovered by Mr Tilley, Prof. Kastner and myself, three separate times, to be a translation from Sannazaro—Italian, not French. The other, while undoubtedly similar, is yet so different in detail that it suggests rather a common original as yet unknown. The stock of ideas and expressions left in gavelkind by Petrarch was so shared in common³ that the employment of the same conceit, unless accompanied with close verbal similarity, proves little but a common literary parentage. Wyatt, moreover, normally translates from the beginning⁴. All his poems that have been identified are Italian.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 4017, 4018.

² Emil Koepfel, *Anglia*, xiii, 77.

³ Compare the reasoning on pp. 6—7 of Mr Ingraham's *Sources of Les Amours de Jean Antoine de Baif*, Columbus, Ohio, 1905.

⁴ As this reasoning applies also to the indebtedness of Wyatt to Seraphino, pointed out by Prof. Koepfel (*Romanische Forschungen*, v, 67), to prove this point I add the first lines of those poems only of which there can be question. The references are to Arber's reprint of Tottel and to Mestica's edition of *Le Rime*.

P. 33: The long love, that in my thought I harbor

Son. 109: Amor, che nel penser mio vive e regna.

P. 33: Yet I was ever of your love agreed

Son. 61: Io non fu' d' amar voi lassato unquanco.

P. 34: The lively sparks, that issue from those eyes

Son. 220: Vive faville uscian de' duo bei lumi.

P. 35: Such vain thought as wonted to mislead me

Son. 136: Pien d' un vago penser, che me desvia.

P. 37: Cesar, what that the traytour of Egypt

Son. 81: Cesare, poiche 'l traditor d' Egitto

P. 38: Some fowles there be, that have so perfect sight

Son. 17: Son animali al mondo de sì altera (vista).

P. 38: Because I still kept thee fro lyes, and blame

Son. 41: Perch' io t' abbia guardato di menzogna.

P. 39: I find no peace, and all my warre is done

Son. 104: Pace non trovo, e non ò da far guerra.

P. 39: My galley is charged with forgetfulness

Son. 156: Passa la nave mia colma d' oblio.

P. 40: Avisyng the bright beames of those fair eyes

Son. 140: Mirando 'l Sol de' begli occhi sereno.

The reason for this vast preponderance of Italian influence over the French is shown by a comparison of the dates. There is no question but that Wyatt travelled in both countries. His first visit to France was in 1526, when he was twenty-three years old. The following year he spent in Italy, visiting Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence and Rome¹. To a man of taste there could be no comparison between the literatures. The Cinquecento was then at its prime. Is it any wonder then that Wyatt fell under the influence of the *Petrarchisti* and brought back with him the Italian manner? This consists in form, of a preference for the sonnet, the ode, the madrigal, rather than the rhyme royal, the couplet, the rondeau; in substance, of platonic idealization expressed by various rhetorical devices. It is possible to have the form alone—as is the case of Clément Marot—or the substance alone—as is the case with Maurice Scève; Wyatt has them both.

Not only was *Petrarchismo* imported into England by Wyatt, but it reached England before it reached France. Again the difficulty lies in the fact that the dates of publication are fallacious because the works circulated in manuscript. Thus although Tottel was not published until 1557, as Wyatt had died in 1542, it is the earlier date only which needs to be considered². The question then narrows down to whether it be possible to find *Petrarchismo* in France written, not printed, before 1540. To answer this a short analysis of French literature before 1550 becomes necessary. It may be discussed under four fairly distinct heads³.

1. Les grands rhétoriciens. 2. Clément Marot and his school. 3. The precursors of the Pléiade. 4. The Pléiade itself. Leaving the first aside, because there can be no question of *Petrarchismo* there, we shall discuss them in the reverse order, considering only those poets who have been considered in this discussion.

With regard to the Pléiade, we are fortunate in having definite

P. 68: Even my hap is slack and slowe in comynng

Son. 44: Mie venture al venir son tarde e pigre.

P. 69: Love, Fortune, and my minde which do remember

Son. 99: Amor, Fortuna et la mia mente, schiva.

P. 69: How oft have I, my deare and cruell fo

Son. 19: Mille fiate, o dolce mia guerrera.

P. 70: Like unto these unmesurable montayns

Sannazaro: Simile à questo smisurati monti. (Pt. 3, son. 3.)

P. 70: If amorous fayth, or if an hart unfained

Son. 188: S' una fede amorosa, un cor non finto.

P. 72: The pillar perisht is whereto I lent

Son. 229: Rotta è l' alta Colonna e 'l verde Lauro.

P. 73: Go burning sighes unto the frosen hart

Son. 120: Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core. (First quatrain only.)

P. 73: So feble is the thred, that doth the burden stay

Canz. 4: Si è debile il filo, a cui s' attene (canzone).

Whereas the first five of the eight lines of Wyatt have no similarity with Saint-Gelais.

¹ Proved by a letter from Sir Thomas Cheney, Gairdner, *Domestic Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, iv, 2135.

² John Bruce, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1850, page 258.

³ This classification follows the general line of manuals of French literature; e.g. Petit de Julleville, Brunetière, Darmesteter, Faguet, and Tilley.

dates. The published work begins with the *Deffense* and *L'Olive* of Du Bellay and the *Erreurs Amoureuses* of Tyard, all three in 1549. M. Marty-Laveaux¹ in his introduction to his edition of the last asserts that this was composed as early as 1543. Granting that, the earliest date assigned to the composition of any of the work of the Pléiade, we have the year after Wyatt's death when Surrey had only four years to live. With Du Bellay we are upon still firmer ground. In the preface to the 1550 edition of the *Olive* he says²:

Voulant donques enrichir nostre vulgaire d'une nouuelle, ou plustost ancienne renouuellée poésie, ie m'adonnay à l'immitation des anciens Latins, & des poëtes Italiens, dont j'ay entendu ce que m'en a peu apprendre la communication familière de mes amis. Ce fut pourquoy, à la persuasion de Iaque Peletier, ie choisi le Sonnet, & l'Ode, deux poëmes de ce temps là (c'est depuis quatre ans) encore peu usitez entre les nostres : étant le Sonnet d'Italien devenu François, comme ie croy, par Mellin de Saint Gelais....

In 1546, then, at the persuasion of Jacques Peletier du Mans, he began writing sonnets, a form then rarely used and presumably recently introduced by Melin de Saint-Gelais. Ronsard by his own statement in two different places dates his work:

le vint-uniesme jour
Du mois d'avril, que je vins au séjour
De la prison ou les Amours me pleurent³.

L'an mil cinq cens, contant quarante six,
Dans ses cheveux une dame cruelle
(Ne sçais quel plus, las! ou cruelle ou belle)
Lia mon cœur...⁴.

M. Henri Longnon⁵ argues that owing to the new style the date here is our 1545. Granting this without argument, we still find a date posterior by three years to Wyatt's death. This is important as, whatever might be the sporadic use of the sonnet, the work of the Pléiade is strictly the analogy of the poetry of the court of Henry VIII. Wyatt's Anne and Surrey's Geraldine are paralleled by Du Bellay's Olive, Ronsard's Cassandre, Tyard's Pasithée, Baïf's Méline, etc. Thus in one sense the case is proved.

But in order to lay to rest for ever this spectre of French precedence, we must now consider that group called loosely, for want of a better name, the precursors of the Pléiade, a group which may be centred at Lyons. There about 1540⁶ Margaret of Navarre became attracted to the doctrine of Platonic love. This led easily to *Petrarchismo*, and suggests Maurice Scève. As early as 1533 Scève had brought himself into prominence by his discovery of the pseudo-tomb of Laura at Avignon⁷. But his interest in Petrarch bore apparently no immediate

¹ *Les Œuvres de Pontus de Tyard*, par Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1875.

² *Les Œuvres de Joachim Du Bellay*, par Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1867, vol. i, p. 72.

³ *Amours*, t. 1, Son. xiv, Blanchemain, Paris, 1867, vol. i, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Son. cxxvii, p. 71.

⁵ Henri Longnon, *Revue des questions historiques*, Jan. 1902.

⁶ Arthur Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1904, vol. i, p. 137.

⁷ Albert Baur, *Maurice Scève*, Paris 1906, p. 26 et al.

fruit, since in 1535 he published a translation of a Spanish translation of Boccaccio, and in 1538 he entered the *concours* of the 'blazon' series inaugurated by Marot. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that the arrival of Margaret quickened his *Petrarchismo*. In any case it found vent in the *Délie*, 1544. But this differs radically from the sort of work done by both Wyatt and the Pléiade. M. Laumonier, in his commentary on the poems of Peletier, thus disposes of Scève¹:

Quant à Scève, quoi qu'on pense de son obscurité sybilline, de son symbolisme rébarbatif, de son platonisme alambiqué, qui auraient fait l'admiration des élèves de Dorat, ce n'est pas lui que du Bellay, Ronsard et de Baif ont suivi; Tyard seul l'a quelquefois imité dans ses *Erreurs* et encore seulement pour le fond. En fait de poésie amoureuse, les sources de Scève sont Chariteo, Tebaldeo, Serafino; celles de la Pléiade sont Pétrarque et les pétrarquistes vénitiens, dont le chef est le cardinal Bembo. La Pléiade a en outre suivi tous les poètes de l'antiquité gréco-latine, puis l'Ariosto; on ne peut en dire autant de Scève. Enfin il a écrit sa *Délie* en dizains, forme ordinaire de l'épigramme française antérieure et la plus voisine des *strambotti*, tandis que la Pléiade a adopté, pour chanter l'amour et la beauté, des formes poétiques toutes différentes. Scève me paraît un isolé, et à certains égards un attardé, dans sa cité lyonnaise: son flambeau fumeux n'éclaire pas jusqu'à Paris.

To me the decisive proof of the late date of French *Petrarchismo* is the fact, stated above, that the poems of the *Délie* are dizains, not sonnets; a few years later he would have used the sonnet form. Of the others Louise Labé (b. 1525?)² and Magny³ (b. 1529?) in 1540 were too young to have produced much work. Magny himself is rather a precursor of the later manner of Desportes. Then Peletier only remains. Estienne Pasquier⁴, writing in 1560, thus places him:

Jacques Peletier du Mans, qui commença aussi d'habiller nostre Poesie à la nouvelle guise, avecqu'un très heureux succès....Ce fut une belle guerre que l'on entreprit contre l'ignorance, dont j'attribue l'avant-garde à Scève, Bèze, et Peletier; ou si le voulez autrement, ce furent les avant-coureurs des autres poètes.

Bezius is ruled out because he wrote in Latin; Scève, in the passage just quoted; 'reste Peletier.' M. Séché carries the ideas contained in the celebrated epistle 'A un Poete qui n'escrivoit qu'en Latin'⁵ only back as far as 1543⁶. If, however, Peletier begins French *Petrarchismo*, and does not begin it until 1543, there is no possibility of his influencing the Tudor poets. We might rest the case here.

But the real question at issue is the question of the *Petrarchismo* of Marot and Saint-Gelais. The extreme position is given by M. Piéri:

Il (Marot) crut même devoir sacrifier au goût du jour; lui si indépendant de caractère, si pétulant de grâce et brillant d'esprit, il se mit sur le tard à pétrarquiser. A l'occasion, il accueille la pointe à l'italienne, le jeu de mots sur le nom de sa

¹ *Œuvres poétiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans*, publiées d'après l'édition originale de 1547 par Léon Séché. Avec une Notice biographique, un Commentaire et des Notes par Paul Laumonier, Paris, 1904, p. 147.

² *Œuvres de Louise Labé*, éd. Blanchemain, Paris, 1875.

³ *Olivier de Magny, Étude Biographique*, par Jules Favre, Paris, 1885.

⁴ *Recherches de la France*, 1, vi, chap. 7. Quoted from Laumonier.

⁵ Peletier, *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶ Peletier, *ibid.*, p. xiii.

dame (Diane) ou sur Lyon, les métaphores recherchées, les exagérations invraisemblables, les antithèses maniérées, les fadeurs banales; il nous parlera de neige brûlante et d'un cœur qui quitte sa poitrine pour suivre l'amie. Il se garde seulement du platonisme cher à Pétrarque; il est plus matériel dans ses amours et il n'aime pas à soupirer sans espoir; l'attente éternelle sans les réalités, comme disait Tartuffe, n'est pas de son goût; on aperçoit vite les limites jusqu'où il porte l'adoration platonique. Enfin Marot, tout en conservant sa franchise, ressentit l'influence du *Canzoniere*; on peut en voir une preuve frappante dans la traduction qu'il fit d'une chanson et de six sonnets de Pétrarque;...mais il était impossible de ne pas signaler l'influence de Pétrarque sur son facile génie, quoiqu'elle n'ait agi sur lui que tardivement et dans la seconde moitié de sa carrière¹.

I question whether the influence of Petrarch would have received so much stress if the poems had not been read with a knowledge of future events. While exaggerated metaphor, pointed antithesis and punning are certainly marks of *Petrarchismo*, they are equally characteristic of the rhetorical school of which Marot is the legitimate successor. For example the particular epigram cited of the burning snow², dated by Lenglet-Dufresnoy 1528³, is the one chosen by M. Bourciez⁴ as an example of his Anacreontic grace. In general, the *fond* of *Petrarchismo*, sentimental platonism, is completely lacking. The total impression is very different. M. Bourciez⁵, to interpret his manner to modern readers, compares him to Alfred de Musset, and M. Faguet⁶ calls him 'une première épreuve de la Fontaine, manquée, si l'on veut, par comparaison avec l'épreuve définitive, mais déjà intéressante et singulièrement originale.' In fact to see *Petrarchismo* in his epigrams seems to me to deny the historical position of the Pléiade.

That Marot knew Petrarch is an entirely different question. The 'Visions of Petrarch,' the six sonnets translated from the *Canzoniere*, incidental references and an occasional line show that he was familiar with the great Tuscan. It is interesting to note that the translations were not included in the edition, superintended by the author himself, in 1538, but appeared only in the edition of 1545. The assumption therefore, as I cannot find that Lenglet-Dufresnoy has dated them, is that they were composed between those two dates, that is after 1540. Before that time the occasional references show knowledge of Petrarch, but no influence. Of these there are just three. The relationship claimed in

Petrarque a bien sa maitresse nommée,
Sans amoindrir sa bonne renommée :
Donc, si je suis son disciple estimée,
Craindre ne fault que tu en sois blasmée⁷,

disappears on closer examination. His conception is shown by the fact

¹ Marius Piéri, p. 55, *Pétrarque et Ronsard*, Marseilles, 1896.

² Epigramme xxiv, *Œuvres de Clément Marot*, éd. Pierre Jannet, Paris, n.d.

³ Given in Jannet's edition, vol. 4, p. 199.

⁴ *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, par L. Petit de Julleville, t. 3, Chap. 3, p. 110 by M. Bourciez.

⁵ M. Bourciez, *ibid.*, p. 119.

⁶ *Seizième Siècle*, par Émile Faguet, Paris, 1898, p. 41.

⁷ Epigramme Lxi (1527), Jannet, t. 3, p. 27.

that in the two other places he brackets him with authors antithetic in character.

Pour suivre ainsi Jean de Meun ou Petrarque¹....

Ovidius, maistre Alain Chartier²,
Petrarque, aussi le Roman de la Rose,
Sont les messelz, breviare et psaultier....

Even the Petrarchan line used as refrain,

Desbender l'arc, ne guerist point la playe³,

since it was the motto of King René, and he may have seen it at Nantes, shows no necessary knowledge of the original. This position is also substantiated by the two poems written to celebrate the discovery of the tomb of Laura. The epitaph, attributed also to the King,

En petit lieu comprins vous pouvez voir⁴....,

and the occasional poem,

O Laure, Laure, il t'a esté besoing⁵....,

are frankly what they pretend to be, epigrams. On the other hand, while the manner is undoubtedly absent, there is virtual agreement that Marot introduced the sonnet form. 'Pour le may planté par les imprimeurs de Lyon⁶' is the first dated French sonnet. 'A. M. L. D. D. F. luy estant en Italie⁷', written probably in 1536, shows some of the Petrarchan manner. The *Sonnet de l'auteur*⁸ is not even a regular sonnet. But in general, however regular the form, the matter is epigrammatic. This seems to sustain M. Jabinski⁹ that the sonnet was first known in France as a form of epigram. Then here there can be no question of the priority of the English poets.

Of the French poets Melin de Saint-Gelais remains to be discussed, Marot's contemporary, rival and disciple, who, born eight years before him, yet survived him fourteen years. And it is Saint-Gelais that, on the authority of the passage already quoted from the preface to the *Olive* is said to have introduced the sonnet form into France. Here, however, the ground becomes very slippery owing to an almost entire absence of definite dates. According to the testimony of Du Bellay probably, and certainly of Magny, he was reluctant to print his work¹⁰. His first volume, published as late as 1547, exists in a single copy—a condition which suggests that perhaps the edition was suppressed¹¹. In this volume the only sonnet, 'Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine,' is the one which has excited this controversy. The only passage taken from the Italian noted by Blanchemain is a rendition in *terza rima* of Bembo's, 'Amor è, donne care, un vano e fello¹².' If we

¹ Jannet, t. 2, p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, t. 2, p. 95.

⁵ *Ibid.*, t. 3, p. 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, t. 3, p. 76.

⁹ Reviewed by M. Henri Potez, *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1904, p. 341.

¹⁰ *Œuvres de Melin de Saint-Gelais*, par Prosper Blanchemain, Paris, 1873, t. 1, p. 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, t. 1, p. 14 note; also t. 1, p. 33.

² *Temple de Cupidon*, *ibid.*, t. 1, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, t. 3, p. 152.

⁶ *Ibid.*, t. 3, p. 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, t. 1, p. 116.

¹² *Ibid.*, t. 1, p. 69.

could assume that this volume contained all his work up to that time, the question would be answered. Unfortunately this assumption is contrary to the fact. In the second (1574) edition, sonnet VIII is dated 1544¹; the sonnet to Clément Marot (if it be addressed to Clément Marot) addresses him as still alive²; and sonnet VI, 'mis au Pétrarque de feu Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans',³ is presumably anterior to that date. Thus for some reason only a part of his work, already written, was published in 1547.

Then the question arises, how long before that date did his poems circulate in manuscript? M. Piéri answers:

Vers 1547, Melin de Saint-Gelais faisait paraître un recueil de poésies renfermant quelques sonnets qu'il avait composés à l'imitation des Italiens et qui, depuis plus de dix ans, circulaient de main en main⁴.

This statement, while apparently authoritative, becomes doubtful on examination. In the first place there are not 'quelques sonnets.' There is only one. In the second place, the 'plus de dix ans' was apparently suggested by the date 1536 affixed to that sonnet by Blanchemain from internal evidence. As it has been proved to be a translation, that date is no longer supported, even by guesswork. This point is also discussed by M. Vaganay in his *Le Sonnet au XVI^e Siècle*⁵:

En France, les ballades de Villon ne laissèrent point prévoir quelles seraient les formes préférées de l'âge suivant et Marot lui-même, bien qu'un sonnet se réfère à un événement de 1529, ne se doute nullement qu'il fût un précurseur: ce dernier terme n'est point tout à fait exact, et M. A. Darmesteter a montré que Mellin de Saint-Gelais avait visité l'Italie avant Marot et que ses sonnets 'présentent dans le dernier tercet la rime florentine (ede) propre aux sonnets italiens,' lorsque 'Marot dispose le dernier tercet en :dee, groupement qui a été généralement adopté par nos poètes.'

I quote this in full as, since M. Vaganay gives no reference, I have been unable to locate the reference in the various publications of M. Arsène Darmesteter, or in the various critical reviews. I regret this all the more since my own investigations lead to a diametrically opposite conclusion. Of the nineteen sonnets given in the edition of Blanchemain, the same edition to which M. Darmesteter refers in his *Seizième Siècle*, not one has the last tercet rhyming (ede). The only exception is the irregular sonnet, t. 1, p. 284, whose entire rhyming scheme is ababbccddeef. To make the matter more astounding, in 'Pour le may, A. M. L. D. D. F.,' and the six sonnets from Petrarch, Marot never uses the form dee. Nor is there any such general agreement among the Florentines as seems to be intimated. The whole passage is inexplicable! Thus I am thrown back upon my own resources.

In the case of Saint-Gelais, as in the case of Marot, there is a satiric attitude of mind antagonistic to the sentimentality of *Petrarchismo*, the French love of *esprit*. He is considered, rightly I think, to uphold the

¹ Blanchemain, t. 1, p. 290.

² *Ibid.*, t. 2, p. 262.

³ *Ibid.*, t. 1, p. 287.

⁴ Piéri, *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵ *Le Sonnet en Italie et en France au XVI^e Siècle*, par Hugues Vaganay, Lyon, 1902. Fascicule 11 (1903), p. vi.

old tradition. Otherwise I cannot see the reason for the celebrated quarrel between him and Ronsard, between the old school and the new. If the work of the *Pléiade*, instead of being different in kind, was merely an extension of the *Petrarchismo* found in Saint-Gelais, he certainly would not have provoked that scene at Court, nor would there have been on their part any attack upon his work. Rather at a time when the new manner was on trial, they would have leaned on his support. After the reconciliation, however, it would be natural for the older poet, particularly a man so facile in genius as Saint-Gelais, to imitate the popular fashion. *A priori* the *Petrarchismo* to be found in the later editions of Saint-Gelais may be inferred to have been written after the success of the *Pléiade* and in imitation of it. If this be true, then Wyatt's priority is settled.

In fact, as I see it, it is precisely because of the popularity of the type represented by the poems of Marot and Saint-Gelais, that the coming of *Petrarchismo* was retarded in France. In England, on the contrary, during the reign of Henry VIII the elaborate court life developed conditions demanding courtly poetry simultaneously with the disappearance of the English models, owing to the neglect in pronunciation of the final *e*, suitable for those occasions. Skelton was not sufficiently refined, Heywood was dull and the Chaucerian imitators naturally unable to follow their master. Even Chaucer was felt to be antiquated.

At those days moch commended,
And now men wold haue amended
His Englysh, whereat they barke;
And mar all they warke¹.

Consequently when Wyatt, finding the conventional solution among the Italian courts, brought the sonnet back to England, it spread with almost no resistance. In France, on the contrary, the old manner was represented by so powerful a body as Clement Marot and his friends. To introduce it in spite of his influence caused a literary revolution. Hence the vast importance of the *Deffense*. 'In no other country of Europe is the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance so clearly marked as it is in France by this single book?' It won because little by little, as we have seen, the outworks had been gained. The change was in the air; even Marot had tampered with Petrarch. Consequently what is more probable than that, when Wyatt was in France on his diplomatic expeditions, he met Saint-Gelais at the Court and showed him his work? As an indication of this, it is suggestive that five of the nineteen regular sonnets written by Saint-Gelais terminate in a couplet, two of the five certainly having been written before 1547. Of the two hundred and twenty-two sonnets in the first book of the *Amours* of Ronsard, who found his inspiration truly in Italy, not one

¹ Dyce's edition of Skelton; *Phyllip Sparowe*, lines 796-9.

² *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, by J. E. Spingarn, New York, 1899, p. 172.

terminates in a couplet. M. Vianey¹, noticing this, credits it to the example of Peletier. He does use the couplet, but only twice. But the couplet ending is the normal ending in Wyatt. It is a fair supposition, then, that the two court poets exchanged notes, that Saint-Gelais remarked the English method, and that he went even so far as to translate a whole sonnet. Although this is not susceptible of positive proof, I respectfully argue that it is not 'a priori highly improbable.'

JOHN M. BERDAN.

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I have read Mr Berdan's discussion of 'Wyatt and the French Sonneteers,' and must confess that I remain irretrievably impenitent. His assumption, which in the original (*Modern Language Notes*, February 1908) comes very near being a conviction, appears to me to be quite untenable. No one would have been more pleased than myself if Mr Berdan had succeeded in proving his startling proposition, and thus establishing a most interesting phenomenon in the literary relations between France and England in the sixteenth century.

The real point at issue, to which I will confine myself for the present, is that I deny Mr Berdan's thesis that Melin de Saint-Gelais translated the sonnet 'Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine' from Wyatt's 'Like unto these unmeasurable mountains,' and that I do not even admit that there is any probability that the French poet's model was Wyatt. It is not only the weakness of Mr Berdan's arguments and the errors into which he lapses—in spite of his evident erudition—that invalidate his case, but the strength of the facts, and the deductions from those facts, on the other side. Rectifying an error into which Emil Koeppel (*Anglia*, XIII, 77-8) had fallen through not being aware of the existence of the original Italian source, I have already stated my conviction—a conviction which I believe is shared by all recent investigators—that both the sonnet of Saint-Gelais and that of Wyatt are modelled on the sonnet of Sannazaro 'Simile a questi smisurati monti' which appeared in print for the first time in 1531 apparently (*Modern Language Review*, April 1908). Wyatt's sonnet is an almost verbatim translation of that of his Italian predecessor; the version of Saint-Gelais is a freer rendering though it cannot be said to depart to any considerable extent from the Italian prototype. Mr Berdan admits that Wyatt's reproduction is a translation from Sannazaro, and that he probably came across the Italian original during his stay at Rome in 1527. But Saint-Gelais also went to Italy, at a somewhat earlier date, to complete his studies, first to Padua, and in 1509 to Bologna, where he appears to have remained till after the beginning of the reign of Francis I. Moreover the character of much of his work affords ample testimony that he too

¹ M. J. Vianey, *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1904, p. 307.

had not been able to resist the charms and attraction of Italian literature. These considerations, taken in conjunction with the dominating facts that English poetry was absolutely unknown in France at the time, and that Italy was the common storehouse for French, English and Spanish poets (especially sonneteers) in the sixteenth century, ought to be sufficient to dispose of Mr Berdan's theory. However, I am anxious to meet him on his chosen ground, and hope to be able to show in detail that his arguments rest on an unsound basis.

Mr Berdan states that Saint-Gelais is 'considered to uphold the old tradition.' This assertion will not withstand scrutiny, and in his earlier manner at all events he is almost wholly dominated by Italian influence. Both Wyatt and Saint-Gelais are Italianates, but whereas Wyatt frequently follows the Petrarchists, preferably the great master himself, Saint-Gelais was above all, both in form and substance, a disciple of the Quattrocento¹; a large number of his huitains and dizains are evidently inspired by the strambotti of Serafino, and one of them is actually a translation of a strambotto of the poet of Aquila. Yet he did not altogether eschew Petrarchism proper. Wyatt also, in spite of his translations from Petrarch, likewise felt the influence of the Quattrocento to a marked degree, though it cannot be denied that he was a much more thorough-going Petrarchist than Saint-Gelais. The numerous translations and adaptations from Serafino in Wyatt's work prove this. In choosing the sonnet in question from among those of Sannazaro rather than any other both Wyatt and Saint-Gelais remained true to one side at least of their natural bent. Its exaggerated metaphors and strained hyperboles single it out from the rest of Sannazaro's sonnets. Serafino, Tebaldeo, or Pamfilo Sasso, that apt pupil of theirs, might have written it². The central idea is identically the same as in the following strambotto of Serafino:

Quanto e piu alto un monte ha piu le neve,
 Il pian dal sol piu longe ha piu calore.
 Di questo ogn' un maravigliar se deve,
 Ma tu non gia, che in me tel mostra amore:
 Son da te longe, il cor foco riceve:
 Te son d' apresso, a l' hor tremando more.
 Così amor mostra nel mio cor doglioso
 Quel che in natura par miraculoso³.

Though I do not wish to exaggerate the importance of what may only be a coincidence, it almost looks as if Sannazaro who was friendly with Cariteo, the precursor of the group, and with Tebaldeo, had one day wished to show his friends that he could, if he so desired, hold his own

¹ J. Vianey proves this convincingly in his article on *L'Influence italienne chez les précurseurs de la Pléiade* (*Bulletin italien*, avril—juin 1903).

² It is interesting to note in this connection that, as early as 1816, Dr Nott (than whom there was no better judge of Italian literature in his time) was struck by the resemblance Wyatt's translation bore to the manner of the Quattrocento. Not aware of the Italian original, he speaks of Wyatt's performance as 'probably borrowed from some Italian writer, Tibaldeo or Accolti' (*Works of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, London, 1816, p. 543).

³ Quoted according to the Venice edition of 1548, p. 142.

with them on their own ground. There were special reasons why this particular sonnet of Sannazaro should have appealed to Saint-Gelais and to Wyatt, both disciples of Serafino and his associates. Thus the question becomes not so much one of Petrarchism as of Quattrocentism, if I may be allowed that ugly word, and Mr Berdan's main argument and the shaky edifice constructed upon it fall to the ground. His second argument which he does well, I think, to keep in the background is still more hopeless. Mr Berdan thinks that another way of establishing the probability of his proposition would be to cite 'the few other borrowings in the French from the English—as is notably the case of Chaucer—by showing that the English language was understood at the Court of France—a condition which is historically probable.' To hark back to Chaucer is hardly relevant. His influence on French poetry of any time is highly problematical and in any case infinitesimal. As for the borrowings of the French from the English in the sixteenth century I confess I am not acquainted with them. All the evidence points the other way. In fact English vernacular literature in the sixteenth century might not have existed as far as the French poets were concerned. This affirmation I know is a truism, but perhaps I may be allowed to instance a few striking examples that may not be present in everybody's mind. In spite of a three years' stay in Scotland and England there is not the slightest trace of the influence of English literature in the works of Ronsard. The visit of Du Bartas to the English and Scottish courts and his very cordial reception by the king and poet James VI did not bear any more fruit. The same may be said of Jacques Grévin's visit, and when in later years Brantôme, a keen observer, if ever there was one, came to record the reminiscences of his chequered career, the one event of his stay in England which he recalls with the greatest pleasure and vividness was the unexpected encounter in the Tower of the descendants of certain dogs, six in number, four of them being bitches, which his father, the Seigneur de Bourdeille, had once presented to Henry VIII. On English poets he is mute. He remembered only the dogs. This extraordinary neglect of English literature was general and lasting; from the day that old Deschamps wrote his now famous compliment to Geoffrey Chaucer till Du Bartas included Sir Philip Sidney in his enumeration of the chief supporters of the principal modern languages (II *Jour de la II Sepmaine*, l. 605) there does not appear to be any mention of the name of any English poet in the annals of French literature. It were easy to go on accumulating proofs of the same kind, if one were not anxious to avoid repeating what has been much better said by others¹. Not only the literature but also the language of England was looked upon as crude and in many respects barbarous. A few people at court may have had a smattering of English, but there is no evidence to show that any Frenchmen, excepting a few merchants who had direct and frequent business relations with England, had any

¹ Compare in particular M. Jusserand's article in the *Nineteenth Century*, April 1898, on *French Ignorance of English Literature in Tudor Times*—an eloquent title in itself.

knowledge of the language. It was not taught. What likelihood then is there that Saint-Gelais who had never set foot on English soil was able to read Wyatt? How and where would he have come by any knowledge of English? Whatever way Mr Berdan's theory is looked at, it appears to me that the epithet I applied to it and of which he complains errs on the side of mildness. It would be truer to facts to say that his theory is impossible. Against this overwhelming array of hostile forces Mr Berdan's only hope was to advance positive proofs to the contrary. If he had been able to demonstrate, for example, that the phraseology and turns of Wyatt's sonnet were closely reproduced by Saint-Gelais, he would have gone a long way to prove his case. This he cannot do. Even then it would have been essential to prove that Wyatt's sonnet was written before that of Saint-Gelais. This also he cannot do. Instead he accumulates a farrago of facts which have little or nothing to do with the case, interspersed with erroneous assertions of his own, a few of which I will now proceed to correct.

In reference to the contents of Mr Berdan's second paragraph I have explicitly pointed out the danger of ignoring the Italian original in considering the source of Elizabethan sonnets. That is the whole point of my emphasising the indebtedness of Saint-Gelais to Sannazaro in my article on *The Elizabethan Sonneteers and the French Poets* (*Modern Language Review*, April 1908). Mr Berdan is also unaware apparently that I have already drawn attention to the Italian source of *Phyllis* xxviii, and devoted another article in the same periodical (January 1907) to Lodge's dependence on the Italians. To say (in his fourth paragraph) that the Cinquecento was at its height when Wyatt visited Italy in 1527 is scarcely accurate. The *Rime* of Sannazaro and of Bembo, the two principal poets who reacted against the Quattrocento, were not published till 1530, though they were undoubtedly in circulation before that date. The Quattrocento was still vigorous at that date, as is shown by the numerous editions of Serafino which succeeded each other rapidly till 1550¹. Further on Mr Berdan, brushing aside unceremoniously the pioneer work of the precursors of the Pléiade, makes the rash assertion that 'whatever might be the sporadic use of the sonnet, the work of the Pléiade is strictly the analogy of the poetry of the court of Henry VIII. Wyatt's Anne and Surrey's Geraldine are paralleled by Du Bellay's Olive, Ronsard's Cassandre, Tyard's Pasithée, Baïf's Méline, etc.' Not to mention the lack of all sense of proportion, I should have said that the parallel is to be found roughly in the extraordinary outburst of sonneteering led by Thomas Watson, Sidney and Spenser. Moreover the custom of grouping sonnets under the fanciful name of some mistress was unknown to the poets of Tottel's *Miscellany*, so that here again Mr Berdan is stretching a point. Overlooking numerous errors of fact or judgment, more particularly in the estimation of the part played by those poets who pointed the way to the

¹ See the introduction to Vol. I (the only one to appear so far) of Menghini's *Le Rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila*, Bologna, 1894.

Pléiade, we come to this equally audacious declaration: 'while the manner is undoubtedly absent, there is virtual agreement that Marot introduced the sonnet form.' It is impossible to prove categorically that the distinction of importing the sonnet belongs to Saint-Gelais and not to Marot, but considering that Du Bellay expresses it as his opinion that he did so, and considering also Saint-Gelais' residence in Italy and fondness for Italian models the benefit of the doubt remains with Saint-Gelais. There is nothing to contradict Du Bellay's statement, and recent criticism is inclined to confirm it¹. Lastly there is one more statement that cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. Speaking of the new start made by Wyatt in the art which he practised, Mr Berdan, after characterising the poetry and conditions that immediately preceded, adds: 'consequently when Wyatt, finding the conventional solution among the Italian courts, brought the sonnet back to England, it spread with almost no resistance.' Now this is just what did not happen. 'The result in fact' of Tottel's *Miscellany*, says Professor Saintsbury², 'may have been certain but it was not immediate, being delayed for nearly a quarter of a century; and the next remarkable piece of work done in English poetry after the *Miscellany* was in the old forms, and showed little, if any, of the influence of the new poetical learning.' It is true that Mr Berdan is not very explicit and that he may be referring to the contents of the *Miscellany*, in which case Surrey alone enters into consideration. This generous interpretation would not lend much greater appropriateness to Mr Berdan's pronouncement.

L. E. KASTNER.

ABERYSTWYTH.

¹ Compare for example A. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Vol. I, p. 147.

² *A History of Elizabethan Literature*, London, 1903, p. 11.

REVIEWS.

La Quaestio de Aqua et Terra di Dante Alighieri. Bibliografia. Dissertazione critica sull' autenticità. Testo e commento. Lessigrafia. Facsimili. Da VINCENZO BIAGI. Modena: G. T. Vincenzi e Nipoti. 1908. 8vo. 195 pp.

The general position of the controversy as to the authenticity of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* is presumably fairly well known to Dante students, but it may be convenient to restate it briefly. The *Quaestio* was printed in 1508, before the *Vita Nuova*, or any other of Dante's minor works except the *Convivio*. The editor was a certain Padre Moncetti, who was active in various ways at that period, but of whom we know nothing that inspires us with any confidence. No one had ever heard of the treatise, for it is mentioned by none of Dante's contemporaries or biographers, and no manuscript of it is known to exist. The question of its authenticity, therefore, must be decided entirely on internal evidence. In uncritical ages the treatise was accepted without question. In the hyper-sceptical age, of which Scartazzini was the best known apostle, its authenticity was generally rejected, though on patently inadequate grounds. But in 1899 the tide was turned by Dr Moore's essay in his second series of *Studies*, in which a strong, if not a conclusive, case was made out for Dante's authorship. Since then there has been an active controversy on the subject, and it has become very clear that Moncetti himself was utterly incapable of forging the treatise, as he was at one time supposed to have done; that it must really have been printed or edited, as it professed to be, from a manuscript, because the contractions were often erroneously expanded; that the question it deals with (whether any portions of the ocean are higher than portions of the land) was under lively discussion during the whole period, from the early fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, over which the controversy as to its authorship ranges; and that the greater part of the arguments on either side might easily have been used at any time during that period. To this I think we may fairly add (though the statements might be challenged) that every attempt to identify a fifteenth or sixteenth century forger has absolutely failed; that the whole style of treatment is worthy of Dante; and that the coincidences of expression and usage which it presents with his acknowledged works are so striking as to raise a strong presumption of

authenticity, unless conclusive objections can be urged. It will be seen, however, that the evidence in favour of the authenticity is purely internal, and cannot, in the nature of the case, be absolutely conclusive. The *argumentum e silentio* is strong against the authenticity, but that argument is proverbially inconclusive. If therefore the authenticity is to be effectively impugned, it must be by demonstrating that the treatise shews acquaintance with facts or arguments that were inaccessible to Dante,—in itself a difficult task, for it involves proving a negative.

I may perhaps best shew the great value of the contributions to the controversy made by Dr Vincenzo Biagi in the handsome volume under review, by enumerating the special points which appeared to me to remain for future discussion when I translated and annotated the treatise in 1904. I pointed out that, in arguing against the theory that the natural centre of water is different from that of earth, Dante says that, if it were so, the line along which a clod of earth and a drop of water fall would be different, which he regards as a *reductio ad absurdum*, § 12; and, I added, 'It is odd that the believers in the late date of the treatise have not, so far as I know, fastened upon this passage as containing ideas beyond the scope of Dante's science.' I was not then aware that in the two preceding years, 1902 and 1903, Dr Boffito had contributed two 'Memorie' to the Royal Academy of Science of Turin, in which, with immense though defective erudition, he had attempted to shew that the arguments in the treatise *pro* and *contra* belonged to the fifteenth rather than the fourteenth century. The specific point to which I called attention was treated by him at great length; and he shewed that Paul, Bishop of Burgos, who supplemented Nicholas de Lyra's *Postilla* in the fifteenth century, had argued that when God separated the land from the water he did so by making the centre of the sphere of water eccentric with respect to that of earth, in which case, of course, some portions of water might be higher as measured from the centre of the earth than some portions of the land. And in the same century Matthew Dornick (who had been the Franciscan minister of the Province of Saxony), defending Nicholas against Paul's criticism, specifically declared against his theory of the eccentricity of water: 'quia sic ordo elementorum à prima creatione institutus, & inclinatio naturalis ad centrum universi omnibus elementis indita, secundum beatum Augustinum, & ipsummet Burgensem, citò cessassent': Biagi, however, is able to produce a passage quite as much to the purpose from Averroes: 'Aqua enim naturaliter non moveretur ad centrum totius, nisi.....esset locus naturalis aquae idem cum loco terrae naturali.' *De coel. et m.*, II, tex., com. 31. And moreover, the cumulative effect of Biagi's other citations is such as to convince us that this special argument was well within the range of a mind like Dante's, even if it had never been specifically indicated before.

The other difficulties I had suggested were of an opposite character, for there are two errors in the treatise which it seems hardly likely

Dante would fall into. In a corrupt and difficult passage towards the close of the treatise (§ 20), the author bases an argument on the supposition that the moon is always south of the equator when she is in perigee. This is an elementary blunder, but I argued that it was of such a nature that it was possible, though not probable, that Dante might make it, and added: 'Could it then be shewn (though I am not aware that it can) that there was in Dante's time a semi-popular idea that the moon was always south of the equator in perigee, I do not think we could be quite confident that Dante's scientific knowledge would enable him to reject it. Nevertheless such a blunder, if not inconceivable, would remain very strange and unexpected.' Now Biagi refers to a passage in which Pliny says of the tides: 'Eadem [Luna] Aquilonia, et a terris longius recedente, mitiores quam cum, in austros digressa, propiore nisu vim suam exercet' (*Nat. Hist.*, II, 97 [99]). This is entirely to the purpose; and moreover Biagi declares that a figure in the Laurentian manuscript of Andalò del Negro indicates (though it seems difficult to understand how it can prove) that the theory was current in Dante's time. The other point which appeared to me to require explanation occurs in § 19. The author treats the portion of a sphere intercepted between two great circles as shaped like a half-moon, that is to say, as unsymmetrical; whereas Fazio Degli Uberti knew better, and described such a figure symmetrically as 'almond-shaped.' This point seems to have escaped Dr Biagi's notice.

It results, then, that out of the three points, important to the controversy, on which I asked for light in 1904, Dr Biagi has illustrated two, and those two by far the most important.

Of less direct bearing on the disputed question, but of importance from the commentator's point of view, is another matter. The treatise twice quotes Averroes. In both places the references given are incorrect, and, so far as I am aware, the passages had never been tracked to their real sources. Both are given as part of the argument urged by the adversary, so that the author is not directly responsible in either case for the accuracy of the reference; and his treatment of a false ascription of opinion to Aristotle elsewhere in the treatise warrants us in supposing that he may have quoted his adversary, references and all, without concerning himself to correct his inaccuracies, though subsequently refuting his arguments. It remains, however, a matter of interest to track the quotations if possible. Dr Biagi enables us to do so in both cases, though here we find striking examples of his weakness as well as of his strength. The first passage occurs in § 5, in which the adversaries allege: 'Omnis opinio quae contradicit sensui, est mala opinio,' and cite as their authority, 'commentatorem super tertio De Anima,' on which I noted in 1904 that no passage of Averroes in his commentary on the Third Book had been found to justify this appeal. Biagi refers us to the place 'dove Aristotile dice: *sensus enim proprie quidem est verus*..... *De Anim.*, III, tex. 161.' The reference is wrong. The III should be II, for this part of the treatise falls into the second book according to the divisions of the text commented on

by Averroes. In II, 161, then, and also in II, 152, we find the Aristotelian text, but not the comment we are in search of, nor anything that will do as a substitute. But in illustrating the substance of the paragraph, Biagi incidentally quotes from Averroes the very words we want: 'Omnis opinio cui contradicit sensus non est bona opinio.....quod apparet sensui est testimonium illius quod apparet rationi,' and gives as his reference, *Phys.*, VIII, text, et com. 65. But again the reference is wrong; for on looking it up we find indeed the latter part of the quotation, but not the former, which is just the part we want. Being put on the track however we may find it, not where we are told to look for it but some way back in section 26. Biagi, therefore, while putting us on the track, at the same time misdirects us.

The second reference to Averroes occurs in § 18, in which the authority of the commentator in the *De Substantia Orbis* is cited for the dictum: 'omnes formae, quae sunt in potentia materiae idealiter, sunt in actu in motore coeli,' on which I noted in 1904: 'No such passage has been found in the *De Substantia Orbis*, and indeed it is not couched in the phraseology of that treatise.' Biagi again attempts to justify the reference, for he quotes with apparent satisfaction a number of passages from the *De Substantia Orbis*, and from a commentary upon it by Giov. de Janduno, which are little to the purpose; but in the midst of them he gives, as a quotation not from Averroes but from Aristotle (*Met.*, XII, tex. 18), exactly what we want: 'Formae omnes et proportionales sunt in potentia in prima materia, et in actu in primo motore.' Now the passage does not occur in Aristotle at all. It is not in the text, but at the end of the long commentary by Averroes; so that Biagi, while really giving us Averroes whom we want, tells us that he is giving us Aristotle whom we do not want, and almost buries the passage in a number of irrelevances. Surely it is by a strange fatality that in both these instances Dr Biagi makes a vain show of justifying false references in his author, and in incidentally showing us how to correct them involves us in a perfect labyrinth of false references of his own. But it remains true that, in fine, he has enabled us to identify the passages. In other cases I have found his references fairly correct.

Turning to more general considerations, it may be said that a conspicuous fault in Dr Biagi's book is his tendency to mar his extremely strong case by representing it as still stronger than it is. He descends to outrageous interpretations of Dante's own words in the *Comedy* or in the *Eclogues*, in order to remove some semblance of alleged contradiction; and, generally speaking, he will not allow any argument of his opponents to have any validity, however slight. His carelessness in the spelling of foreign names is indicative of the same kind of general looseness, which the references to Averroes reveal.

But for all that, it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the service Dr Biagi has rendered us. In the face of all the evidence he has collected it seems impossible any longer to maintain that Dante cannot have written the *De Aqua et Terra*. We must further thank

him for the interesting light he has thrown on the state of knowledge and opinion on all cosmographical matters in Dante's time. It is to be noted particularly that he has taken his drag-net not only through the great oceans of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Averroes, but also through many lesser, obscurer, and more inaccessible seas of medieval learning.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

CHILDREY, BERKS.

The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes. His Fortunes and Adversities. Translated from the edition of 1554 (printed at Burgos). With a notice of the Mendoza family, a short life of the author, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a notice of the work, and some remarks on the character of Lazarillo de Tormes. By SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM. London: A. and C. Black, 1908. 8vo. xxxvi + 106 pp.

This is a very disappointing publication. The actual translation of the text, though it lacks the careless grace of David Rowland's sixteenth century version, is faithful and readable; but the introductory matter is disfigured by eccentricities of appreciation, and by serious errors which imply either carelessness or an insufficient acquaintance with the elementary facts of political and literary history. A few examples must suffice. It is surprising to read that Pedro González Hurtado de Mendoza 'was with Juan I, of Castille, at the battle of Aljubarrota. In the flight the King's horse was killed. Mendoza dismounted and said to the King:

El cavallo vos han muerto,
Subid Rey en mi cavallo.

The King rode away. Mendoza was overtaken and slain. The date of the battle was August 14, 1385. His father survived him, dying in 1405.'

It is true that Mendoza was killed at Aljubarrota, but the story of his offering his horse to the defeated King is altogether unhistorical. There is no evidence to support it, and General Crispín Ximénez de Sandoval, the author of a scholarly treatise on the battle of Aljubarrota, is strongly of opinion that this romantic incident was invented much later—suggested by similar legends concerning Alfonso III and Bernardo del Carpio at Benavente, and Alfonso VI and Rodrigo Cisneros at La Sagra. As to the *romance* quoted above, it may be noted that the opening half-line has been lopped of a syllable, the correct form being

Si el cavallo vos han muerto.

However, the important point is that the *romance* in question was written by the dramatist Alfonso Hurtado de Velarde towards the end of the sixteenth century, and cannot therefore have been quoted two hundred years earlier.

The account of later representatives of the Mendoza family contains many mistakes. It is incorrect to say (p. xvii) that the Marqués de Santillana 'was born in 1396': it is well established that this celebrated personage was born on August 19, 1398. Nor was he 'born in the Asturias' (p. xvii): his birthplace was Carrión de las Condes, which is in Castile. Again, the statement that Santillana 'died in 1454' is erroneous: he died at Guadalajara on March 25, 1458. The references to Santillana's work are not much more satisfactory than the sketch of his biography. 'Among his writings,' we read, 'was a little *Serranilla*': and this is followed by twelve lines, to which a translation is appended. This arrangement is misleading. A reader unfamiliar with Santillana's poems might easily imagine that he had before him the complete text of a unique composition by the author. This is not so. Santillana wrote at least ten *serranillas*; the poem quoted here really consists of fifty-two lines, of which only the first and third stanzas are given, the latter being divided arbitrarily into two quatrains. It is impossible to justify this presentation of a famous classic text, and few students will accept the subsequent statement (p. xviii) that Santillana's 'chief poetical work...was the *Comedieta de Ponza*.' All competent critics are practically unanimous in giving the first place to Santillana's *serranillas*, and next in merit come the *Doctrinal de privados* and *Bias contra Fortuna*.

The biographical sketch of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to whom the translator ascribes *Lazarillo de Tormes*, leaves much to desire. 'While he was a student at Salamanca,' we are informed, 'Don Diego wrote *Lazarillo de Tormes*' (p. xxiv). On the face of it, this does not seem likely. Mendoza was then studying for the Church, and it is in the highest degree improbable that anyone in his position would write the compromising satire on 'the most shameless and impudent distributor' of Papal Indulgences, who was Lazarillo's fifth master. A letter from Mendoza to Charles V, dated May 2, 1547, clearly shows that, almost up to that date, the writer was habitually dressed as an ecclesiastic: '...para estorbar muchas esperanzas que se tenian en mi clerecia...me he puesto habito de lego.' In Sir Clements Markham's narrative there is no mention whatever of Mendoza's embassy to England in 1537 to negotiate (1) the marriage of Henry VIII with Charles V's niece, Dorothea, Duchess of Milan, and (2) the marriage of Mary Tudor with Prince Louis of Portugal: particulars will be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. XIII, parts i and ii, and in the *Spanish State Papers* of this date (1537-1538), edited by Pascual de Gayangos. The editor of the present volume has neglected to consult these sources, as well as the incomplete but useful study of Fesenmaier, published at Munich in 1882. Not a word is said as to Mendoza's passages of arms with Paul III, and a wrong impression is conveyed by the assertion that 'he was not appreciated by Philip II and seldom came to Court, living, with his splendid library, in his house at Granada' (p. xxiv). Nobody would gather from this bald statement that Mendoza had been exiled to Granada in disgrace, and that there is a sharp debate, as

to whether he was disgraced in consequence of irregularities in the accounts rendered of his stewardship at Siena, or whether his exile was due to his having quarrelled with, and assaulted, a certain Diego de Leiva in the Royal Palace during the summer of 1568.

Bibliography fares no better than biography, so far as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza is concerned¹. With respect to his *Guerra de Granada*, it is asserted that 'the first edition appeared in 1610, and the second real complete edition at Valencia in 1776.' This is altogether wrong, and it is unfortunate that Sir Clements Markham should not have taken the trouble to read M. Foulché-Delbosc's study in the first volume of the *Revue hispanique*, which appeared fourteen years ago. Mendoza's poems were published in 1610; but the first edition of his *Guerra de Granada* did not appear till 1627 when it was issued at Lisbon by Luis Tribaldos de Toledo: the supposititious edition of 1610 has never been seen by anybody, and has nothing to support it but an erroneous entry in Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana*. Nor is it accurate to say that the second edition of the *Guerra de Granada* was published at Valencia in 1776. The second edition of this work was issued at Madrid in 1674, the third at Valencia about 1730, the fourth at Valencia in 1766: the edition published at Valencia in 1776 is the fifth, and the additional passages inserted in Books III and IV are reprinted from Juan de Iriarte's *Regiæ Bibliothecæ Matritensis codices graeci MSS.* published at Madrid in 1769. As to the questions whether we have Mendoza's text in its entirety, or whether all the existing text is the work of Mendoza, the reader cannot do better than refer to M. Foulché-Delbosc's illuminating study. The problem is not discussed in the present volume; there is perhaps no good reason why it should be, unless indeed Sir Clements Markham be justified in attributing *Lazarillo de Tormes* to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. In that case the examination of Mendoza's other works becomes obligatory.

The translator leads off (p. xv) by ascribing *Lazarillo de Tormes* to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, remarking in a curt note that 'doubt has been thrown on the authorship, but without sufficient reason. See Antonio, *Bib. Nov.*, i, 291.' This is much too peremptory, and it assumes what it is the writer's duty to prove. Anybody would think from the reference that Nicolás Antonio had pronounced decisively in favour of the ascription to Mendoza; even if it were so, his opinion would not be final, for the great Spanish bibliographer was not a contemporary, and had no means of obtaining special information on the subject. But, as a matter of fact, and as M. Morel-Fatio has pointed out in a conclusive examination of this ascription to Mendoza, Nicolás Antonio records the attribution in very guarded terms. 'Tribuitur etiam nostro, juvenilis ætatis, ingenio tamen ac festivitate plenus, quem Salmanticæ elucubrasse dicitur, libellus, scilicet: *Lazarillo de Tormes* indigitatus.' And, so far is Antonio from committing himself to a positive opinion, that he

¹ The bibliographical note at the foot of p. xxviii omits about a dozen known editions of *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

continues as follows: 'Quamvis non desit qui Joannem de Ortega, Hieronymianum monachum, hujus auctorem asserat, Josephus videlicet Seguntinus in eius ordinis historiæ lib. I, cap. xxxv.'

Since the publication of M. Morel-Fatio's essay twenty years ago in the first series of his *Études sur l'Espagne*, there is no excuse for misapprehension on the matter. It is now perfectly well known to all who take any interest in the question that the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* was first ascribed to the Jeromite monk, Juan de Ortega, in José de Sigüenza's *Historia de la orden de San Gerónimo* published at Madrid in 1605, and that the attribution to Mendoza was first mentioned two years later by Valère André in his *Catalogus clarorum Hispaniæ scriptorum*, which (as M. Morel-Fatio points out) is the rough sketch of André Schott's *Hispaniæ Bibliotheca* published in 1608. It is worth noting that, in his recast, Schott is careful to tone down Valère André's too positive statement, and mentions the attribution as merely conjectural: 'eius esse putatur satyricum illud ac ludicrum *Lazarillo de Tormes*,' etc. The ascription is mentioned as being current by Tamayo de Vargas in an unpublished bibliography which he compiled in 1622, and Antonio follows Tamayo de Vargas, as Tamayo de Vargas follows Schott, and as Schott follows André. It is plain that there is no real authority for the ascription to Mendoza, and, as M. Morel-Fatio observes, it is significant that it is not so much as mentioned in passing by the editor of Mendoza's poems in 1610, nor by Baltasar de Zúñiga in his life of Mendoza which precedes the first edition of the *Guerra de Granada* published at Lisbon in 1627. Everything points to the conclusion that *Lazarillo de Tormes* is one of several works ascribed at random to Mendoza. It is conceivable, no doubt, that he wrote it; there is nothing chronologically impossible in the attribution: but the presumption is against it, and the burden of proof rests wholly with Sir Clements Markham, and those who agree with him—if there are any such.

Many other points in the introduction invite comment. It is by no means certain that 'the first edition [of *Lazarillo de Tormes*] in Spain was published at Burgos in 1554.' As I pointed out long ago in reviewing M. Morel-Fatio's book the only solid reason for thinking the Burgos edition was the first published in Spain is that the Alcalá edition is described as 'nuevamente impressa, corregida y de nuevo añadida en esta segunda impression'; but this reason is less solid than it seems at first sight, for the Alcalá edition was finished on February 26, 1554, and even if we assume that the Burgos edition was available in the first week of January, we may doubt if it was possible in the sixteenth century to procure the book at Burgos, forward it to Alcalá, reprint it there with woodcuts and textual alterations, and complete the work by the end of February. It is practically certain that the Alcalá edition of *Lazarillo de Tormes* is earlier than the Burgos edition, and that both derive from a previous edition as yet undiscovered: on this point no reasonable doubt is left by M. Foulché-Delbosc's *Remarques sur Lazarillo de Tormes* in the seventh volume of the *Revue hispanique*.

Accordingly, it is not quite clear that a translator is well-advised in basing his version on the Burgos edition which, by the way, was examined by Professor Ottokar Weber on behalf of Dr Wilhelm Lauser some seven or eight years before Butler Clarke, in whose convenient reprint, used by Sir Clements Markham, M. Foulché-Delbosc has noted 92 errors. There is some reason to think that the early translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* into English was published before 1586 (p. xxix)—perhaps ten years before this date. The translation was licensed in 1568-9, and the unique copy of *Til Howleglas* in the Bodleian Library contains a relevant manuscript note by Gabriel Harvey:—‘This Howleglass, with Skoggin, Skelton, and Lazarillo, given me at London, of Mr Spensar, xx December [15]78.’ It would be endless to note misprints, such as ‘Inigo’ for Iñigo (pp. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix and xx) and ‘Albacain’ for Albaicin (p. xxiii). Enough has been said to show that these introductory pages are inadequate, and are calculated to mislead beginners very seriously.

JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

LONDON.

The Origin of the English Nation. By H. MUNRO CHADWICK. (Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series.) Cambridge: University Press, 1907. 8vo. 351 pp.

Mr Chadwick's book is a valuable example of the method which is now likely to lead to the best results in the study of Old English philology and history. The two generations which separate us from the days of Grimm have seen so many keen wits concentrated upon a somewhat narrow field that there is often little left for the philologist pure and simple to do, except to spin new theories out of facts long known and tabulated, which have already yielded to previous workers all that can be legitimately drawn from them. But there is, and there will long be, work for the man who can concentrate upon a single problem the results of several branches of study. This is what Mr Chadwick does: ‘In general he’ [the author] ‘has sought to make use of all branches of ethnological study—history, tradition, language, custom, religion, and antiquities.’ When a writer is able to discuss the difficult question of the origin of Angle and Saxon in the light, not only of the Old English dialects, but also of brooch patterns and burial customs his work is certain to be stimulating.

Any attempt to synthesize the evidence as to English origins is, as Mr Chadwick complains, hampered by the backward state of the study of archaeology in England; the neglect of this study offers a striking contrast to the almost exaggerated attention which has been given to certain philological problems; but in spite of this, Mr Chadwick has shown how the evidence of archaeology, folklore and comparative law can be made to supplement and elucidate the evidence of language.

A second edition of the book ought soon to be called for, and, in

view of this, we venture to draw attention to certain points, which might perhaps be reconsidered when the book is reissued. Mr Chadwick states that in Canute's (spurious) Forest Laws, § 33, the *Lex Angliorum et Werinorum hoc est Thuringorum* is referred to under the title of *Lex Werinorum*, i.e. *Thuringorum*. Now these 'Forest Laws,' the origin of which is obscure, though they are certainly much later than the time of Canute, were first printed in Harrison's description of England, prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicle* in 1577. Here the passage runs *secundū legem merimorum*. When Holinshed's *Chronicle* was posthumously reissued in 1587 *merimorum* was altered to *Werinorum*, i.e. *Thuringorum*. Since readers, from Shakespeare downwards, have chiefly used the edition of 1587, this supposed early English reference to the law of the continental Angles has been quoted and requested. Yet the alteration from *merimorum* to *Werinorum*, i.e. *Thuringorum* was only a conjecture of Francis Thynne, or of one of his fellow-editors, who knew the great collection of early German laws published by Johann Heroldt at Basle. But Liebermann's¹ discovery, in 1894, of a MS. of the Forest Laws—a MS. of the sixteenth century, but earlier than Holinshed—proves that 'merimorum' is simply a printer's blunder for 'Mercinorum.' The allusion is then to the Mercian law, and the theory that there was any knowledge of the continental Anglian law in England, until it became the common property of antiquarians in the sixteenth century, must be dismissed to that limbo of Pseudo-Germanica where the goddess Hertha reigns.

Again, Mr Chadwick's arguments do not quite support his conclusions when he urges that the life of a German tribe was entirely bound up with that of the King and his retainers: 'What I cannot admit however is that in the total absence of evidence we have any right to assume the existence of a national organization, independent of the King and his officials and retainers....If the King was overthrown, unless some member of the family contrived in one way or another to retrieve its fortunes, the national organization was liable to perish altogether. Such was the case with the Rugii in 488, and with the Thuringi in 531....As a rule we may say that in early times the life of a nation hung together with that of its native dynasty. If the latter was overthrown the nation as a nation ceased to exist' (pp. 171, 172). Undoubtedly this statement represents one side of the truth, but it needs to be very largely qualified. Thus when Guðhere was destroyed in 437 '*cum populo atque stirpe sua*'², the Burgundian nation ought, according to Mr Chadwick's view, to have broken up. It did not do so, however, except in saga and poetry: as a fact of history, so soon as the children grew up to manhood, the nation reappeared. We have no evidence that any member of the royal family retrieved the national fortunes: we do not even know that the new dynasty was related to

¹ See article by Liebermann in the *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte*, xxviii, 174. *Germanistische Abtheilung*. Liebermann (in his *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*) dates this MS. c. 1570.

² Prosper Aquitanus.

the old one, though it is quite likely that it was¹. And the case of the Rugii, quoted by Mr Chadwick, is really stronger evidence against his view than that of the Burgundians. The Rugian dynasty was not, as Mr Chadwick states, entirely destroyed by Odoacer: the prince Frederic survived and lived to lead the Rugians into Italy under Theodoric. Here, indeed, he perished, about the year 492, and, so far as we know, the Rugian royal line became extinct. But the sequel was the reverse of what Mr Chadwick argues. Living under an Ostrogothic dynasty, and apparently scattered, like their Ostrogothic fellow-subjects, throughout Italy, the Rugians kept their race pure by refusing to intermarry with other tribes, and finally, after the lapse of half a century, in 541, asserted their political existence by electing a king of their own. The evidence of Procopius is conclusive upon this point². Again, the tragic story of the downfall of the Ostrogoths shows clearly that, independent of the royal kin, there was both a national organization and a national spirit. At a critical moment in their war with the Eastern Empire the Goths felt themselves betrayed by the representative of that Amal line to which they had looked for leadership during three centuries. So they deposed him in full assembly, and elected another king, not of royal or even of very noble race. Then, for eighteen years, they kept up the struggle, against two of the greatest generals the world has known; after each successive disaster rallying to, and electing as king, whatever chief seemed best able to maintain the national independence. In this case the nation certainly showed a very vigorous life, apart from its native dynasty, although indisputably the betrayal of the national cause by that dynasty cruelly hampered the nation.

Mr Chadwick's work would probably have been more useful had he shown less originality in his views. When a writer is bringing half a dozen different branches of study to bear upon one subject, he can afford, in each of those branches, to follow the lines which have been generally accepted. Revolutionary theories may be reserved for monographs where the subject can be exhaustively discussed. But, with regard to the chronology of the principal Germanic sound-changes, Mr Chadwick breaks quite away from the orthodox view. He abandons the generally accepted dogma of the early division of the Germanic languages into three great groups, West, North, and East, with East and North linked by a few common characteristics. He divides only into Gothic and non-Gothic. 'There is evidence that it [Gothic] differed greatly from Scandinavian, English, and German alike at a time when the differences between these three languages themselves were insignificant' (p. 64). The sound-changes which differentiate

¹ A member of the later dynasty refers to Gundahari and the kings before him as '*auctores nostros*'; but it has been doubted whether he means more than 'our predecessors.'

² De Bell. Gott. III, 2, οἱ δὲ Ῥογοὶ οὗτοι ἔθνος μὲν εἰσι Γοτθικὸν αὐτόνομος τε τὸ παλαιὸν ἔβλων. Θεοδερῖχον δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς προσεταιρισμένον ξὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἔθνεσιν, ἐς τε τὸ γένος ἀπεκέκριντο καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἅπαντα ἐπρασσον. γυναιξὶ μέντοι ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμιγνύμενοι ἁλλοτρίαις, ἀκραίφνεσι παίδων διαδοχαῖς τὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ὄνομα ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διεσώσαντο. τοῦτον τὸν Ἑράριχον... βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ ἀφινιδίου οἱ Ῥογοὶ ἀνείπον.

English from Scandinavian on the one hand and from German on the other Mr Chadwick regards as the work of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries (p. 223). Now, if this could be proved, it would simplify many a knotty problem in the question of the origin of the English race and language. But to prove it would require an independent work: and although Mr Chadwick has elsewhere expressed the same view¹, neither there nor here has he been free to go at all fully into the question. And for two reasons the burden of proof lies upon him. In the first place Professor Bremer's² elaborate study of the chronology of the Germanic sound laws holds the field. Bremer thinks that some of the peculiarities which differentiate the dialects of the Old English and Frisian coast tribes from those of their Scandinavian and German neighbours go back to the first century B.C., and the first century A.D.; and his arguments have got to be faced and refuted. In the second place there is a *prima facie* improbability about Mr Chadwick's view. From at least the first century B.C. German tribes had occupied the vast regions from Bavaria to Scandinavia, separated by mighty forests, morasses and arms of the sea: and when literary documents become available we accordingly find wide divergencies of dialect. That all these divergencies sprang up between the fifth and seventh century A.D.: and that from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. either no dialectal peculiarities grew up, or only such as happened later to become obliterated, is certainly very improbable. Mr Chadwick's view is interesting, and an exhaustive discussion of the subject from his pen would certainly be most valuable: but a new and unproved theory ought not to be assumed as a dogma in a work like the present, where space does not allow of its being discussed at length.

Mr Chadwick also breaks away from the accepted view in dealing with another point, which is small enough in itself, yet one upon which a good deal depends, if the history of the Germanic saga and the affinities of different tribes are to be made out: 'I cannot admit that one is justified in assuming the identity of the names Sceaƿ and Sceaƿa; for though Beo and Beowa do apparently occur side by side such cases are quite exceptional' (p. 282). On the contrary it would be easy to collect a fair number of cases in which names, especially those of traditional and eponymous heroes are found both in the strong and in the weak form. Thus we have Hreðles (*Beow.*, 2358) against Hreðlan [MS. Hrædlan] (*Beow.*, 454); Scyld in *Beowulf* and Ethelwerd against Sceldwa in the Parker MS. of the *Chronicle*, in Asser, and in Florence of Worcester; Geat in the Parker MS. against Geata in MS. Cott. Tib. A 6 of the *Chronicle*; Hors in the *Historia Brittonum*, against the more usual Horsa. Add to these the Beowa of the charter (Birch, II, 677) against Beaw in the Parker MS., add the O.H.G. instances quoted by Müllenhoff long ago³, and we certainly have enough examples to justify a belief

¹ *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, IV, 2 (1899), pp. 259—265.

² *Indogermanische Forschungen*, IV (1894), pp. 8—31: 'Relative Chronologie' von Otto Bremer.

³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XII, 260.

that the early King Sceafa of *Widsith* is the same as the Sceaƿ of the *Chronicle*.

Finally, we differ from Mr Chadwick in his attempt to draw any chronological data from references in Old English heroic poetry to historical persons of the time of the migrations: 'The time,' says Mr Chadwick, 'at which Eadgils, lord of the Myrgingas, lived is fortunately made clear by several passages in *Widsith*. The poet states (l. 94) that he was in Eadgils' service, and (l. 5 ff.) that in company with Ealhild, who was apparently either the wife or a near relative of that prince¹, he visited the court of Eormenric, King of the Goths. Eormenric rewarded him for his poetry with a valuable bracelet, which on his return home he gave to Eadgils (l. 90 ff.). It is clear then that Eadgils and Eormenric were contemporaries. But we know from Ammianus Marcellinus that the latter died about the year 370.... Consequently we can hardly go wrong in concluding that Eadgils lived about the middle of the fourth century.'

But this is to neglect the fact that heroic tradition usually represents all its heroes as contemporary, or nearly contemporary, though they may have lived in widely different ages. Thus, to take the stock example, Ragnar Lodbrok is son-in-law, and Gunnarr brother-in-law of Sigurd; yet the historic Ragnar is separated by many centuries from the historic Gundahari. And nowhere is this confusion of periods more obvious than in *Widsith*. Among the retinue of Eormenric (d. 375) *Widsith* meets Eastgota (fl. c. 250) and Theodric, who is either the Frank (d. 534) or the Ostrogoth (d. 526), as well as Freotheric, perhaps the Rugian, who died about 492. These are engaged in fighting the people of Ætla (Attila) who died in 453. Further *Widsith* visits Guðhere, who was slain in 437, and Ælfwine (Alboin) who was slain in 572 or 573. *Widsith* is, in fact, a summary of heroic lore, as current at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century; and in this heroic tradition all great chiefs, who during three centuries had broken into the dying Roman Empire, appear as contemporaries. No chronological argument can be drawn from *Widsith*, or indeed from any heroic poem of a similar kind.

But though we may differ on these, and on other points of detail, from Mr Chadwick, such difference in no way interferes with a very genuine appreciation of his book—a book which treats, in a manner at once original and sane, of topics with which it is not easy to deal without being either commonplace or eccentric.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

¹ This however is very doubtful. Cf. Heinzel in the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, cxiv, 514; Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensagen*, i, 73; Lawrence in *Modern Philology*, iv, 351.

A *Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies*. By LORING HOLMES DODD (Yale Studies in English, xxxv). New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1908. 8vo. 244 pp.

This volume, one of the 'Yale Studies in English,' furnishes Napier's edition of Wulfstan's *Homilies* (Berlin, 1883) with a glossary. We are given the meanings and the various grammatical forms of the words which occur in the editor's critical text only, many interesting expressions which occur in the variant readings being excluded. The glossary scarcely gives the requisite amount of help, as whole phrases and idioms, which are likely to cause difficulty, are left unexplained. It is also vitiated by the compiler's adoption of the antiquated method of dividing verbs into transitive and intransitive, all verbs that are not followed by the accusative being regarded as intransitive. The more logical method would have been to show what verbs require a noun or a noun-equivalent to complete their meaning, which could be done by specifying what case or cases those verbs govern. Verbs such as *helpe* (*his sylfes*) 39/15, *helpan* (*georne earmum mannum*) 119/5, (*heora āgenum lustum*) *fullēodan* 106/2, (*ālc ðāra ðe*) *ābyrgð* (*blōdes*) 136/24, (*dēaðes*) *ābyrgan* 149/19, (*ālcēs unrihtes*) *geswīcan* 142/11, (*men*) *gelēfað* (*tō hwōn Drihtnes sylfes ārendgewrites*) 206/4, (*men ne woldon*) *gelēfan* (*Noes worde*) 206/16, *hlōgen* (*men his worda*) 206/11 etc., which require a noun (sometimes two) or a noun-equivalent in the genitive or dative as a complement, are not logically intransitive. Here and there the meanings of the words are not clearly defined, e.g. *strec* 105/34 means 'mighty' not 'fierce'; *āræt* 135/2 may mean 'eating too soon'; *unstenc* 139/8 is 'evil odour' not 'stench'; *āmelnys* 139/18 'sloth' not 'false dealing' (see *B.-T. Supplement*); *ofðrihte* 145/4 'oppress' not 'thrust'; *āmolsnian* 147/29 (applied to the eyes) 'decay,' 'loose power' not 'rot'; *gemanian* 148/16 'claim' not 'remind'; and *cōm* in the sentence *hwær cōm ðisse worlde wela* means 'go' or 'become' not 'come.' The various senses of *ðing* are not given. Words like *bred(n)* 'board' or 'tablet,' dat. *bræde* 146/22, and *sēon*, 3 sg. pr. *sihð* 147/28 are omitted. There are also some errors in analysis, *hēanra* 148/10 is the comp. of *hēan* 'poor' not of *hēah*; *witod* 151/17 is the past participle of *witian*, 'decree' used as an adj. and not another form of the adv. *witodlice*; *ādere* 34/7 is acc. sing. fem. not dat. sing. fem. of *āðor* (*āhwæðer*); in the sentence 'ðæt gē ēow tō gamene fēonda āfillað' 132/20 ('strike down') *fēonda* is an acc. pl. form; and *gebyrge* 119/4 is the dat. of **gebyrge* or **gebierge*, a neut. *ja*-stem and not of *gebeorg*. Misprints are numerous. The glossary throws no new light on the many obscure words found in Old English prose and poetry.

O. T. WILLIAMS.

BANGOR.

Club Law. A Comedy acted in Clare Hall, Cambridge, about 1599–1600. Now printed for the first time from a MS. in the Library of St John's College, with an introduction and notes by G. C. MOORE SMITH. Cambridge: University Press. 1907. 4to. lviii + 143 pp.

Dr Moore Smith has been fortunate in his researches into the academic drama, and not least so in the recovery of *Club Law*, a scholarly edition of which is now available. For our knowledge of the performance of the play we are indebted to Fuller, for our previous knowledge of the MS. to the sale-catalogue of Farmer's library and an apparently misleading note by Hawkins. It was in the summer of 1906 that Dr Moore Smith discovered, in the library of St John's College, Cambridge, a MS. which seems to have found its way there somewhere between the middle of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century, and which at once corresponds with that described in Farmer's catalogue and contains a play which is pretty certainly that mentioned by Fuller. Fuller placed the performance in 1597–8; Hawkins, without further specification, said that 'other authorities' assigned it to 1599. The present editor argues strongly for the latter date on the ground of the identification of the characters with real civic dignitaries of the time, and further investigation, since the publication of the play, has finally confirmed this view. Dr Moore Smith has favoured in with an account of the matter.

'The Date of Club Law.'

'Fuller assigns *Club Law* to the academical year 1597–8, in the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr John Jegon and the mayoralty of James Robson. This statement is not self-consistent, inasmuch as Robson did not become mayor till a year later. I showed grounds for thinking the true date to be 1599–1600 ("perhaps probably, at the beginning of that mayoral year"). The Vice-Chancellor was then Dr Robert Soame and the mayor John Yaxley.

A footnote in an article by the Rev. Dr H. P. Stokes in the *Benedict* (the magazine of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) for 1899, which Dr Stokes kindly lent me, directed me to a mention of *Club Law* in a manuscript in the library of Jesus College. This manuscript, now classed R. 3. 42, was kindly found for me by my friend Mr Abbott, the librarian. It is a history of the University of Cambridge in the form of annals. The scheme extends to the year 1645 but the last entry is two or three years earlier. This is probably the date of the manuscript. Here under the year 1599 (i.e. 1599–1600) and under the Vice-Chancellorship of Robert Soame, we find this note:

Aula Clarensis.

Club Law fabula festivissima data multum ridentibus Academicis, frustra Oppidanis dolentibus.

—a very satisfactory confirmation of the date I had arrived at from the internal evidence afforded by the play.

This confirmation, however, became more striking when I found that a note made at the beginning of the book in another hand (perhaps that of the Jesus historian, Sherman) ascribes the manuscript to Fuller himself. The annotator points out that under the year 1620 the author refers to two men as his uncles, who are known to have been uncles of Fuller's. These annals are therefore a preliminary outline of the published history, and the dating of *Club Law* in the latter is probably due to some careless slip.

I think it may now be taken as certain that the date of *Club Law* is the winter of 1599-1600, and that Niphle in the play stands for the Mayor of Cambridge, John Yaxley.'

A large portion of Dr Moore Smith's introduction is occupied with the persistent differences between the Town and Gown, in which *Club Law* formed one rather striking incident. The ground of the whole quarrel was the divided jurisdiction, and it was really a difference among the authorities, though the rabble on either side was ready enough to make this an excuse for indulging its propensities for riot. Much interesting material is here collected to which only passing allusion can be made. The play remains anonymous, though the authorship of George Ruggle is held to be not impossible. To one small point exception may perhaps be taken. Mentioning Macray's remark that one Francis Brakyn is satirized in *Club Law*, the editor adds: 'There is, however, no ground for this statement...and it is unfortunate that it has been perpetuated in the *New English Dictionary*.' The sentence there quoted is merely given for the sake of the expression 'Club-Law,' and as Brakyn's name does not occur, the charge of perpetuating the error seems superfluous.

W. W. GREG.

CAMBRIDGE.

Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582). Essai sur sa vie, son œuvre, son influence. Par CLÉMENT JUGÉ. Paris: Lemerre, 1907. 8vo. xv + 449 pp.

Cette monographie, consacrée à un précurseur de Ronsard, que les dernières recherches sur la Renaissance ont remis en pleine lumière, a le double mérite de mettre au point les diverses découvertes récemment faites sur Peletier et d'y ajouter de nouvelles et précieuses données.

Dans la première partie, *J. Peletier humaniste et théoricien*, M. Jugé étudie la vie du poète, son œuvre de traducteur, de réformateur de l'orthographe, ses théories littéraires; dans la deuxième partie, *J. Peletier poète*, il donne une analyse et un commentaire judicieux des divers recueils poétiques; dans la troisième partie, *J. Peletier auteur populaire*, M. Jugé examine et établit quels titres justifient l'attribution à Peletier des *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis*; dans la quatrième partie, *J. Peletier écrivain*, c'est le style du poète et du prosateur qui est étudié.

Qu'il nous soit permis de présenter tout d'abord quelques critiques.

Une bibliographie commence l'ouvrage ; elle apporte de l'inédit ; mais on regrette que M. Jugé ait borné ses recherches 'aux bibliothèques de Paris' (p. 1). L'enquête est insuffisante : diverses bibliothèques de province en France et quelques bibliothèques de l'étranger doivent être fouillées, quand on entreprend l'étude d'un écrivain du xvi^e siècle. Il est regrettable que M. Jugé n'ait pas donné dans la bibliographie des œuvres de Peletier la description plus complète de l'ouvrage, format, impression, contenu, et la transcription de la feuille du titre : ce sont là des indications qu'exige à bon droit aujourd'hui l'érudition. Par exemple, à propos des *Euvres poetiques* parues en 1581, les indications trop sommaires de M. Jugé ne me permettent pas de savoir si ce recueil, très rare, est bien de l'édition dont j'ai sous les yeux le détail bibliographique beaucoup plus complet.

Pour les sources, M. Jugé apporte trop souvent des affirmations de seconde main. Il accorde trop d'importance (p. 26) à *La Croix du Maine*, guide très précieux assurément, mais dont les indications sont sujettes à contrôle. P. 115, M. Jugé cite en note un auteur moderne pour nous dire ce qu'il faut penser du talent dialectique de Th. de Bèze : on préférerait avoir le jugement personnel de M. Jugé, qui montre ailleurs dans ses commentaires beaucoup de finesse et de précision.

Faute de se reporter aux sources et de contrôler les dates, M. Jugé a négligé une partie intéressante de son sujet, je veux parler de la renaissance du platonisme et de la part que Peletier y a prise. M. Jugé place en 1547 (p. 183) le mouvement platonicien, se référant sans doute à la date de l'édition des *Opuscules d'Amour* : or les *Opuscules* ne sont que la réimpression collective d'œuvres imprimées dès 1541 et 1542. À plusieurs reprises M. Jugé attribue la renaissance du platonisme aux Lyonnais, ou comme il le dit, à l'école lyonnaise, à la société de Lyon (pp. 184, 207, 232) ; or, les poètes de Lyon n'ont, ni plus ni moins que d'autres, fait du platonisme la matière de leurs vers, et tout ce qu'on peut discuter, c'est si le Lyonnais M. Scève est plus grand qu'Ant. Héroet 'Parisien.' M. Jugé semble parfois confondre le pétrarquisme et le néo-platonisme, et il est bien vrai que tous deux se font de l'amour une conception à peu près identique : mais le platonisme a devancé le pétrarquisme et lui a survécu ; ajoutons que le style d'Héroet est aussi solide et aussi élevé que celui des pétrarquistes est fade et plat. Mais encore quelle fut la part de Peletier dans cette renaissance du platonisme ? Ce que dit M. Jugé des relations personnelles de Peletier avec Scève et Pontus de Tyard (pp. 79 et 83), de l'inspiration platonicienne contenue dans les poèmes scientifiques qui suivent *l'Amour des Amours*, ce qu'il dit même de ce petit recueil et des rapprochements à faire avec l'œuvre de M. Scève, toutes ces indications devaient inviter l'auteur à creuser la question ; elle est d'un intérêt capital pour l'histoire de la pensée et de la littérature.

Ces réserves faites, il faut reconnaître que l'œuvre de Peletier est vaste et mêlée, et l'on doit féliciter M. Jugé d'avoir mené à bien une entreprise ardue, d'avoir donné aussi à son érudition l'attrait d'un style élégant et d'un exposé toujours lumineux. La biographie de

Peletier est pleine de renseignements nouveaux et curieux; en particulier M. Jugé a apporté des documents précieux sur les relations de Peletier avec Ronsard et du Bellay en 1543, et sur ses fonctions de principal au collège de Bayeux et au collège du Mans.

L'analyse des recueils poétiques est entremêlée d'aperçus exacts et judicieux. La question de l'attribution des *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis* à Peletier est reprise et traitée à fond; la discussion est serrée, et la démonstration me paraît définitive; il faut se rallier aux conclusions de M. Jugé: Peletier est l'auteur principal des *Nouvelles Récréations*.

F. GOHIN.

RENNES.

MINOR NOTICES.

Professor J. E. Spingarn's *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908. 2 vols.), taken along with *Dryden's Critical Essays*, edited by Professor Ker, fills in the gap between the *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, edited by Professor Gregory Smith and the *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, edited by Professor D. Nicol Smith. The student may now consider that he has the English critical theories of three centuries presented to him in the handiest possible form. Professor Spingarn draws upon a wide range of authors—Bacon, Jonson, Webster, Chapman, Edmund Bolton, Peacham, Drayton, Henry Reynolds, Sir William Alexander, Sir John Suckling, Milton, Davenant, Hobbes, Cowley, Flecknoe, Sir Robert Howard, Sprat, Shadwell, Rymer, Edward Phillips, Joseph Glanvill, Samuel Butler, Lord Rochester, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Roscommon, and Evelyn. The book begins with an Introduction and concludes with terse explanatory notes—in both of which Professor Spingarn avails himself of his profound knowledge of Italian and other continental critical writers with great effect. The Introduction is a masterly and illuminating piece of work, of nearly 100 pages. Its various sections deal with I. The Jacobean Outlook: Bacon and Jonson; II. Early Caroline Tentatives; III. The New Aesthetics: Hobbes and Davenant; IV. The Trend towards Simplicity; V. The Theory of Translation; VI. Wit and Humour; VII. The School of Sense: Rymer; VIII. Poetry and Morals; IX. The School of Taste. Specially interesting is the account of the change in the style of pulpit eloquence given under Section IV. It is perhaps a pity that Professor Spingarn has not supplied an index of the authors and works referred to in his pages. If he had done so, the utility of his book would have been greatly increased.

G. C. M. S.

The second edition of the late Dr R. J. Lloyd's book on *Northern English* (*Skizzen Lebender Sprachen*, I. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1908) differs but little from the first. Now that a knowledge of elementary English phonetics is required of all Normal students, it is a pity that this book does not lend itself better to their requirements. The introductory sections suffer from over-elaboration of definition and the phonetic terminology is unnecessarily large and crabbed. It is this excessive coinage of new words and phrases which has so often made the study of phonetics repellent to the beginner. The system of vowel positions given in § 80—a modified form of it is used in Professor Rippmann's *Sounds of Spoken English*—furnishes much greater difficulties for the average student than Bell's system, and it would have been more satisfactory had the latter been adapted by Dr Lloyd. Some of the space devoted to grammar, both accidence and syntax, which is after all nearly the same for all parts of England, might have been given to a brief discussion of those points in which genuine dialect in different parts of northern England tends to diverge from the standard of educated speech. There are some useful phonetic transcripts in the latter half of the book arranged in descending order of formality—formal (A), careful (B), and careless (C). At least one passage might with advantage have been given in the first two transcripts, A and B, as it would have helped the student to observe the differences of detail. The passages in C are, of course, of too colloquial a character ever to be spoken after the fashion of A or B.

A. M.

The Language and Dialect of the Later Old English Poetry by Jane Weightman (Liverpool: University Press, 1907) is an excellent example of the good work which is being done for English in our provincial universities, a field in which they threaten to outstrip Oxford and Cambridge. The thesis is divided into two parts. The first of these is purely statistical, taking each dialect in turn and observing how often those forms which are typical of certain dialects are used, in comparison with forms belonging to other dialects. More useful and important is the second part which discusses in detail the whole series of sound changes in Old English, whether isolative or combinatory, noting all variations from the normal West Saxon type and explaining irregular forms as far as possible. Here the treatment is full and exhaustive, and one's only regret is that there is no index of the numerous forms discussed. Such an index would make it a valuable handbook of reference for the explanation of dialectal and other difficulties which meet us at every turn in reading Old English poetic texts. At the end of the thesis we have a brief discussion of the dialect of Cynewulf, and though the author agrees with the generally accepted verdict that Cynewulf's dialect is Mercian, she shows that the grounds on which that verdict has hitherto been based are largely untenable. Wülker's conclusions are right, but his premises are wrong. The discussion of

Cynewulf's rhymes is interesting and their evidence is fairly conclusive in favour of his Mercian origin.

A. M.

Of the numerous theses which appear from time to time on different aspects of the *Beowulf* question none are more fruitful and suggestive than those which deal with the history and geography of the poem. In his pamphlet, *Folksamnet Geatas i den fornengelska dikten Beowulf* (Upsala: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1907), Dr Henrik Schück has given an illuminating discussion of the difficult problem of the identity of the Geatas in *Beowulf*. At times he weakens his case by too minute special pleading, but few will be able to dispute the arguments by which he finally identifies the Geatas with the Gautar of Southern Sweden. Incidentally he offers an explanation of a very difficult passage in the well-known voyage of Ohthere as told by Alfred in his *Orosius*. We learn there that when Ohthere sailed from Skiringsal to Hedeby he had Denmark on his port side for the first three days (with the open sea on the starboard) and then for two days Gotland and Sillende and the islands belonging to Denmark on his port side. The confusion of direction is clear. Hitherto it has been explained either by saying (1) that Ohthere is here confusing right and left hand when speaking long after the event—which is very unlikely—or (2) that Southern Sweden was then in the hands of Denmark and that the name of the sovereign country is applied to all its territories, a supposition entirely contrary to the general usage of the time. Dr Schück suggests that Alfred in reporting the narrative of Ohthere has in a moment of confused memory put Denmark where he meant Gotland (i.e., Västergotland in Sweden) and Gotland where he meant Denmark or Jutland. The whole pamphlet is interesting and full of happy illustrations and suggestions, however much we may disagree with some of its author's conclusions.

A. M.

There is nothing very new or original in Dr Louis Round Wilson's dissertation, *Chaucer's Relative Constructions* (*University of North Carolina Studies in Philology*, Vol. I. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1906), though any contribution towards the elucidation of the many untouched problems of Middle English Syntax is welcome. The author has collected a good number of useful examples for the various relative constructions, but it is when he comes to the discussion of some really knotty point that his weakness is apparent. He relies too much upon the citation of secondary authorities without a direct and independent discussion of inferences drawn from the actual facts on which their theories are based. The 'who' in 'as who sayth' is certainly indefinite and not relative, and the author throughout underestimates the importance of the indefinite pronouns and pronominal adjectives 'who' 'which' and 'what' in the development of the corre-

sponding Middle English relative forms. Their development cannot be properly explained by reference either to pure interrogative or pure indefinite forms; they probably result from the influence of both.

A. M.

Professor Capetti, who has been well-known for the last twenty years as an acute student of Dante, here collects together in a volume entitled *L' Anima e l' Arte di Dante* (Livorno, Giusti, 1907) some specimens of his latest work. The seven essays, some of which have been delivered as lectures, have, at first sight, but a very slender thread of connection; yet it may justly be claimed that the title is neither inappropriate nor far-fetched. Whether he treats of Dante's world beyond the tomb, on the broadest lines of comparative anthropology, or of Beatrice, or of the 'Cantos of Pessimism,' or those of 'Hatred,' it is the reaction and interplay of the poet's soul upon his art, and vice versa, that he attempts to illustrate. The author has made a special study of the 'Oltratomba' in Aryan literature; and his essays in other respects show marks of ripe culture and wide learning.

L. R.

From the firm of Olschki in Florence we have received Signor Aluigi Cossio's *Sulla 'Vita Nuova' di Dante* (1908). Written in Manchester, and dedicated to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, to Dr Moore and to William Warren Vernon, by an Italian disciple of R. della Torre and F. X. Kraus, this study of the *Vita Nuova* reflects in its many aspects a many-sided culture. Among its chief merits are a good Bibliography of the subject and an excellent note on Codices, Editions and Translations. There are two concise chapters on the *dolce stil nuovo* and its precursors: the rest of the book is devoted to the *Vita Nuova* itself and to Beatrice, whose literary fortunes are followed, through the period of scepticism to the championship of Alessandro D'Ancona and the period of sound reaction. Signor Cossio holds that Beatrice is a real living person as well as an ideal and a symbol, but does not see sufficient reason for identifying her with the daughter of Folco Portinari.

L. R.

The house of Le Monnier has done well to follow the lead of Sansoni, the publisher of the 'Lectura Dantis' delivered in Florence, by issuing two volumes, dealing with the *Inferno*, of *Lectura Dantis Genovese* (Florence, Le Monnier, 1904-6). Each canto has a separate essay devoted to it, delivered as a lecture to the Genoese Scientific and Literary Association. The volumes are prefaced by a preliminary sketch of Dante, the 'Man and the Poet,' by Padre G. Semeria, and the list of contributors includes such convincing names as Del Lungo and Parodi, while the text of each canto has been revised by Giuseppe

Vandelli. F. Buttrini, commenting on the eleventh canto, shows no leanings towards the 'Righettian heresy,' but unconsciously furnishes arguments on the other side.

L. R.

It is almost surprising how much literature appears in English in the course of the year dealing with the life and work of Goethe. New editions of *Faust* are always on the market. Mr Frowde has added the poem, together with Marlowe's *Faustus*, to his *World Library*, with a valuable introduction by Dr A. W. Ward, Messrs Bell have made the old prose version of Hayward the basis of an illustrated *édition de luxe*, and an entirely new translation by Sir George Buchanan (London: Alston Rivers, 1908) has appeared within the past few months. Messrs Blackwood have reprinted the translations of Goethe's lyrics by Sir Theodore Martin and W. Aytoun, which originally appeared, if we are not mistaken, as far back as 1859; Messrs Gowans and Gray have added to their international series a selection of Goethe's *Lyrische Gedichte*, with an Introduction by Professor R. M. Meyer; and Messrs Bell have sent us the revised—and as far as we have tested it, admirably and thoroughly revised—translation of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, by Miss Minna Steele Smith, which forms two volumes of their *York Library*. This edition has the advantage of a full yet concise bibliographical introduction by Dr Breul, similar to that with which he introduced the translation of *Faust* published in the same series a few years ago. Meanwhile, Professor W. A. Cooper has completed his translation of A. Bielschowsky's *Life of Goethe* (3 vols. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905-8). It is perhaps open to doubt whether a translation of Bielschowsky can be of great service to the English reader who has not behind him a knowledge of Goethe impossible in one who requires to read the book in translation, and who has not, what is still more difficult for the foreigner to acquire, an understanding of the modern German attitude of mind to Goethe. More is taken on trust by Bielschowsky than a foreign public, unfamiliar with this German standpoint, is willing to accept. Still it would be unfair, now that the work is in English, not to feel grateful to Professor Cooper for his conscientious and careful labours. His English style is unfortunately not always above reproach, but the chief occasion for regret is the prohibitive price at which the book is published—45s. for what in the original German costs 14s. bound! Surely this is out of all proportion.

From Mr Fisher Unwin we have received a reprint of the translation of H. Düntzer's *Life of Goethe*, by Thomas N. Lyster, originally published in 1883. It seems late in the day to republish a book of this kind, for even in Germany, the methods of Düntzer have happily become an 'überwundener Standpunkt'; and his dry style and inability to discriminate between the important and the unessential are even less likely to find favour with us. But Düntzer contains facts, and it is

perhaps an advantage to have these facts, even so inelegantly 'Englished' as here, for the price of half-a-crown. Lastly, it has to be noted that Lewes's evergreen *Life of Goethe* has been added to Messrs Dent's *Everyman Series*. The new edition is introduced by Mr Havelock Ellis, who, in dealing with the question of Lewes's continued vitality and the correctness of his standpoint, protests, we think, a little too much. It can hardly be denied that Lewes is beginning to date now-a-days, and to date seriously, but not so much in his facts as in his critical judgments: sins of omission are not likely to weigh heavily with foreign readers, who, if anything, are inclined to resent the increasing fullness of our knowledge of Goethe's life and work. Lewes's opinions have often a distinctly 'early Victorian' flavour; and, more frequently than Mr Ellis seems aware, simply reflect the views of the German Hegelian critics who were in the ascendancy when Lewes wrote. But there is plenty of life in Lewes's *Goethe* yet, and an annotated and corrected edition would still be acceptable to English readers.

J. G. R.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1908.

GENERAL.

- BERLOIN, A., *La parole humaine. Études de philologie nouvelle d'après une langue d'Amérique.* Paris, Champion. 5 fr.
- LOGEMAN, H., *Tenuis en Media. Over de Stemverhouding bij Konsonanten in moderne talen met een Aanhangsel over de fonetische verklaring der Wetten van Verner en Grimm.* Ghent, E. van Goethem. 8 fr.
- SCHWIETERING, J., *Singen und Sagen.* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1 M. 40.
- SOAMES, L., *Introduction to English, French and German Phonetics.* New ed. London, Sonnenschein. 6s.
- TUCKER, T. G., *An Introduction to the Natural History of Language.* London. Blackie. 10s. 6d. net.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Bibliotheca romanica. 47, F. Petrarca, *Rime*, I trionfi; 48, 49, G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, III; 50, P. Corneille, *Cinna*; 51, 52, L. de Camoë's, *Os Lusfadas*, VIII-x; 53, 54, *Le Chanson de Roland*, d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford; 55-58, A. de Musset, *Poésies* (1828-33); 59, G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, IV; 60, 61, Maistre Pierre Pathelin; 62, 63, G. Leopardi, *Poesie, Canti*; 64, 65, Chateaubriand, *Atala*. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each number 10 pf.

Latin.

- EKKEHARD, Waltharius. Ein Kommentar von J. W. Beek. Groningen, Noordhoff. 2 fl.
- SCHISSEL VON FLESCHENBERG, O., *Dares-Studien.* Halle, Niemeyer. 5 M.

Italian.

- ALFIERI, V., *L'opera poetica, scelta di tragedie e di poesie minori con introduzione, commento e tre saggi critici di N. Vaccalluzzo.* Livorno, Giusti. 3 L. 30.
- BOCCACCIO, G., *Laberinto d'amore, con un giudizio sull'amore del Boccaccio di G. Carducci.* Naples, Soc. Editr. Partenopea. 1 L.
- CARDUCCI, G., *Conversazioni critiche.* Nuova ediz. Naples, Colagrande. 1 L.
- CARDUCCI, G., *Prose* (1859-1903). 4a ediz. Bologna, Zanichelli. 10 L.

- CARO, A., *Prose scelte pubblicate ed illustrate per cura di M. Sterzi.* Livorno, Giusti. 2 L. 60.
- CARTWRIGHT, J., *Baldassare Castiglione, the Perfect Courtier, his Life and Letters.* 2 vols. London, Murray. 30s. net.
- CASINI, T., *Manuale di storia letteraria italiana.* 1, i. Dalle origini al trecento. Milan, Soc. Editr. Dante Alighieri. 2 L. 50.
- COSSIO, A., *Sulla 'Vita Nuova' di Dante.* Studio critico-letterario. Florence, Olschki. 10 L.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI, *La divine comédie.* Trad. et comm. par A. Méliot. Paris, Garnier frères. 7 fr. 50.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI, *Vita Nova, suivant le texte critique de M. Barbi.* Trad. et notes par H. Cochin. Paris, Champion. 5 fr.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI, *Vita Nuova, together with the Version of D. G. Rossetti.* Edited by H. Oelsner. (King's Classics.) London, Chatto and Windus. 1s. 6d. net.
- Dante e la Lunigiana, Nel VI Centenario della venuta del poeta in Valdimagra.* (Biblioteca Letteraria.) Milan, Hoepli. 9 L. 50.
- FORNACIARI, B., *Fra il nuovo e l'antico. Prose letterarie.* (Biblioteca Letteraria.) Milan, Hoepli. 6 L.
- Italian Poets, chiefly before Dante.* The Italian Text with translations by D. G. Rossetti. London, A. H. Bullen. 7s. 6d.
- MARTIGIANI, G., *Il romanticismo italiano non esiste. Saggio di letteratura comparata.* Florence, Seeber. 3 L. 50.
- NEGRI, G., *Opere, Vol. iv.* 4a ediz. postuma a cura di M. Scherillo. (Biblioteca Letteraria.) Milan, Hoepli. 6 L.
- NOVATI, F., *Freschi e mini del dugento. Conferenze e letture.* Milan, Cogliati. 4 L. 25.
- PASCOLI, G., *Le canzoni di re Enzo.* 1. La canzone de Caroccio. Bologna, Zanichelli. 2 L.
- SCROCCA, A., *Saggi danteschi.* Naples, Perrella. 1 L. 50.
- TRISCHITTA, G., *I canti di G. Leopardi e l'eterno femminile studiato nei due saggi 'Donne reali a creature poetiche' ed 'Estetica della donna.'* Messina, Muglia. 2 L.

Provençal.

- ANGLADE, J., *Les troubadours, leurs vies, leurs œuvres, leur influence.* Paris, Colin. 3 fr. 50.
- MISTRAL, F., *Ausgewählte Werke.* Übersetzt und erläutert von A. Bertuch. II. Band. Stuttgart, Cotta. 4 M. 50.
- SCHRÖTTER, W., *Ovid und die Troubadours.* Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M.

Spanish.

- CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, M. DE, *Don Quixote.* Vollständige deutsche Ausgabe unter Benutzung der anonymen Übertragung von 1837 besorgt von K. Thorer. 3 vols. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag. 10 M.
- CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, M. DE, *Selections from Don Quixote.* Edited with notes and vocabulary by J. D. M. Ford. Boston, Heath. 80 c.
- Cien Mejores Poesías (Lyricas) de la Lengua Castellana.* Glasgow, Gowans and Gray. 1s. net.

FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J., *Chapters on Spanish Literature*. London, Constable. 7s. 6d. net.

Lazarillo de Tormes, *The Life of, his Fortunes and Adversities*. Translated from the edition of 1554 by Sir Clements Markham. London, Black. 5s. net.

French.

(a) *General (incl. Language).*

DAUZAT, A., *La langue française d'aujourd'hui, évolution, problèmes actuels*. Paris, A. Colin. 3 fr. 50.

GEDDES, J., *Study of an Acadian-French Dialect spoken on the North Shore of the Baie-des-Chaleurs*. Halle, Niemeyer. 20 M.

JABERG, K., *Sprachgeographie. Beitrag zum Verständnis des Atlas linguistique de la France*. Aarau, Sauerländer. 6 fr.

KÖRTING, G., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache*. Paderborn, Schöningh. 11 M.

LANSON, G., *Histoire de la littérature française*. 2e éd. Paris, Hachette. 4 fr.

MARTHOLD, J. DE. *L'argot du xv^e siècle, le jargon de François Villon*. Paris, Daragon. 8 fr.

Mélanges de linguistique offerts à M. F. de Saussure. Paris, Champion. 10 fr. 50.

NYROP, K., *Grammaire historique de la langue française*. III. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 7 kr.

TOBLER, A., *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik*. III. 2. Aufl. Leipzig, Hirzel. 6 M.

(b) *Old French.*

SETTEGAST, F., *Die Sachsenkriege des französischen Volksepos auf ihre geschichtlichen Quellen untersucht*. Leipzig, Harrassowitz. 2 M.

SOMMER, H. O., *Messire Robert de Borron und der Verfasser des Didot-Perceval. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Graal-Romane*. (Zeitschrift für rom. Phil., xvii. Beiheft.) Halle, Niemeyer. 1 M. 60.

(c) *Modern French.*

BIRÉ, E., *Romans et romanciers contemporains*. Paris, Lamarre. 8 fr.

BRANDES, G., *Anatole France*. (Contemporary Men of Letters.) London, Heinemann. 1s. 6d. net.

DOUMIC, R., *Études sur la littérature française*. vi^e Série. Paris, Perrin. 3 fr. 50.

DU BOURG, A., *Huysmans intime. Lettres et souvenirs*. Paris, Libr. des Saints-Pères. 1 fr.

DUCROS, L., *J. J. Rousseau*. Paris, Fontemoing. 10 fr.

FÉNELON, F. DE S., *Lettre à l'Académie, conforme à l'édition de 1716*. Introd. et notes par A. Cahen. 4e éd. Paris, Hachette. 1 fr. 50.

GRIBBLE, F., *Rousseau and the Women he Loved*. London, E. Nash. 15s. net.

HAMEL, A. G. VAN, *Het letterkundig leven in Frankrijk*. Studien en schetsen. iv^e serie. Amsterdam, P. N. van Kampen. 2 fl. 75.

HODGSON, G., *Studies in French Education from Rabelais to Rousseau*. Cambridge, University Press. 3s. 6d. net.

- LANGLOIS, E., *Nouvelles françaises inédites du xv^e siècle.* Paris, Champion. 5 fr.
- LEMAITRE, J., J. J. Rousseau. Translated by J. Mairet. London, Heinemann. 10s.
- Littérature orale et traditions du Nivernais, chants et chansons populaires recueillis par A. Millieu. Paris, Leroux. 15 fr.
- MAUPASSANT, G. DE, *Des Vers.* Lettres de Mme Laure de Maupassant à G. Flaubert, poésies inédites. Paris, Conard. 5 fr.
- MONTAIGNE, M. DE. *Gesammelte Schriften.* Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Übertragung von J. J. Bode, herausg. von O. Flake und W. Weigand. II. Munich, G. Müller. 5 M.
- MUSSET, A. DE, *Œuvres complètes.* Ed. par E. Biré. Tome ix. *Mélanges de littérature et de critique.* Paris, Garnier frères. 3 fr. 50.
- MUSSET, A. DE, *Œuvres.* Nouvelles. Paris, Lemerre. 3 fr. 50.
- PASCAL, B., *Thoughts.* Selected and translated by M. Kaufmann. Cambridge, University Press. 1s. 6d. net.
- PINVERT, L., *Sur Mérimée.* Paris, Leclerc. 10 fr.
- POPP, M., *Jules Verne und sein Werk.* Vienna, Hartleben. 6 Kr.
- REYNIER, G., *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée.* Paris, Colin. 5 fr.
- SCHIFF, M., *Éditions et traductions italiennes des œuvres de J. J. Rousseau.* Paris, Champion. 2 fr. 50.
- SOURIAN, M., *Népomucène Lemercier et ses correspondants.* Paris, Vuibert et Nony. 3 fr. 50.
- STROWSKI, F., *Pascal et son temps.* III. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 3 fr. 50.
- SULLY-PRUDHOMME, *Œuvres en prose.* Paris, Lemerre. 7 fr. 50.
- TILLEY, A., *From Montaigne to Molière; or the Preparation for the Classical Age of French Literature.* London, Murray. 5s. net.
- VILLEY, P., *Les Sources italiennes de la 'Défense et illustration de la langue française' de Joachim du Bellay.* Paris, Champion. 5 fr.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

- FRANTZEN, J. J. A. A., *Over den ontwikkelingsgang der erotische lyriek bij de Germaansche volken.* Rede. Leyden, A. H. Adriani. 60 c.
- GRAN, G., *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichtes.* (Studien zur englischen Philologie, xxxi.) Halle, Niemeyer. 10 M.
- HOOG, W. DE, *Franciscus Junius als grondlegger der Studie van het Gotisch en Angel-Saksisch.* 2e druk. Dordrecht, J. P. Revers. 60 c.
- Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie.* Herausg. von der Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie in Berlin, xxviii (1906). Leipzig, Reisland. 10 M.

Scandinavian.

- BRANDES, G., *Levned.* III. *Snevringer og Horisonter.* Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 6 kr. 50.
- Brennu-Njáls saga (Njála).* Herausg. von F. Jónsson. (Altnordische Sagabibliothek, xiii.) Halle, Niemeyer. 12 M.

- Edda, The Elder or Poetic. Part 1. Mythological Poems. Edited and transl. by O. Bray. London, Nutt. 15s. net.
- FALK, H. S. und A. TORP, Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Bearbeitet von H. Davidsen. 5.-7. Lieferung. Heidelberg, Winter. 4 M. 50.
- HÆGSTAD, M., Norsk maallæra eller grammatik i landsmaalet. 7. utg. Bergen, Nygaard. 50 ö.
- HEUSLER, A., Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schrifttum (Aus Abhandlungen der preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.). Berlin, Reimer. 4 M.
- HOLBERG, L., Erasmus Montanus. Jeppe fra Bjerget. (F. L. Liebenbergs Text-revision.) Copenhagen, Gad. Each 25 ö.
- MOLBECH, C. og hans Søn C. K. F. MOLBECH. En Brevveksling. Udg. af O. C. Molbech. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 5 kr. 50.
- MÜNZ, B., Ibsen als Erzieher. Leipzig, Xenien-Verlag. 2 M.
- RÖNNING, F., N. F. S. Grundtvig, II, i. Copenhagen, Schönberg. 3 kr.
- SCHMITT, E. H., Ibsen als Prophet. Grundgedanken zu einer neuen Ästhetik. Leipzig, Eckardt. 6 M.
- STRINDBERG, A., Werke. Deutsche Gesamtausgabe. VI. Abt., 5. Bd. Ein Blaubuch. Die Synthese meines Lebens, II. Munich, G. Müller. 5 M. 50.

English.

(a) General (incl. Language).

- Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by L. Stephen and S. Lee. Vols. VII-IX. (Re-issue.) London, Smith, Elder. Each 21s. net.
- HAECKMANN, G., Kürzung langer Tonvokale vor einfachen auslautenden Konsonanten in einsilbigen Wörtern im Alt-, Mittel- und Neuenglischen. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, x.). Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M. 50.
- MACPHERSON, W., Principles and Methods in the Study of English Literature. Cambridge, University Press. 2s. net.
- PETRI, A., Übersicht über die im Jahre 1902 auf dem Gebiete der englischen Philologie erschienenen Bücher, Schriften und Aufsätze. (Anglia, XXVII.) Halle, Niemeyer. 4 M.

(b) Old and Middle English.

- CHAUCER, G., The Clerkes Tale and the Squieres Tale. Ed. by L. Winstanley. Cambridge, University Press. 2s. 6d.
- Early English Romances in Verse. Done into Modern English by E. Rickert. London, Chatto and Windus. 5s. net.
- FÖRSTER, M., Beowulf-Materialien. 2. Aufl. Brunswick, Westermann. 60 pf.
- Pearl, The. A modern version in the metre of the original. By S. Jewett. New York, T. Y. Crowell. 1 dol. net.
- SWEET, H., An Anglo-Saxon Reader. 8th ed. London, Frowde. 9s. 6d.

(c) Modern English.

- BAGEHOT, W., Estimations in Criticism. Vol. 1. Poets and Poetry. London, Melrose. 3s. 6d. net.
- BAYLEY, H., The Shakespeare Symphony. An Introduction to the Ethics of the Elizabethan Drama. New ed. London, Chapman and Hall. 7s. 6d. net.
- CANNING, A. S. G., Shakespeare Studied in Three Plays. London, F. Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.

- COULTON, G. G., Chaucer and his England. London, Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.
- COURTNEY, W. P., The Secrets of our National Literature. London, Constable. 7s. 6d. net.
- CRABBE, G., Poetical Works. Edited by A. J. and R. M. Carlyle. (Oxford Edition.) London, Frowde. 3s.
- CRAIG, R. S., The Making of Carlyle. London, Nash. 10s. 6d. net.
- FOSTER, J., A Shakespeare Word-Book, being a Glossary of archaic forms and varied usages of words employed by Shakespeare. London, Routledge. 7s. 6d. net.
- HAMMOND, E. P., Chaucer. A Bibliographical Manual. New York and London, Macmillan. 12s. 6d. net.
- HANCOCK, A. E., John Keats. A Literary Biography. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin. 2 dol. net.
- KABEL, P., Die Sage von Heinrich V bis zu Shakespeare. (Palæstra, LXIX.) Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 4 M.
- LESCHTSCH, A., Richard III. Eine Charakterstudie. (Neue Shakespeare-Bühne, v.) Berlin, H. Paetel. 1 M.
- LIENEMANN, K., Die Belesenheit von W. Wordsworth. Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 4 M.
- LUBLINSKI, S., Shakespeares Problem im Hamlet. Leipzig, Xenien-Verlag. 2 M.
- MÜLLER, P., Die Sprache der Aberdeener Urkunden des 16. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 2 M. 80.
- POE, E. A., Complete Poems. With Introduction by C. F. Richardson. London, Putnam. 7s. 6d. net.
- POSCHER, R., Andrew Marvells Poetische Werke. (Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, XXVIII.) Vienna, W. Braumüller. 5 M.
- ROSSETTI, C. G., Family Letters. With some supplementary Letters and Appendices. Edited by W. M. Rossetti. London, Brown. 15s. net.
- SAINTSBURY, G., A History of English Prosody. From the Twelfth Century to the Present Day. II. Shakespeare to Crabbe. London, Macmillan. 15s. net.
- SCHÜCKING, L. L., Shakespeare im literarischen Urteil seiner Zeit. Heidelberg, Winter. 5 M.
- SHAKESPEARE, W., As You Like It. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. Old Spelling Edition. London, Chatto and Windus. 2s. 6d. net.
- SHAKESPEARE, W., The Tragedy of Richard III. Edited by H. H. Furness. (Variorum Edition, XVI.) Philadelphia, Lippincott. 4 dol. net.
- SHAKESPEARE, W., Shakespeare Proverbs, collected by Mary C. Clarke. Edited by W. J. Rolfe. New York, Putnam. 1 dol. 50 net.
- SHAKESPEARE, W., in deutscher Ausgabe. Herausg. und zum Teil neu übersetzt von F. Gundolf. I. Berlin, Bondi. 6 M.
- SIDGWICK, F., Legendary Ballads. Edited with an Introduction. London, Chatto and Windus. 6s. net.
- SWIFT, J., The Battle of the Books. Edited by A. Guthkelch. (King's Classics.) London, Chatto and Windus. 1s. 6d. net.
- SWIFT, J., Works. Vol. XII. Edited by Temple Scott. (Bohn's Library.) London, Bell. 3s. 6d.

SWINBURNE, A. C., *The Age of Shakespeare*. London, Chatto and Windus. 6s. net.

TENNYSON, A., *Lord, Becket, and other Plays*. London, Macmillan. 4s. net.

THACKERAY, W. M., *Works*. Vols. XIII–XVII. (Oxford Edition.) London, Frowde. Each 2s.

THOMSON, J., *The Seasons*. Critical Edition by O. Zippel. (Palæstra, LXVI.) Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 4 M.

TRÉVELYAN, G. O., *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*. New Edition. London, Longmans. 3s. 6d.

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WATT, L. M., *Attic and Elizabethan Tragedy*. London, Dent. 7s. 6d. net.

German.

(a) *General (incl. Language).*

BARTELS, A., *Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. 2. Aufl. Leipzig, Avenarius. 6 M.

GRIMM, J. und W., *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, x, ii, 6. Lieferung. Leipzig, Hirzel. 2 M.

SCHROEDER, O., *Vom papiernen Stil*. 7. Aufl. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 M. 40.

SITTENBERGER, H., *Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Literatur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der neueren Zeit*. Vienna, Deuticke. 4 Kr.

TSCHINKEL, H., *Grammatik der Gotscheer Mundart*. Halle, Niemeyer. 8 M.

VIËTOR, W., *Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch*. 1. Heft. Leipzig, Reisland. 1 M. 20.

WEIGAND, F. L. K., *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. 5. Aufl. von H. Hirt. 4. Lieferung. Giessen, Töpelmann. 1 M. 60.

(b) *Old and Middle High German.*

HAACK, E., *Die Naturbetrachtung bei den mittelhochdeutschen Lyrikern*. (Teutonia, ix.) Leipzig, Avenarius. 2 M.

Helwig's *Mare vom heiligen Kreuz*, nach der einzigen Handschrift herausg. von P. Heymann. (Palæstra, LXXV.) Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 5 M. 50.

KAMP, H., *Unser Nibelungenlied in metrischer Übersetzung*. Erklärungsausgabe. Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 9 M.

LEXER, M., *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*. 9. Aufl. Leipzig, Hirzel. 5 M.

Reinhart Fuchs. Herausg. von K. Reissenberger. 2. Aufl. (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, VII.) Halle, Niemeyer. 1 M. 40.

(c) *Modern German.*

ALTMAN, G., *H. Laubes Prinzip der Theaterleitung*. (Schriften der literarhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn, v.) Dortmund, Ruhfus. 2 M.

BECKMANN, K., *H. Lindenborn, der kölnische Diogenes*. (Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Rheinlandes, I.) Bonn, Hanstein. 6 M.

BERGER, K., *Schiller. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. II. Munich, C. H. Beck. 7 M.

- BLOEDAU, C. A. VON, Grimmelshausens *Simplicissimus* und seine Vorgänger. Beiträge zur Romantechnik des 17. Jahrhunderts. (Palæstra, LIV.) Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 4 M.
- BRINCKMAN, J., Hochdeutscher Nachlass. Herausg. von A. Römer. 2 vols. Berlin, Süßerott. 7 M.
- CHAMBERLAIN, H. S., Das Drama Richard Wagners. Eine Anregung. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel. 3 M.
- ECKERMAN, J. P., Gespräche mit Goethe. 8. Aufl. Herausg. von H. H. Houben. Leipzig, Brockhaus. 8 M.
- EICHENDORFF, J. VON, Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Herausgegeben von W. Kosch und A. Sauer. XI. Tagebücher. Regensburg, Happel. 2 M. 50.
- EICHENTOPF, H., Th. Storms Erzählungskunst in ihrer Entwicklung. (Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft, XI.) Marburg, Elwert. 1 M. 60.
- ENGEL-MITSCHERLICH, H., Hebbel als Dichter der Frau. Dresden, Baensch. 2 M.
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THE AREOPAGUS OF SIDNEY AND SPENSER.

ONE of the famous literary societies of the world, according to historians of literature in recent years, was the Areopagus which came into existence in Elizabeth's reign, just when the light of Spenser's genius was beginning to show its brilliancy. We are commonly told that the society counted both him and Sidney among its members—whence its chief claim to remembrance—and also the pedantic scholar but dear friend of Spenser, Gabriel Harvey, perhaps its founder; and that it grew up in imitation of the Pléiade, the French literary society of a generation earlier. As the Pléiade sought consciously to reform and enrich the French language and to make possible a nobler French literature, so the Areopagus sought to refine and embellish the language and literature of England. How definite was the organization of either society it is difficult, perhaps now impossible, to determine. This, though, is certain of the Pléiade: Ronsard and a few other young men studied, wrote, and talked for a well-defined purpose under the direction of the eminent scholar, Jean Dorat. Their leading spirit, Ronsard, came to be recognized as their head. Whether or not they had formal meetings, they called themselves members of the Pléiade; and ever since the time of Claude Binet at least, friend, pupil, and biographer of Ronsard, their names as members of the society have been matter of record¹. But it is a curious fact that only of late years have scholars mentioned the Areopagus as a definite literary organization and tried to fix its membership. Contemporaries, though recognizing the value of the critical work of Spenser and Sidney and their friends, are dumb regarding the Areopagus. Throughout the sixteenth century and the

¹ 'Binet's list of the poets who composed the *Pléiade*, namely, Ronsard, Dorat, Du Bellay, Baif, Belleau, Jodelle, and Tyard, has been generally accepted as authentic, ... there is no reason why Binet's list should not be accepted.' H. M. Evers, *Critical Edition of the Discours de la Vie de Pierre de Ronsard par Claude Binet*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 135.

seventeenth, literary historians have nothing to say about it. Not until the later nineteenth century, three hundred years after its existence, do we find such historians referring to the Areopagus as an organized club. In the last thirty years, however, nearly all have agreed that some sort of a club it was, though there is difference of opinion and great vagueness regarding its organization and membership: so much so that, when we consider further the lateness of any mention of it, we have some right to question whether after all the Areopagus, as described by these recent scholars, had any reality.

If the Areopagus ever was a club, with president and secretary, or whatever in Spenser's time would have been the equivalent of these officers, we should expect to hear of it from some contemporary. We might well get word of it from Thomas Nash when, in his *Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is Up*, he insists that 'his Gabrielship' made all the capital he could out of his friendship with Spenser and Sidney¹. Or again, we might hear of it from Ben Jonson, in whose gossip conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden we have some of our earliest information about Spenser. Through Drummond's report of these, we hear of the death of Spenser's youngest child in the sack of Kilcolman by the Irish rebels, and that other story, probably apocryphal, of Spenser's 'dying for want of bread'; but Drummond says never a word about the Areopagus. No more does Fuller, of the generation after Jonson's, whose *History of the Worthies of England*² contains so many literary anecdotes. Nor is there word of it in the 1679 edition of Spenser (printed by Henry Hills for Jonathan Edwin), the introduction to which is responsible for that story of the poet's offering Sidney, on first being presented to him, the ninth canto of the first book of the *Faerie Queene*—the canto relating the visit of the Red Cross Knight to Despair. As Sidney read this, according to the tale, he bade his

¹ 'Having found...that no worke of his, absolute under hys own name, would passe, he used heretofore to drawe *Sir Philip Sydney, Master Spenser*, and other men of highest credit, into everie pild pamphlet he set forth.' *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by R. B. McKerrow, London, 4 vols. 1908, III, *Have with You to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up*, p. 35. Had Nash known of any formal Areopagus, he would have been likely to say here that Harvey, for his own glorification, associated himself in it with Spenser and Sidney. The only possible suggestion of a formal association between Harvey and any of the supposed members of the Areopagus is the following (*ibid.* III, 116): '*Sir Philip Sidney*...held him [Harvey] in some good regard, and so did most men; and (it may be) some kind Letters hee writ to him, to encourage and animate him in those his hopeful courses he was entered into.' This could scarcely be stretched into a hint of an Areopagus. And yet Nash must have known of it if it existed, for in his references to Harvey's nickname, 'Angel Gabriel,' and Harvey's mention of the earthquake (cf. this article, p. 294), he shows familiarity with those letters of Spenser and Harvey which are supposed to warrant the assumption that the Areopagus was a formal literary body.

² Fuller died in 1661. His *History of the Worthies* was published the next year.

servant give Spenser fifty pounds, which sum he speedily increased to a hundred and then to two hundred. The introduction to this 1679 edition thus shows an inclination to detail and anecdote (much to be sure erroneous), which makes it likely that were any traditions of the Areopagus then in the air, some echo of them would have reached the editor.

So it is with other editions of Spenser which I have examined for virtually the next two centuries¹, some, like that of 1679, showing a fondness for detail and anecdote in their introductory biographical notices; evidently the editors knew no rumour of an Areopagus. At the beginning of the scholarly nineteenth century, all that Ellis says which bears at all on the matter, in his *Specimens of the Early English Poets*², is that the dedication of the *Shepherd's Calendar* to Sidney seems to have procured Spenser an introduction to that distinguished young gentleman. In his articles on Sidney, on Sidney's devoted friend Fulke Greville, and on Sir Edward Dyer, the common friend of Spenser, Sidney, and Greville, Ellis says nothing which even hints at the Areopagus. Though H. J. Todd, who brought out an important edition of Spenser in eight vols. in 1805, quotes largely from Spenser's correspondence with Gabriel Harvey, generally supposed nowadays to have been a leading member of the society, he says nothing of the Areopagus. Similarly, literary histories through all this period fail to hint at the organization.

At last, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, suggestions of an organized Areopagus begin. The year 1839 saw on each side of the Atlantic a new edition of Spenser. The Rev. John Mitford, who wrote a biographical notice for the *Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, published by Pickering in London, said that the poet 'was introduced by Harvey to Sir Philip Sidney, who recommended him to his uncle, the Earl of Leicester.' He also quotes Spenser's reference to the Areopagus in his letter to Harvey, but gives no opinion regarding the society himself. About the same time Philip Masterman, in his *Essay on the Life and Writings of Edmund Spenser*, introductory to the edition published by Little and Brown, of Boston, hints at Harvey as the leader of a conscious literary movement. He adds: 'Spenser appears...to have entered into the absurd scheme, formed by Harvey and patronized by Sidney, of introducing the use of quantity into English verse.' But

¹ I have read the introductions and notes of all the editions of Spenser during this time which I have found in the Harvard Library.

² London, 1803, 3 volumes. See Notice of Spenser.

Masterman says no word about the Areopagus itself. Sixteen years later, however, in a new edition of Spenser by Little and Brown, we do have a hint that this was a society with some loose organization. In the biographical *Memoir* written by Professor Child, we read that the 'project for reforming English versification...seems to have originated with Harvey and to have been taken up with zeal by a coterie over which Sidney and Dyer presided.' But J. P. Collier, in his five-volume edition of 1862, makes no suggestion that this coterie was organized. Dean Church, on the other hand, in his *Spenser*, published in 1879, implies (pp. 33, 34), though he does not actually say, that the Areopagus was a formal literary body.

Since then this idea seems to have been generally accepted. True, Dr Grosart in his ten-volume *Spenser* (London, 1882-4) is non-committal as to the structure of the Areopagus, but in his *Poetical Works of Sidney*¹, he regards it as a body formally constituted. Mrs Humphrey Ward speaks of Spenser, along with Greville, Dyer, and Sidney, as 'a member of Harvey's Areopagus'². Mr Symonds³ believes in a well-organized 'academy' whose 'critical tendency was indicated by the name Areopagus, given it perhaps in fun by Spenser.' Mr Fox Bourne says⁴ that the Areopagus 'was a sort of club, composed mainly of courtiers, who aspired to be also men of letters, apparently with Sidney as its president.' Spenser and other literary men belonged to it, and Harvey seems to have been 'a corresponding member and counsellor-in-chief.' Mr Bourne thinks that 'Dyer and Greville were evidently busy members.' Professor J. B. Fletcher, of Columbia University, accepts this view, for he says in an article on *The Areopagus and the Pléiade*⁵: 'What we know of the *Areopagus* is derived from references and allusions to it in the Spenser-Harvey letters of 1579-80. There we hear of Dyer and Fulke Greville as members besides Sidney and Spenser and the non-resident Harvey.' And Mr Sidney Lee⁶ says that in 'the meetings of the literary club of the "Areopagus" which Leicester's friends and dependents formed at Leicester House, Spenser, Sidney, and others debated, at Harvey's instance, the application to English poetry of the classical rules of metrical quantity.' He says also in his article on Fulke Greville in the *Dictionary of National*

¹ London, 1877, I, p. lxxv.

² *Ward's English Poets*, I, Introduction to Poems by Fulke Greville.

³ *Sir Philip Sidney*, London, 1886, p. 79.

⁴ *Sir Philip Sidney*, New York and London, 1891, p. 200.

⁵ *Journal of Germanic Philology*, II, 1899, p. 430.

⁶ *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1904, p. 166.

Biography (1890) that Greville, Sidney, and Dyer were members of the literary society formed by Gabriel Harvey and called by him the Areopagus. And in his article on Sidney (1897), he says that they seem often to have engaged in 'formal literary debate.' Other opinions to the same effect might be quoted. These, however, are enough to show that recent scholars generally believe the Areopagus to have been a formal literary club which met at Leicester House during 1579 and 1580, years when we know that Spenser spent a great deal of his time there. Though there is doubt regarding the exact formation of the society, the consensus of opinion is that Harvey was its prime mover¹. But living in Cambridge as he did, a Fellow of Trinity Hall, he could not have been present at many meetings of the club. He acted rather as a non-resident director². His most active associates were Sidney, Dyer, Fulke Greville, and Spenser. Conjecture has included among others Spenser's friend, Edward Kirke, in all probability 'E. K.' of the *Shepherd's Calendar*; Drant, no less famous than Harvey in his efforts to apply to English verse classical rules of metre; and sometimes even Leicester himself.

Now, if literary commentators and editors of Spenser up to the middle of the nineteenth century have nothing to say of all this, whence comes the information about the Areopagus which recent scholars possess? It comes, all agree, from five letters written in 1579 and 1580, two from Spenser to Harvey and three from Harvey to Spenser. Every mention or hint of the society found in this correspondence it is worth while to consider. By so doing, we shall be able to decide for ourselves, basing our opinion on the only reliable information extant, how the Areopagus was made up.

In these letters of Spenser and Harvey the first hint of a literary club is found in Spenser's letter of October, 1579³. He writes:

As for the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master *Sidney* and Master *Dyer*, they haue me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity: of whom, and to whome, what speache passeth for youre credite and estimation, I leaue your selfe to conceiue, hauing alwayes so well conceiued of my vnfaigned affection and zeale towards you. And nowe they haue proclaimed in their ἀπειρωπάγῃ a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers, and also of the verie beste to: in steade whereof, they haue, by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables for English Verse: hauing had thereof already great practise, and drawn mee to their faction.

¹ Mr Lee, for instance, speaks of debates 'at Harvey's instance.'

² Mr Bourne calls Sidney 'president' of the society, but he says that Harvey seems to have been 'counsellor-in-chief'; and Mrs Ward speaks of 'Harvey's Areopagus.'

³ A. B. Grosart, *Works of Gabriel Harvey*, 3 volumes, London, 1884, I, p. 7.

Presently writing further of the new kind of versifying, he says, in reference to some iambics that Harvey has sent him:

I will imparte yours to Maister *Sidney* and Maister *Dyer* at my nexte going to the Courte. I praye you, keepe mine close to yourselfe, or your verie entire friendes, Maister *Preston*, Maister *Still*, and the reste. (*Ibid.*, p. 9.)

Then, after a page or two, come some Latin hexameters in which Spenser calls Harvey his Angel Gabriel (Angelus et Gabriel), perhaps a usual affectionate nickname for him; then a polite message from Sidney; and then farewell.

Replying to this later in the month, Harvey writes, after some preliminary would-be witticisms:

Your new-founded ἀρειώνπαγον I honoure more, than you will or can suppose: and make greater accompte of the two worthy Gentlemenne, than of the two hundredth *Dionisii Areopagitæ*, or the verie notablest Senatours, that euer *Athens* dydde affourde of that number. (p. 20.)

In the rest of the letter he discusses principally classical versification, his favourite subject. Speaking of some experiments of Spenser in this, which Harvey finds not entirely faultless, he says that

the Error may rather procede of his Master, M. Drantes Rule, than of himselfe. (p. 23.)

And a little later he says of Drant's Rules:

My selfe neither sawe them, nor heard of them before: and therefore will neither praise them, nor dispraise them nowe: but vpon the suruiewe of them, and farther conference, (both which I desire) you shall soone heare one mans opinion too or fro. (p. 24.)

The next published letter of the two friends is one from Spenser in the following April. He mentions briefly an earthquake which had just occurred, and then goes on to discuss some English hexameters of Harvey's. Though he likes them 'so exceeding well' that he tries his pen at the same kind of verse, yet he finds 'hardnesse' in the 'accente,'

whyche sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneeth ilfauouredly, comming shorte of that it should, and sometime exceeding the measure of the Number, as in *Carpenter*, the middle sillable being used shorte in speache, when it shall be read long in Verse, seemeth like a lame Gosling that draweth one legge after hir: and Heauen being vsed shorte as one sillable, when it is in verse stretched out with a *Diastole*, is like a lame Dogge that holdes vp one legge. (p. 35.)

He wishes for perfect agreement between his friends and himself in town, and Harvey in Cambridge, regarding the rules for new schemes of versifying.

I would hartily wish, you would either send me the Rules and Precepts of Arte, which you obserue in Quantities, or else followe mine, that *M. Philip Sidney* gaue me, being the very same which *M. Drant* deuised, but enlarged with *M. Sidney's* own

iudgement, and augmented with my Obseruations, that we might both accorde and agree in one: leaste we ouerthrowe one an other, and be ouerthrown of the rest. Truste me, you will hardly beleeeue what greate good liking and estimation Maister *Dyer* had of your *Satyricall Verses*, and I, since the viewe thereof, hauing before of my selfe had speciall liking of *Englishe Versifying*, am euen nowe aboute to giue you some token, what, and howe well therein I am able to doe. (p. 36.)

Harvey's two subsequent letters, both in reply to this of Spenser's, are long and verbose. The first is chiefly concerned with the earthquake; but the second refers to that part of Spenser's letter which deals with versifying.

I cannot choose, but thanke and honour the good Aungell, whether it were Gabriell or some other that put so good a notion into the heads of those two excellent Gentlemen *M. Sidney*, and *M. Dyer*, the two very Diamondes of hir Maiesties Courte for many speciall and rare qualities: as to helpe forward our new famous enterprise for the Exchanging of Barbarous and Balductum Rymes with Artificiall Verses: the one being in manner of pure and fine Goulde, the other but counterfet and base yl-fauoured Copper. (p. 75.)

Then soon he writes:

I would gladly be acquainted with *M. Drants* Prosodye, and I beseeche you, commende me to good *M. Sidneys* iudgement, and gentle *M. Inneritos* Obseruations. I hope your nexte Letters, which I daily expect, wil bring me in farther familiaritie & acquaintance with al three. Mine owne Rules and Precepts of Arte, I beleeeue wil fal out not greatly repugnant, though peraduenture somewhat different. (p. 76.)

Still discussing verses, he speaks of some possible

delicate, and choyce elegant Poesie of good *M. Sidneys*, or *M. Dyers* (ouer very *Castor*, & *Pollux* for such and many greater matters). (p. 86.)

The rest of the letter contains mostly advice to Spenser of a personal kind, including the extraordinary wish, based on the samples of the *Faerie Queene* which Spenser had sent for Harvey's criticism, that 'God or some good Aungell' will put the younger man in a 'better mind' than to continue the poem.

Such is the correspondence of Spenser and Harvey that throws light on the Areopagus. In all this, only one reference points to Harvey as director of the society, if it ever existed—his question whether it was not the 'Aungell Gabriell,' evidently a reference to Spenser's 'Angelus et Gabriel,' that put it into the heads of Sidney and Dyer to take so much interest in reformed versifying. Here is a suggestion from Harvey himself that he was the leading spirit among the young men who dreamed of refining English poetry. But, on the other hand, when Spenser writes that he will impart Harvey's verses to Sidney and Dyer for their criticism, he implies consultation between these gentlemen and Harvey rather than direction by the latter; and

when he writes of their making a proclamation in their ἀρειωπάγῳ, he suggests clearly their independence of Harvey. So he does, too, in writing about Harvey's 'Rules and Precepts of Arte' and Drant's. Evidently, there were two sets of rules for applying classical metres to English verse, one by Drant and one by Harvey; and Sidney and Dyer in their experiments were as likely to use one set as the other. Moreover, Harvey himself, in writing of the 'new-founded ἀρειώνπαγον' and the 'choyce elegant poesie' of Sidney and Dyer, gives no hint that he is directing them. Indeed, he as much as says that he is not, when referring to their rules for versification, based on Drant's, he declares explicitly, 'myself neither saw them, nor heard of them before.' Clearly, if there was any president of the Areopagus it was not Harvey, but probably Sidney. It is even doubtful whether Harvey was one of the hypothetical members. If he was, there would seem not to have been ideal cooperation between those who made up the club in applying the rules for reformed versification. More likely, if Harvey influenced the Areopagus, he did so only as a corresponding friend of Spenser.

But what shows that the Areopagus ever had a president? In the letters of Spenser and Harvey, from which, we must remember, we get our only knowledge of the society except as recent scholars have imagined it—in these there is no hint that there were members enough to warrant any officers. Despite Mrs Ward's assertion that Fulke Greville belonged to the Areopagus; and Mr Gosse's, that 'almost the only reference to the famous Areopagus includes their names'¹ (that is, Dyer's and Greville's); and Professor Fletcher's, that 'in the Spenser-Harvey letters...we hear of Dyer and Fulke Greville as members,' there is no reference whatsoever to Greville as a member. Indeed, his name nowhere appears in the correspondence. This fact points to the conclusion that Greville had nothing to do with the Areopagus. We know that he was Sidney's closest friend, and we have verses of Sidney testifying to the literary intimacy of Greville with himself and Dyer, *Two Pastorals Made by Sir Philip Sidney*:

Ioyne Mates in mirth with me,
Graunt pleasure to our meeting:
Let Pan our good God see,
How gratefull is our greeting.
*Ioyne hearts and hands, so let it be,
Make but one Minde in Bodies three.*

* * * * *

¹ *Sir Philip Sidney, Contemporary Review*, L, p. 642.

My two and I be met,
 A happy blessed Trinitie;
 As three most ioyntly set,
 In firmeſt band of Vnitie.
Ioyne hands, etc.

Welcome my two to me,
 The number beſt beloved,
 Within my heart you be,
 In frienſhip unremoved.
Ioyne hands, etc.

E. D. F. G. P. S.

Now had this close friend of Sidney been associated with him and Dyer in the plans for new versification of which Spenser and Harvey write so much, his name, it would seem, must have appeared in their correspondence. Since it does not, apparently Greville was not one of Sidney's and Dyer's 'whole Senate' of reformed versifiers.

What makes probability in the matter almost certainty is the further fact that Greville himself nowhere refers to the club in his *Life of Sidney*. Had he belonged to it, he could hardly have failed to mention it. From the day the two boys met at their school at Shrewsbury, Greville's devotion to Sidney was one of the governing forces of his life, and so in writing his memoirs of Sidney he had two purposes: to glorify his friend, who was also his hero, and, with pardonable pride, to dwell on the closeness of their association. Thus he not only records all the noble acts of Sidney and all the golden opinions of him expressed by great statesmen, like William of Orange, and great scholars, like Languet; he recalls also, with manifest pleasure and affection, the school days when even as a child Sidney had 'such staiedness' of mind, 'lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years'¹. He recalls, too, a hundred details of their subsequent adventures, whether in England or on the Continent, which testify to their mutual affection. For example, he tells circumstantially of the unsuccessful attempt of himself and Sidney, burning with the Elizabethan desire for adventure and exploration, to sail across the seas to the New World. But the Queen was often unwilling to let her favourites, in the number of whom Sidney and Greville were emphatically to be counted, stray far from her court; and so to the young men's request for permission to sail with Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies, she refused her consent. Eager for the expedition, they decided to sail, nevertheless, without the royal permission, Greville according to his own words, having 'the honor...to be' Sidney's 'loving

¹ *Life of Sidney*, Chap. i.

and beloved Achates' in the journey¹. Their plans matured, they went to Plymouth with Drake's connivance, to embark the moment the wind should be favourable. But when they were laid in bed that night, Greville told Sidney that he feared, from the expression on Drake's face, they should not be allowed to make the voyage after all. Sure enough, royal messengers came commanding that either they be stayed or the whole fleet. By way of compensation for Sidney's disappointment, Elizabeth soon after gave him permission to serve with Leicester in the campaign in the Netherlands. Then came the fatal wound at Zutphen, and not only Greville but all England was mourning for Sidney.

This was in 1586. Greville lived on to be seventy-four years old, but he never lost his affection for his early friend. His *Life of Sidney*², written in his later years, was a labour of love; and when he was dead and buried his monument bore the epitaph which he himself had composed: 'Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Councillor to King James, Friend to Sir Philip Sidney.' Surely the man who, forty-two years after the death of his friend, wished this for his epitaph, would not have neglected to mention the Areopagus had he and Sidney been joint members of it. Evidently it testified neither to their intimacy, nor, in Greville's estimation, to Sidney's glory.

Now if Greville—such a dear friend of Sidney, and himself a poet—was not one of the Areopagus, its membership, we should say, must have been very limited. As a matter of fact, the correspondence of Spenser and Harvey suggests that its membership was limited to two, or at most three. The two were Sidney and Dyer, and the testimony points surely to no others. The possible third was Spenser. Harvey was clearly an outsider.

What, then, was the constitution of this Areopagus, this 'whole Senate' of two, or at most three? Pretty certainly it was not a formal body, as we may judge from Spenser's reference to it: 'Master Sidney and Master Dyer...haue proclaimed in their ἀρειωπάγω a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers....: in steade whereof, they haue, by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities...for English Verse.' It looks as if Spenser, reporting the scheme of Sidney and Dyer, had applied the name of the great Athenian tribunal to them jocosely, as one to-day in raillery at the deliberation of

¹ *Life of Sidney*, Chap. vii.

² The title which Greville intended to give this was *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*. It was to appear with the complete edition of his works. Though Greville died in 1628, the dedication was not published until 1652, when it appeared with the title which it has borne ever since, *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney*.

two friends might speak of a decision of their Supreme Court. Now Spenser, though not conspicuously gifted with humour, as any one can tell who has read a canto of the *Faerie Queene*, was not totally without it. There are clumsy attempts at humour in these very letters to Harvey, as when Spenser, poking fun at some of Harvey's English verses in classical metre, says that they yawn and remind him of a lame gosling; and again, of a lame dog. Harvey, generally even more clumsy in his attempts at humour than Spenser, is replying in Spenser's spirit when he says:

Your new-founded ἀρειόνπαγον I honoure more, than you will or can suppose: and make greater accompte of the two worthy Gentlemenne, than of the two hundredth *Dionisii Areopagitae*, or the verye notablest Senatours, that euer *Athens* dydde affourde of that number.

Apparently the high-sounding name of Areopagus was only a joke.

What strengthens the probability that the Areopagus as a literary society never existed, is the failure, already noted, of any contemporary echo of its deliberations to reach us, except the two references of Spenser and Harvey. Yet with its conjectured membership, it must, even as an informal society, have been of importance in the literary world. One would expect Sidney to make some reference to it in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, in which it is often assumed, and not improbably, that he expressed opinions which he held in common with his literary friends. Had he and they formed a club more or less known, it would have been only natural for him, in declaring his literary creed, to give it support by at least the suggestion that his fellow club-members held similar opinions. But he never does. Then again, it is singular, if the Areopagus was really a literary society modelled after the Pléiade, that it did not for convenience Anglicize its name. *Pléiade*, save for its origin, is thoroughly French; but as Spenser and Harvey write of their hypothetical society, instead of making its name English, they keep it Greek. 'In their ἀρειωπάγω,' says Spenser, using the dative case. And Harvey replying writes, 'your new-founded ἀρειόνπαγον,' using the accusative, which is the case called for. The Greek letters and the Greek declension point to no society that gave itself the Anglicized name Areopagus¹.

By all this I do not mean that Spenser and Sidney and the other

¹ For suggesting this significance of the Greek letters and declension, I am indebted to Mr W. E. McNeill, a graduate student at Harvard University, who, in a course on Spenser given under my direction, wrote a thesis on *The Areopagus and the Pléiade*. Mr McNeill's impression was that recent scholars have exaggerated the resemblance between the French society and the supposed English one in almost every way.

young men who might have been members of an Areopagus never came together for earnest literary discussion. During two years at least there were chances for many such meetings. It was in the summer of 1578 that Sidney with his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, in the suite of Queen Elizabeth during one of her progresses, met Gabriel Harvey at Audley End, then the greatest country-place in Essex¹. Harvey, a native of the neighbouring town of Saffron Walden, had come as one of the literary lights of Cambridge, some fifteen miles away, to make an address to the Queen. In Latin verses which he wrote for the occasion, entitled *Gratulationes Waldenses* and filled with laudation of the sovereign, he spoke of Sidney also in terms of highest praise. Perhaps he had met Sidney before, for Harvey seems to have been already known to Leicester². If so, after the meeting at Audley End and the complimentary Latin verses, Harvey was probably in greater favour with both Leicester and his nephew. Perhaps that is why Harvey seems soon afterwards to have been able to procure a place for his friend, Spenser, who had been living in the north of England, in the household of Elizabeth's favourite. Thus the opportunity was given at Leicester House for a friendship between Spenser, then about twenty-six, and Sidney, who was twenty-four.

The two young men, with the many literary tastes which they had in common, did not fail to improve their opportunity. We have seen in Spenser's letters to Harvey that he made use of the opportunity likewise to know Dyer, who was a few years older than Sidney. All three seem to have esteemed Harvey and to have valued his opinions on the classics, because of his well-known scholarship and his six or seven years seniority of Spenser. We have seen, also, in the letters of Spenser and Harvey, that the latter was in frequent consultation with his three friends in London about classical metres. No doubt when he came to town, he talked with them at length on the subject.

It would be odd if sometimes other friends of the three young men were not present when they discussed literary matters. At such times we might imagine more interesting conversations than those in Harvey's company, for his letters suggest that there would have been difficulty in getting him off his favourite metrical subject. Possibly Spenser introduced his friend Kirke to Sidney and Dyer. Possibly Greville talked with them occasionally; but, as we have seen, not often; other-

¹ Cf. Fuller's *Worthies*.

² When Harvey was presented to the Queen she spoke of him as one of whom she had previously heard from Leicester.

wise there would have been mention of the fact in his *Life of Sidney*. Indeed, for the time being, if we may judge from the letters of Spenser and Harvey, Dyer was Sidney's closest literary friend, perhaps because he reflected Sidney's opinions better than Spenser and Greville, who were more independent. Despite Sidney's verses, too, about the 'happy blessed Trinitie' which he and Dyer and Greville made up, we may, considering the weakness of human nature, wonder if Greville was not somewhat jealous of Dyer. Three-cornered friendships are seldom entirely agreeable. It may be significant that in his *Life of Sidney*, Greville mentions Dyer but once, and then only as the messenger who 'stayed him by a princely mandate' on one of the several occasions when his youthful desire for travel and adventure was balked by Queen Elizabeth's fondness.

The serious and enthusiastic literary talks of Spenser, Sidney, and Dyer had notable results. More or less they served the purpose, indeed, which the Areopagus would have served had it existed. To them, probably, the critical opinions expressed in the introduction and notes of the *Shepherd's Calendar* owed something, as did also the *Apologie for Poetrie*. The same talks probably quickened and helped to define the poetical feelings which found expression in the *Arcadia* and in the various poems of Sidney and Spenser. *The Faerie Queene*, when still only tentative fragments were written, won so much praise from Sidney that Spenser had little hesitation about going on with it¹. No doubt, too, knowing French literature and Italian, the young men discussed the critical opinions not only of classical authors but also of recent continental writers. But there is nothing to show that these meetings were not purely casual. If there was any pre-arrangement, it was in all probability nothing more than a tacit agreement of Sidney and Dyer to meet from time to time for reading and discussion. The existence of a literary club with definite membership, known as the Areopagus, is doubtful. Except the statements of scholars in the last fifty years, there seems to be no evidence that Spenser and Sidney and their friends ever organized such a society.

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¹ See the poem of 'W. L.' in the *Verses to the Author*, prefatory to the *Faerie Queene*.

THE SOURCES OF HEBBEL'S 'AGNES BERNAUER.

I.

THE IDEAS UNDERLYING THE DRAMA.

WE have Hebbel's own authority for commencing an inquiry into the sources of *Agnes Bernauer* with a consideration of the ideas underlying the play, for he himself has drawn attention to the fact that in all his earlier dramas, the ideas, which he saw embedded in the material, formed the starting-point for his inspiration. *Gyges und sein Ring*, he tells us¹, was the first drama in which he started from the story not from the idea. And *Agnes Bernauer*, Hebbel's only drama on national history, is no exception to the rule. The historical drama, according to Hebbel, was to have a definite 'meaning' ('Bedeutung'), that is, give expression to some idea, which would give unity to the work, emphasize the general in the particular and so be symbolical for all times: 'dass Herodes das Christenthum als erhabenstes Cultur-Instrument feiert, dass Michel Angelo die tiefste Demuth predigt, dass Agnes Bernauer den Staat als die Grund-Bedingung alles menschlichen Gedeihens hinstellt, der jedes Opfer fordern darf, und dass Gyges an die ewigen Rechte der Sitte und des Herkommens mahnt'²: was of primary importance in the eyes of the poet, and only after full justice had been done to the idea, did Hebbel allow patriotic motives to come to the front³. As may be seen from numerous entries in his diaries, Hebbel frequently invented plots to illustrate favourite ideas; many of these dramatic plans were never utilized, but when Hebbel found

¹ Letter of December 14, 1854 (Hebbel's *Sämmtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von R. M. Werner, Berlin, 1901 ff. *Briefwechsel*, v, 204). For convenience, this edition of Hebbel's correspondence will be referred to in the following pages as *Bw.*, the *Tagebücher* and *Werke* in the same edition as *Tb.* and *S. W.* respectively.

² Letter of Nov. 11, 1857 (*Bw.*, vi, 74). The extreme importance which Hebbel placed on the 'fundamental motive' of a drama is seen in the fact that he attributed the failure of the contemporary Hohenstauffen tragedies to the circumstance that they merely depicted history (cp. *Tb.*, ii, 338).

³ Letter of Jan. 27, 1863 (*Bw.*, vii, 291).

a theme in history or saga suited to voice his views, poetic inspiration often set in and the drama was written in a comparatively short space of time. This was the case with *Agnes Bernauer*: the ideas which underlie it were conceived long previously and are intimately connected with Hebbel's earlier works and his whole line of thought, but the actual work on the drama occupied only three months¹. In the early autumn of 1851 Hebbel returned from a lengthy visit to Berlin, and, as we see from his correspondence, he found plenty of work awaiting him². But, as often before, the autumn roused his creative faculties and by Oct. 6 he had already half finished 'ein kleines Lustspiel' and was busily engaged on 'a great German tragedy'³. This was *Agnes Bernauer*. On Oct. 14, he completed the second act, on Oct. 26, the third; the fourth act, commenced on Nov. 1, was finished on Nov. 25, and on Dec. 7 he writes that there were only a few scenes wanting in the tragedy⁴. These were written by Dec. 17, and by Christmas Eve 'die letzten Ratten- und Mäuselöcher' were filled up⁵. Thus the whole drama was written within the space of three months; the poet experienced even more than usual happiness in his work, and, as is to be seen from his letters and diaries, was more than usually confident of its success and value⁶.

We do not know how Hebbel first became acquainted with the story of *Agnes Bernauer*, which was so well adapted to embody his various plans and ideas. Perhaps, as he himself says⁷, Törring's drama was one of the chief reasons which induced him to write on the same subject, but it is just possible that he first heard of *Agnes Bernauer* on the occasion of his visit to Munich in 1833, the scene of part of the drama and the town where so many of his later plays were conceived⁸. It was there that he heard Görres' lectures on the Middle Ages, which inspired him with the wish: 'Wär' man doch damals geboren⁹!' At Munich also he formed the plan of a great mediaeval tragedy dealing with the Maid of Orleans¹⁰. Whether Hebbel had considered the problem of *Agnes Bernauer* before he read Törring's drama or not, the fact remains that there is no mention of the subject in his diaries and correspondence until he commenced work on the tragedy.

¹ Cf. R. M. Werner's Introduction to *Agnes Bernauer* (S. W., III).

² See letter of Sep. 17, 1851 (Bw., IV, 320).

³ Bw., IV, 326—7.

⁴ Bw., IV, 333, and diary.

⁵ Tb., III, 413.

⁶ See especially letter of Jan. 23, 1852 (Bw., IV, 345).

⁷ Letter of Aug. 20, 1853 (Bw., V, 123).

⁸ Cf. *Einen Geburtstag auf der Reise* (S. W., VI, 247).

⁹ Letter of Jan. 30, 1837 (Bw., I, 162).

¹⁰ Cf. E. Kuh, *Biographie F. Hebbels*, Vienna, 1877, I, 384—5.

The earliest entry in his diary concerning the play clearly points to the idea which first of all attracted him to the story of Agnes Bernauer: 'Längst hatte ich die Idee, auch die Schönheit einmal von der tragischen, den Untergang durch sich selbst bedingenden Seite darzustellen und die Agnes Bernauerin ist dazu, wie gefunden¹.' The tragic fate of perfection, whether moral or physical, had long been one of Hebbel's favourite thoughts; it had already found poetic expression in *Genoveva* and seems to have been particularly brought home to him during his stay in Rome in the spring of 1845. The beauty of nature which surrounded him there, inspired him with the poem *Das Opfer des Frühlings*², in which Spring at the height of his glory feels a sudden sadness, when gazing at the reflection of his beauty in the stream:

Denn ihm sagt ein inn'res Stocken,
Dass die Götter neidisch sind.

The beauty of the Roman women also made a great impression on the mind of the poet, the exceptional loveliness of Signorina Gagiati, especially, dwelt long in his memory³. It is not surprising then that Hebbel, who was always so prone to look at the dark side of things, should, when surrounded by so much beauty, have often recurred to the idea that great physical perfection may be not a blessing but a curse to its possessor. Thus we find that in January 1845 Hebbel conceived the idea of two tragedies both dealing with this negative aspect of beauty. The first was to show the ill effects which beauty produces on the character of a young girl; she grows ambitious, is not content with her station in life, arouses the envy and ill-will of her neighbours and finally commits suicide⁴. The second tragedy, in which we distinctly see the germ of *Agnes Bernauer*, deals with the harm which the great beauty of an innocent girl may cause in the world through no fault of her own⁵. Certain points in this plan show an unmistakable likeness to the first act of *Agnes Bernauer*. Agnes also (Act I, sc. 5) through no fault of her own has, when the play opens, disturbed the peace of the inhabitants of Augsburg: the men admire her and grow indifferent to the women they had formerly loved; these hate Agnes, and she finds herself forsaken by her former friends. Already afraid of the effects of her own beauty, she does not wish to attend the tournament, and might perhaps, if Albrecht had not crossed her path, have followed the advice of her jealous friend Barbara and entered a convent.

¹ *Tb.*, III, 406 (Sept. 30, 1851).

³ Letter of Jan. 30, 1845 (*Bw.*, III, 195).

⁵ *Tb.*, III, 2—3 (Jan. 1845).

² *S. W.*, VI, 217.

⁴ *Tb.*, III, 4—5 (Jan. 8, 1845).

As the drama advanced, other ideas came more into the foreground; especially the political element gained in importance—‘das Werk belehrte den Meister’—and so the relation of the individual to the state and the duty of a king to his subjects became gradually clearer to the poet. Curiously enough, it was again at Rome that Hebbel seemed to have first considered the rights and duties of the head of the state. An entry of Feb. 21, 1845, bears directly on the fundamental problem of *Agnes Bernauer*: ‘Ein König hat weniger Recht, ein Individuum zu seyn, als jeder Andere².’ For Albrecht insists on exercising his rights as individual, without considering that, as the heir apparent, he has less right to exercise them than anybody else.

At this time also Hebbel sketched out other dramas, which were to deal with the tragic aspect of kingship. One only bears slightly on *Agnes Bernauer*—a king resigns because he sees that his supreme power would have enabled him to commit a terrible crime, and wishes to escape temptation for the future³. Ernst also resigns because his position has obliged him to bring about the death of Agnes, and he wishes his son to acknowledge the justice of his action. A similar idea occurred to Hebbel, when witnessing a performance of *Emilia Galotti*; he would have concluded Lessing’s play in the manner of *Agnes Bernauer*: ‘der Prinz, erschüttert durch Emilias Tod, giebt seinem Lande eine Verfassung⁴.’

The political events of 1848 influenced Hebbel profoundly and again brought home to him the responsibilities and duties of the kingly office; they also enabled him to perceive the bearing of the social problems of *Agnes Bernauer* on his own day; ‘der tiefe Schmerz um Deutschland hat mir dies Drama abgepresst⁵.’ These events also caused Hebbel to lay special stress on the subordination of the individual to the state: he himself draws attention to the fact that this doctrine is preached in all his works⁶, and he realizes that it will not meet with the approval of the ‘hollow democracy’ of his time.

The murder of Agnes is the logical outcome of Hebbel’s view of the absolute necessity for the complete subordination of the individual to

¹ *Tb.*, III, 413 (Dec. 24, 1851).

² *Tb.*, III, 40.

³ *Tb.*, III, 64 (Sept. 29, 1845).

⁴ *Tb.*, III, 68 (Dec. 15, 1845). It might also be noticed that a few years before the conception of *Agnes Bernauer* Hebbel had turned his attention to the story of Struensee (1849) and had come to the conclusion that a like lesson could be drawn from it: ‘Am Schlusse der Tragödie wird...jeder Kronenträger demuthsvoll ausrufen: ich will kein Gott mehr sein’ (*S. W.*, XI, 291).

⁵ Letter of Jan. 23, 1852 (*Bw.*, IV, 344).

⁶ Letter of Feb. 16, 1852 (*Bw.*, IV, 359).

the welfare of society. She is sacrificed like so many of Hebbel's heroine's; while Judith and Clara voluntarily give their lives, the one to rescue her fellow-townsmen, the other to save her father, while Marianne dies rather than sacrifice her individuality, Agnes, who in her passivity may be compared with Genoveva, is sacrificed for the good of Bavaria. But Agnes is not the only 'martyr' in the drama; Hebbel lays almost as much stress on the sacrifice which Ernst has to make. He has, in his devotion to duty, to commit a deed which his soul abhors, and also to imperil the life of his son, for he is not for one moment in doubt as to the possible effect of Agnes's murder on Albrecht. This idea can also be traced far back in Hebbel's life. As early as March, 1841, the poet notes Abraham's sacrifice of his son as a suitable subject for a tragedy: 'die Idee des Opfern's müsste aus ihm selbst kommen und je schwerer ihm die Ausführung fiele, um so mehr müsste er an dem furchtbaren Pflichtgedanken fest halten. Dann die Stimme des Herrn¹.' The likeness to Herzog Ernst is unmistakable, he tries every other means before sacrificing his son; then, when he thinks he sees the divine hand in the death of the little Prince Adolf, he puts all his trust in God and knowingly sacrifices his son to save his country (Act IV, sc. 5).

This brings us to another of Hebbel's theories, namely the intervention of the Deity in human affairs². In his history of the Maid of Orleans written as far back as 1840, Hebbel expressed the opinion: 'in solchen schicksalschwangeren Augenblicken,...wo Niemand Recht und Unrecht zu sondern...wagt, hat der schwindelnde Mensch ein Gefühl, als müsste die Gottheit selbst aus ihren Finsternissen hervortreten und mit flammendem Schwert auf den Weg deuten, der gewandelt werden soll³,' and this idea has found expression in several of his dramas. Thus Judith acts by divine inspiration, and at the close of the play her fate is left dependent on the divine will; Golo directly challenges divine intervention, when he ventures on the perilous ascent: 'Brech' ich nicht Hals und Bein zu dieser Stund', So leg' ich's aus: ich soll ein Schurke sein' (*Genoveva*, Act I, sc. 3).

In no play of Hebbel is such prominence given to this idea as in *Agnes Bernauer*, for Ernst is firmly convinced that God himself desires

¹ *Tb.*, II, 105. Cf. also the sacrifice of Judas in the *Christus* fragment, Hebbel's *Sämmtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von E. Kuh, Hamburg, 1866 (VI, xxxi).

² Cf. Bulthaupt, H., *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*, Oldenburg, 1894, III, 135—140. Also *Tb.*, II, 73 (Oct. 26, 1840).

³ *S.W.*, IX, 238. A. v. Weilen, *Hebbels historische Schriften (Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, Festgabe für R. Heinzel, 1898)*, p. 442.

the death of Agnes—‘Gott will es so und nicht anders’ (Act IV, sc. 4)—and has placed the decision in divine hands by proclaiming Adolf his successor and not signing Agnes Bernauer’s death-sentence as long as there was an heir, ‘und Gott selbst hat den harten Spruch bestätigt, da er den jungen Prinzen zu sich rief, der die Vollziehung allein aufhielt’ (Act V, sc. 2). It is rather difficult to account for this divine intervention even from Hebbel’s point of view; we can quite understand that in *Judith* God protected His chosen people, and Hebbel has told us that the Maid of Orleans was inspired to save that nation because from France ‘die Revolution ausgehen sollte’¹; but there seems to be no adequate reason why Bavaria should be selected.

There remains one more of Hebbel’s dramas, the ‘Grundidee’ of which is closely connected with that of *Agnes Bernauer*; when in the latter drama Kanzler Preising tries to convince Agnes of the necessity of the death-sentence in the following words: ‘Und wenn’s einen Edelstein gäbe, kostbarer, wie alle zusammen,...und ringsum die wildesten Leidenschaften entzündend,...dürfte der Einzige, der noch ungeblendet blieb, ihn nicht...ergreifen, und in’s Meer hinunter schleudern’ (Act V, sc. 2), we are at once reminded of the ‘Märchendrama’ *Der Rubin*, in which the jewel brings happiness to its owner as soon as he casts it from him, in accordance with one of Hebbel’s favourite maxims, ‘Wirf weg, damit du nicht verlierst.’ Similarly Albrecht has to renounce Agnes in order to regain his true self.

Thus the fundamental problems of *Agnes Bernauer* are intimately connected with Hebbel’s previous work, and many plans conceived at various periods of his life were woven into it. The following entry in his diary, made during his work on *Julia*, applies even more to the writing of *Agnes Bernauer*: ‘das Stück breitet sich weiter aus, als ich gedacht hatte, und nimmt sehr viel in sich auf, was in mir fertig war.’²

II.

HEBBEL’S HISTORICAL SOURCES.

Before proceeding to investigate the histories and chronicles actually consulted by Hebbel, it may be well to consider briefly Hebbel’s conception of the attitude of the dramatist towards an historical subject in general³. To a poet, who laid so much emphasis on the distinction

¹ *Tb.*, II, 55 (July 27, 1840).

² *Tb.*, III, 128 (Nov. 29, 1846).

³ Cf. H. Koch, *Über das Verhältnis von Drama und Geschichte bei F. Hebbel* (Munich Dissertation). Leipzig, 1904.

between Art and Life¹ and consequently between history and an historical drama, the thought was intolerable that the duty of a dramatist should be identical with that of the historian and should be comprised in the endeavour to bring the past vividly before us by closely following its records. If the historian and the poet have the same function, Hebbel did not see the *raison d'être* of the poet². 'Der Dichter ist nicht der Auferstehungengel der Geschichte'; he has higher aims and so need not keep close to history, for 'für wen das von der Geschichte abweichende historische Drama eine Sünde an der Geschichte ist, für den muss auch der Tisch eine Sünde am Baum seyn³'.

On what then is the poet to rely, if he is not, like the historian, to acquire a knowledge of life in the past by a laborious study of records? Hebbel has but one answer: 'inspiration'; at a flash the past in all its bearings must rise vividly before his eyes, as, for example, the drama of *Judith* took shape in Hebbel's mind before Giulio Romano's picture in the Munich gallery⁴. In his correspondence Hebbel has given an account of this inspiration: 'ich bereite mich so wenig auf [ein Drama] vor, wie auf einen Traum, und begreife nicht einmal, wie man das kann. Ich sehe Gestalten, mehr oder weniger hell beleuchtet, sey es nun im Dämmerlicht meiner Phantasie oder der Geschichte, und es reizt mich sie fest zu halten, wie der Maler; Kopf nach Kopf tritt hervor und alles Übrige findet sich hinzu, wenn ich's brauche⁵.' Events thus intuitively seen, have the same effect on the poet as those he has actually experienced—'so erlebt der Dichter die Geschichte⁶'—and have a far higher value than the results of historical research⁷. The chief duty of the poet towards history consists, according to Hebbel, in bringing into prominence the idea which underlies the historical data and which in real life is often hidden. This idea was in all Hebbel's earlier dramas the starting-point for his inspiration; thus we have seen how in *Agnes Bernauer* the conception of the harmful effects of beauty first attracted him to the subject and how the relation of the individual to the state interested him as the drama proceeded.

According to these views we should expect that Hebbel would only study historical sources superficially before setting to work on a drama,

¹ *Tb.*, iv, 161 (March 7, 1860).

² *Cf. S. W.*, xi, 59.

³ *Tb.*, iii, 217 (March 10, 1847).

⁴ *S. W.*, i, 410.

⁵ Letter of Dec. 2, 1858 (*Bw.*, vi, 216).

⁶ Hebbel's *Briefwechsel*, herausgegeben von F. Bamberg, Berlin, 1890-2, ii, 475.

⁷ *Cf. his criticism of Massinger's Ludovico.* Hebbel exclaims, 'das kann nicht wahr sein...hier ist Josephus schlecht unterrichtet' (*S. W.*, xi, 250).

but we find that exactly the opposite is the case. Instead of merely concerning himself with the outlines and the main ideas underlying the subject, we find that he made most thorough and painstaking investigations of all the historical sources at his command. He attached great importance to the delineation of the *milieu*. Every character in the drama 'must be rooted in his times' and must reflect his surroundings in every utterance. Thus the characters of *Agnes Bernauer* should speak as Germans of the fifteenth century, each again differently according to his station, and the whole play must be pervaded by the 'Zeitgeist' of Germany at the close of the Middle Ages¹.

Turning now to Hebbel's historical studies in connection with *Agnes Bernauer*, we find that on the whole he kept pretty closely to his sources as the facts were peculiarly well adapted to give expression to several of his favourite theories; only a few alterations were necessary to give special prominence to these ideas. 'Ich habe eine einfach rührende, menschlich schöne Handlung, treu und schlicht, wie der Chronist sie überliefert, in die Mitte gestellt und das Reich mit allen seinen Elementen steht dahinter².' We see from Hebbel's contemptuous reference to Melchior Meyr's work that he did not consider the study of recent historians sufficient: 'er [Meyr] hat höchstens im Falkenstein, vielleicht nur im Mannert geblättert, gewiss aber nicht die Quellen gelesen³,' and from his conversation with the king of Bavaria that he consulted 'Chroniken,' but not 'Reichsarchive⁴.'

Professor R. M. Werner mentions⁵ that the Goethe and Schiller Archive has in its possession a piece of bluish paper with notes in Hebbel's handwriting from which some of his sources can be inferred. Besides the books mentioned in the letter to Dingelstedt, namely J. H. von Falckenstein's *Vollständige Geschichten...des grossen Herzogthums...Bayern*, III. Theil, München, Ingolstadt und Augspurg, 1763, and K. Mannert's *Die Geschichte Bayerns aus den Quellen*, Leipzig, 1826, Prof. Werner notes P. von Stetten's *Geschichte der...Stadt Augspurg*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1743, and *Marx Welsers des Jüngern Chronica der Stadt Augspurg*...Translated by Engelbert Werlich, Frankfurt am Main, 1595. In addition to these, the following investigation will show that Hebbel in all probability also used F. J. Lipowsky's *Agnes*

¹ Cf. Hebbel's opinion of *Genoveva*, 'ich glaube, was in diesem Stück wirkt, ist die concentrirte Darstellung des Mittelalters' (*Bw.*, iv, 315).

² Letter of Dec. 12, 1851 (*Bw.*, iv, 337).

³ Letter of Jan. 26, 1852 (*Bw.*, iv, 348).

⁴ Letter of March 3, 1852 (*Bw.*, iv, 382).

⁵ *S. W.*, III, 442—3.

Bernauerin, Munich, 1800, and an anonymous translation of Veit Arnpeck's *Chronicon Boioariae* printed by M. von Freyberg (*Sammlung historischer Schriften*, I, 1827). These are most likely all the historical works consulted by the poet, as almost all deviations from them can be explained as concessions to the ideas which Hebbel desired to embody in the drama. The chief chronicles, besides those already cited, which mention Agnes Bernauer, such as Oeffele's and Adlzreiter's, are in Latin, and as we have it on Hebbel's own authority (for example, *Tb.*, Oct. 16, 1839; Jan. 19, 1842) that he was never able to read that language, it is extremely unlikely that he consulted them.

A. HEBBEL'S INDEBTEDNESS TO LIPOWSKY'S 'AGNES BERNAUERIN.'

There is no mention of Lipowsky's book in Hebbel's diaries and correspondence, but the fact that he does not mention it is not conclusive evidence that he did not know it, for he also makes no reference to Braunfels' translation of the *Nibelungenlied*, and yet Professor Werner has a copy of that work in his possession with notes in the poet's handwriting, and in many instances direct borrowing of phraseology from this translation is traceable¹.

Lipowsky's little book on Agnes Bernauer tells her story in a sentimental and rather didactic manner; at the end of the book there are numerous notes in which the author endeavours to justify his statements by quotations from chronicles (Latin and German), and in an appendix we find original documents of the period, such as Ernst's instructions to his chancellor and the 'Stiftungsurkunden,' in which Albrecht decreed that a perpetual mass should be held in memory of Agnes Bernauer. These documents must have been invaluable to Hebbel, who, as we have seen, wished to get as near the original sources as possible. The 'Personennamen' point to Lipowsky: the following names seem to have been taken from him: Degenberg (*Agnes Bernauer*, Act v, sc. 8, Lipowsky, p. 103); Nothhaft, or, as Hebbel writes, Nothhafft von Wernberg (Lipowsky, p. 106; but this name also occurs in other sources)²; Caspar Bernauer, again, is named only by Lipowsky (p. 15), and it is interesting to note that Otto Ludwig, who in his later versions of *Agnes Bernauer* followed Lipowsky³, also calls Agnes's father Caspar;

¹ See Annina Periam, *Hebbel's Nibelungen*, New York, 1906, 25; also Werner's note, *S.W.*, iv, 346.

² The name Pienzenau (Lipowsky, p. 173) also occurs in Törring's *Agnes Bernauerin*.

³ O. Ludwig's *Nachlass* (I, 149) herausgegeben von M. Heydrich, Leipzig, 1874.

finally Emeran Nusperger zu Kalmpert, who plays such a mysterious part in the drama, is expressly mentioned by Lipowsky (p. 36) as deputed to carry out the death-sentence.

Appended is a brief review of the chief similarities to Lipowsky in the order in which they occur in Hebbel's drama. Only those cases have been noted where Lipowsky deviates from the other sources expressly mentioned by Hebbel.

Act I, sc. 14: Lipowsky states that Albrecht, whilst attending the tournament at Augsburg, first heard of Elizabeth's flight and shortly afterwards saw Agnes Bernauer for the first time. This is also the sequence of events in Hebbel's drama. Moreover, both Lipowsky (p. 7) and Hebbel mention that the town of Göppingen was given as a pledge by the Duke of Württemberg. I can find no reference to this town in any other history or chronicle, nor does it occur in Törring's drama. It should however also be noticed that Hebbel quotes a different sum for the 'Strafgeld.'

Act I, sc. 18: Caspar's reference to the 'Unehrlichkeit' of the 'Bader.' Werlich (p. 115) merely notes that the 'Bader' formed a special 'Zunft,' but Lipowsky (pp. 24, 89) specially mentions that 'Bader' were considered 'unehrlich' until the fifteenth century.

Act III, sc. 5: Lipowsky mentions that in 1468 a 'Stiftskirche' was built over the grave of Ernst's wife. In the play Ernst himself is represented as having the chapel built.

In the development of the plot in this act, there are several striking coincidences with Lipowsky: (1) Albrecht's marriage is kept secret for some time (p. 19). (2) Ernst regards the affair with Agnes as mere gallantry and thinks that his son will soon tire of her. (3) Ernst determines to marry Albrecht to Anna von Braunschweig in order to separate him from Agnes. (4) Albrecht refuses to marry Anna. (Falckenstein, p. 463, merely mentions that Albrecht was married to Anna after the death of Agnes Bernauer 'um seinen Schmerz zu lindern und vertreiben'; in Törring's drama—Act II, sc. 3—a marriage with Anna is proposed after the tournament in order to conciliate Albrecht and 'um ihn nicht ganz von der Liebe zu entwöhnen!')

Act III, sc. 13: As will be shown later, Hebbel borrowed a few minor details from Törring in this scene, but in the main action he has closely followed Lipowsky. This whole tournament scene is, strictly speaking, unhistorical; Oefelle¹ relates that Albrecht was insulted and struck ('impugnatus et percussus') at a tournament held at Regensburg

¹ Quoted by Lipowsky, p. 94.

in 1434, because he would not contract a legitimate marriage. The other chroniclers who mention the tournament, Andreas von Regensburg and Hochwart¹, for example, say pretty much the same, but not one of them mentions the presence of Herzog Ernst. From this statement Törring would appear to have built up his 'Turnierscene' in which he has been followed by every other dramatist of *Agnes Bernauer*, and curiously enough also by the historian Lipowsky, who describes what occurred at Regensburg in these words²: 'Schon wollte er den Kampfplatz in voller Rüstung betreten, als man ihm eröffnete: er dürfe nicht turnieren, für ihn wären die Schranken geschlossen, weil er ein Mädchen unehrlich hielt... Dieser ihm öffentlich... erwiesene Schimpf machte den Herzog Albrecht rasend. Wütend drang er auf jene ein, die ihm die Turnier-Schranken nicht öffnen wollten; ich gebe mich nicht mit einer Buhldirne ab,...rief er mit hallender Stimme, Agnes ist meine Gattin, meine Gattin durch das Band der Ehe, geschlossen im Angesicht der heiligen Kirche; und so kam es dann hier selbst zu Thätigkeiten, wobei Herzog Albrecht sogar geschlagen wurde.' It will be noted that Lipowsky has followed Törring in two respects: Albrecht is not allowed to enter the lists, and delivers a passionate speech; but Albrecht's declaration that Agnes Bernauer is his lawfully wedded wife appears to be Lipowsky's own invention. The only authorities that he can bring forward on this point are Adlzreiter's statement that Albrecht openly boasted of his ignoble marriage (p. 92), and Falckenstein, III, 460: 'Albrecht liess sich öffentlich verlauten, er würde sich wider Willen seines Vaters dieselbe als eine rechtmässige Gemahlin antrauen lassen' (p. 93).

Returning to Hebbel's play, we notice a most important resemblance to Lipowsky, and that in a point which has just been shown to be the historian's invention, namely Albrecht's declaration of his marriage at the tournament, and if further evidence were needed that Hebbel was immediately influenced by Lipowsky, it is to be found in the fact that the latter (p. 92) quotes as 'Artikel 10' of the 'Heidelberger und Heilbrunner Turnier-Ordnungen' the phrase 'welcher vom Adel geboren und herkommen ist,...und Frauen und Jungfrauen schwächte...', and that Ernst in Hebbel's drama also orders the 'Marschall' to read this article and the official thereupon uses the identical words quoted by Lipowsky.

¹ Lipowsky, p. 93.

² I have quoted the passage (Lipowsky, pp. 25, 26) because of its resemblance to Hebbel's description of the scene.

Act IV, sc. 2: Lipowsky relates (p. 29) that it was rumoured that Agnes Bernauer had poisoned the little Prince Adolf, and he shows at some length that the charge was a base calumny. Hebbel has enlarged here; in his drama the Bavarian people attribute the death of Herzog Wilhelm and his wife as well as that of their son Adolf to Agnes's evil machinations. To this and the following point I shall have occasion to return later.

Act IV, sc. 4: Lipowsky (p. 29) states that as long as Herzog Wilhelm lived, Agnes Bernauer was safe; this may have given Hebbel the idea of making Agnes's life depend on that of Adolf.

The following passages from Lipowsky perhaps influenced Hebbel's conception of the problem of *Agnes Bernauer*; they are however of minor importance, as Hebbel already found the same idea fully treated in Törring's drama. 'Nun war die Liebesgeschichte...eine Staatsangelegenheit, wichtig genug für Baiern, und längere Nachsicht schien dem Herzog Ernst...selbst Verbrechen gegen sein Volk, gegen Baiern, zu seyn' (p. 31), and 'der Rath erklärte die Heurath...als ein Staatsverbrechen, das nur durch den Verlust ihres Lebens könnte abgebußt werden'¹ (compare drama, Act IV, sc. 3: 'ja sogar wegen blosser Eingehung einer solchen Ehe...vom Leben zum Tode gebracht werden dürfe').

The next point is of more importance; Lipowsky (p. 27) relates that immediately after the tournament, Agnes Bernauer was publicly acknowledged Duchess of Bavaria and taken in pomp from Vohburg to Straubing. This exactly corresponds to Hebbel's Act IV, sc. 5: 'Nichts hat mich so verdrossen, als das Gepränge, mit dem er sie gleich nach dem Regensburger Tag, einer Herzogin gleich, von Vohburg nach Straubing führte,' and Agnes's speech (Act IV, sc. 7) beginning 'Was sonst? Ich seh' schon bei Tage einmal...'

In regard to the question of Agnes choosing her own grave, to which Hebbel attached so much importance ('der ganze Character liegt darin'²), it may be mentioned that in the 'Stiftungsurkunden' quoted by Lipowsky (pp. 150—169), reference is made to the lamp for 'ain ewigs liecht' which in the drama is the last gift Agnes is ever to ask from her husband.

Act V: Lipowsky (p. 36) is the only writer who relates that the execution was entrusted to Nusperger. This statement appears to be Lipowsky's own invention, for he mentions in a note (p. 103) that he has not been able to ascertain the names of Agnes's judges, but that

¹ Lipowsky, p. 35.

² Letter of Jan. 26, 1852 (*Bw.*, IV, 348).

Oeffele gives a list of Ernst's 'Räthe' in 1433, among whom are Nusperg and Degenberg; he further states (pp. 105 f.) that the former was 'Richter zu Straubing' at the time of Agnes's murder and 'da es unter der Würde eines Vitzthums von Niederbaiern war, der Vollziehung des Todesurtheils von Amtswegen beizuwohnen, und daher solches dem Richter von Straubing oblag,...so werde ich keine irrige Meinung wagen, wenn ich behaupte, dass der Vizedom von Straubing ...gar keinen Antheil an der Aburtheilung der Agnes Bernauerin hatte.' Hebbel has therefore again followed Lipowsky in a point which is that historian's invention.

Act v, sc. 8: Lipowsky also mentions (p. 40) that Albrecht allied himself with Ludwig of Ingolstadt and invaded Bavaria: 'Dörfer loderten in Flammen...und Bauern wurden...geplündert...ja selbst getödtet. Kein Feind konnte im Lande grausamer wüthen' (pp. 42—3). This is exactly what occurs in the drama. Compare especially Lipowsky, p. 38: 'so will ich...an meinem Vater, an meinem Vaterlande, und an allen, die Ursache dieses grausamen Mordes waren, schräkliche Rache nehmen,' with the beginning of scene 8.

Act v, sc. 9: Lipowsky (p. 43) relates that Albrecht is victorious and that Ernst sends to Kaiser Sigmund asking him 'ein Schreiben an seinen Sohn zu erlassen' (p. 44). Lipowsky also gives a copy of the exact instructions given by Ernst to his official for the journey (p. 175). These are important as showing that Hebbel must have been aware how widely the historical Ernst differed from his own conception of him. This point again will be discussed later: for the present it need only be noted that no other writer consulted by Hebbel mentions any interference on the part of the Emperor and that Hebbel no doubt here enlarged on Lipowsky.

B. HEBBEL'S INDEBTEDNESS TO OTHER HISTORICAL WORKS AND CHRONICLES¹.

I. HISTORIES OF BAVARIA.

The only two histories of Bavaria which can be shown to have directly influenced Hebbel's play are those to which he refers so contemptuously in the letter to Dingelstedt, namely Mannert's and Falckenstein's. Both writers devote considerable space to the murder of Agnes Bernauer and strongly censure the deed. It is to be noted that in the case of conflicting records Falckenstein is very careful to

¹ Cf. R. M. Werner's notes to *Agnes Bernauer*, S. W., III, 445—478.

state all sides of the question, while Mannert as a rule only gives one version. In such a case it will be seen that Hebbel has nearly always followed Mannert.

Again I have only noted resemblances when similar passages do not occur in any other of Hebbel's sources.

1. MANNERT'S 'GESCHICHTE BAYERNs.'

'Personennamen.' On p. 251 of Vol. I Mannert gives a list of noble Bavarian families, from which Hebbel seems to have taken the names Seyboltsdorf and Leubolfing (Hebbel writes Läubelfing). The names Preysing and Törring also occur in the list, but are not necessarily taken from Mannert; Törring was no doubt inserted as a compliment to Graf Törring and Preising may have been taken from Törring's drama. On p. 217 Mannert mentions 'Ortenburg'; Ortenberg was the name which Hebbel gave to one of Albrecht's friends in his original MS. until the fourth act, when he substituted 'Frauenhoven.'

Mannert has not influenced the plot of the drama in the same degree as Lipowsky; as was to be expected, borrowings mainly occur in the references to Bavarian history. Curiously enough, Hebbel seems to have used Mannert almost entirely in Acts III and IV and then chiefly in the scenes between Ernst and Preising.

Act III, sc. 1: This scene is strongly influenced by Mannert; the following are the chief points: (1) 'Ich kann's nicht lassen, und es ärgert mich doch immer wieder von Neuem. Das war Baiern einst, und das ist Baiern jetzt!...Aber wie mancher alte Mann muss noch leben, der der Zeit noch recht gut gedenkt, wo Tyrol und Brandenburg und das fette Holland...unser war.' Mannert heads chapters 12, 13, 14 of Book II 'Bayerns Theilung und Sinken—Brandenburg verloren—Holland verloren'; and on p. 333 draws attention to the size of Bavaria under Kaiser Ludwig. This is obviously responsible for Ernst's retrospection. (2) '...die ganze Reihe von Thorheiten..., durch die das Alles verloren ging! Nein, wie Ihr gewirthschaftet habt!' Mannert (p. 334) also strongly blames the conduct of Kaiser Ludwig's sons, and he attributes the cause of Bavaria's decay to their stupidity and folly. Falckenstein, on the other hand, has no word of blame for Ludwig's descendants. (3) 'Kaiser Ludwig..., der Du jeden Feind bestandst, ausgenommen den letzten, heimlichen, ohne Namen und Gesicht...wenn der Giftmischer sich nicht mit Wein und Brot gegen Dich verschworen und Dich vor der Zeit ausgethan hätte!' Here Hebbel takes it for granted that Kaiser

Ludwig was poisoned. Similarly Mannert (p. 330) gives his opinion: 'dass Gift sein Leben kürzte, ist schwerlich zu bezweifeln; woher das Gift kam, weiss niemand.' Hebbel has again followed Mannert rather than Falckenstein (p. 288), who thinks it is most likely that the Emperor died a natural death.

Hebbel's conception of Ernst's character was certainly influenced by Mannert's praise of his beneficent rule (p. 469): 'Friede herrschte in seinen Bezirken...das Land erholte sich allmählich von den fürchterlichen Verwüstungen des frühern Krieges. München...hatte einen Vater an ihm gefunden;...mit dem freyen Handel wuchs Wohlhabenheit...Die Anhänglichkeit der Bürger an den Landesherrn zeigte sich weniger durch Worte als durch Handlungen.' These passages apply exactly to Hebbel's Herzog Ernst and are peculiar to Mannert among Hebbel's sources; no other writer consulted by him praises Ernst in the same degree.

Act III, sc. 6: Ernst's interview with Preising. In this scene also there are several resemblances to Mannert, again mainly in points of Bavarian history. *Preising*: 'Das wär' wohl das erste Mal, dass Herzog Wilhelm Etwas wollte, was Ew. Gnaden nicht wollen!' *Ernst*: 'Eben darum soll man ihn nie vorbei gehen!' corresponds to Mannert: 'Was dieser [Ernst] that, genehmigte Wilhelm, und er that nichts, ohne sich mit Wilhelm zu berathen' (p. 468).

Ernst's reference to the 'Kurhut' ('das hat Kaiser Rudolf durch seinen doppelten Spruch so verwickelt') is fully explained by Mannert (p. 278). In 1275 Kaiser Rudolf decided that the 'Kurwürde' belonged to Bavaria, but in 1290 conferred it on his son-in-law, the king of Bohemia. Falckenstein does not mention this. *Ernst*: '...es ist die Strafe uns'rer eig'nen Jugendsünden, dass wir gegen die unserer Kinder nachsichtig sein müssen,' corresponds exactly to Mannert (p. 470): 'Die Liebeshändel erfuhr der Vater und drückte seiner eignen Jugendzeit sich erinnernd, ein Auge zu.' On p. 457 Mannert comments on the 'Scharfsinn' of Ludwig der Höckerige of Ingolstadt; this no doubt is responsible for Hebbel's anecdote of 'der Burggraf von Nürnberg, der kleine Buckligte.' *Ernst*: '...mein Bruder soll die Ausschreibungen auf der Stelle erlassen,...das ist ein Geschäft für ihn!' may be traced to Mannert's reference to Wilhelm's 'Vorliebe zu äusserer Pracht' (p. 468).

Hebbel makes two references to Margaretha von Kärnten, the daughter-in-law of Kaiser Ludwig. In Act III, sc. 10 Preising tells Albrecht how his ancestor Ludwig, son of the Emperor, married the ugly Margaretha, heiress of Tyrol, and by this act earned the thanks of his subjects, who 'unter seiner Regierung das Salz noch einmal so billig

kauften,...und ihn...dafür segneten!’ Both Falckenstein and Mannert speak of this marriage, but neither depicts Ludwig as sacrificing himself for the good of his country. On the contrary, Mannert states (p. 326) that Ludwig specially desired the marriage, as the acquisition of Tyrol would facilitate an invasion of Italy. Hebbel, who of course wished the moral to be brought home to Albrecht, perhaps built up his view of the marriage from this note (Mannert, p. 332): ‘München sollte [unter Kaiser Ludwig] Mittelpunkt des Salzhandels seyn,’ and Falckenstein’s remark (p. 277): ‘Der Sohn...bezeugte keine sonderbare Lust darzu, denn es mochte ihm eines Theils ihre unangenehme Bildung missfallen.’ In the unimportant point with regard to the number of Ludwig and Margaretha’s children, Hebbel has again followed Mannert in preference to Falckenstein. In Act IV, sc. 4, Preising recalls to Ernst that Barbarossa dissolved his own marriage and Ludwig der Bayer that of his son. The second statement is incorrect; not Kaiser Ludwig’s son, but his future daughter-in-law (Margaretha of Kärnten, known as ‘Maultasch’), was divorced by him from her first husband. It may seem curious that Hebbel, who, only a few scenes back, had referred to the same Margaretha, should have made this slip, but Hebbel considered a few anachronisms added to the ‘naturalness’ of an historical drama¹.

As regards the question of the divorce itself, Hebbel again follows Mannert, who states (p. 326) as a certainty: ‘Kaiser Ludwig unterzog sich dem Geschäfte selbst....Er hatte gehandelt nach römischem Rechte als Kaiser,’ and quotes among other examples of such a divorce the identical one cited by Hebbel: ‘Friedrich I hatte sich von seiner ersten Gemahlin geschieden.’ Falckenstein, on the other hand, as usual states both sides of the question (p. 279) and favours the view that the Church also sanctioned the decree.

Act IV, sc. 4: In Ernst’s second interview with Preising there are two other passages which show the influence of Mannert. (1) Ernst refers to Heinrich of Landshut as ‘Fuchs,’ while Mannert lays emphasis on his slyness (p. 434). (2) Mannert’s words ‘Entfernung, Verschliesen in ein Kloster...führte nicht zum Zwecke; die einmal gültige Ehe war gültig bis zum Tode des einen Theils’ must have been in Hebbel’s mind when he wrote ‘Hier hilft kein Kloster, nur der Tod!’

Act IV, sc. 8: Hebbel agrees with Mannert (p. 470) and differs from the other sources in stating that Albrecht was absent at a tournament when Agnes Bernauer was murdered. Mannert does not mention

¹ Letter of Dec. 2, 1858 (*Bw.*, VI, 215).

the place, but Hebbel no doubt chose Ingolstadt because of its proximity to Straubing and because he had followed Lipowsky as regards Albert's alliance with Ludwig of Ingolstadt.

2. FALCKENSTEIN'S 'GESCHICHTEN DES HERZOGTHUMS BAYERN.'

This work does not seem to have influenced Hebbel's play as much as Mannert's. With the exception of a few minor points, almost the only scene where a direct influence can be traced, is Ernst's second interview with Preising (Act IV, sc. 5). Falckenstein (p. 461) quotes at length a passage from the *Germania Princeps*, which deals with the murder of Agnes Bernauer. The anonymous author of this work strongly condemns the deed and points out the cruelty involved in killing a beautiful and innocent girl (compare Hebbel, 'aber es ist doch entsetzlich, dass sie sterben soll, bloss weil sie schön und sittsam war'). Perhaps, he goes on to say, she had sinned through ignorance and Albrecht had obtained her consent by force (cf. Hebbel, Act V, sc. 2): *Preising*: '...warum willst Du einen Platz nicht freiwillig wieder aufgeben, den Du doch nur gezwungen einnahmst?' *Agnes*: 'Gezwungen? So also wird meine Angst...ausgelegt?' The writer then suggests that Agnes might have been kidnapped, her place of abode kept secret, and Albrecht married to someone else. In the drama Preising proposes the very same expedient to avoid the murder of Agnes and also suggests divorce, which as we have just seen may be traced to Mannert. It is to be noted that, as Falckenstein does not believe Albrecht and Agnes were married, he fully approves of the reasoning of the *Germania Princeps* and also thinks Albrecht's marriage to another would have been advisable; with Hebbel, of course, this is impossible (*Ernst*: 'ich sollte ihm das zweite Weib geben, so lange das erste noch lebte'). Falckenstein puts all the blame on Ernst's councillors, who ought to have given their master better advice and considered the consequences, for Albrecht might have gone mad or taken his life (cf. Act IV, sc. 4: 'Wird er nicht rasen und Hand an sich legen?'). Lipowsky (p. 111) gives a long quotation from Falckenstein on the death of Agnes Bernauer, including the extract from the *Germania Princeps*, and thus Hebbel might have taken all the points noted above from Lipowsky.

The very few passages in the play which can be shown to have been borrowed from Falckenstein alone are given below; they are neither important nor conclusive.

Act IV, sc. 2: Falckenstein (p. 453) refers to the divergence of

opinion on the death of Herzog Wilhelm's wife; some chronicles record that she died very shortly after her husband, others that she contracted a second marriage. In the drama the duchess dies at the same time as her husband, for Hebbel wished Agnes Bernauer to appear responsible for the deaths of several people.

Act IV, sc. 3: The *Germania Princeps*, quoted again by Falckenstein (p. 460), lays special emphasis on the fact that Ernst consulted his counsellors 'die denn einmüthig dahin stimmeten, er könne gar wohl die Bernauerin aus dem Wege räumen lassen.' Perhaps we have here the germ of Hebbel's 'rechtliches Gutachten rechtskundiger Männer¹', especially as Adlzreiter's defence of the murder is mentioned and in the drama he is one of the three lawyers who draw up the condemnation.

Act V, sc. 6: Hebbel's account of Agnes's death seems to point to another source, for he differs in the description of her execution from all the authorities. Falckenstein as usual gives several versions (p. 460) and one of these, namely, the casting of Agnes from a bridge, comes nearest to Hebbel. There is, however, no mention of the 'Höriger' who plays such a prominent part in Hebbel's version.

Act V, sc. 10: Falckenstein (p. 463) states more definitely than Mannert that Ernst allowed Albrecht to rule over a great part of the dukedom during his lifetime. This may have influenced the abdication of Ernst in the drama, which is strictly speaking unhistorical, but it should also be remembered that as far back as 1845, when Hebbel was considering the kingship in many aspects, he came to the conclusion that any violation of the kingly power must necessarily be followed by abdication. So probably Ernst's abdication is not to be looked for in any of the sources, but is an inherent part of the 'idea.'

II. CHRONICLES OF AUGSBURG.

On October 15, 1851, whilst engaged in the composition of *Agnes Bernauer*, Hebbel made notes in his diary from P. von Stetten's *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, and it can be shown that he also consulted Werlich's translation of Welser's *Chronica der Stadt Augsburg*. As was to be expected, Hebbel has used these books mainly for the first two acts of the drama, where the scene is laid in Augsburg and he required local colouring.

On a careful perusal one cannot fail to be struck by the fact that Hebbel has really borrowed very little from the wealth of detail to be

¹ Cf. *Briefwechsel*, edited by Bamberg, II, 206.

found in the chronicles; thus, for example, absolutely no use is made of the lengthy and minute description of Augsburg. It will be seen that Hebbel has merely taken a few facts from the history of the town; he could get no additional information about Agnes Bernauer, for Werlich does not mention her, and Stetten relates her death in a very few words.

As Stetten and Werlich in many cases record exactly the same facts, I have first noted those passages which may have been influenced by one or the other writer.

'Personennamen.' Werlich and Stetten often refer to Marschall Pappenheim (thus Werlich, p. 168; Stetten, p. 164) and to Hermann Nördlinger, Bürgermeister of Augsburg (Werlich, pp. 164, 165; Stetten, p. 120); also the Ritter Haydeck mentioned by Hebbel in Act III, sc. 10 and Act V, sc. 8, was evidently suggested by Rudolf von Heydeck, referred to by both Werlich (p. 151) and Stetten (p. 144).

Act I, sc. 15¹: 'Seit jenem unseligen Katharinen-Abend, wo wir den Pöbel mit in den Rath aufnehmen mussten².' Both Werlich and Stetten give a full account of what occurred on October 21, 1368, when the 'Zünfte' forced the patricians to admit them to a share in the government of the town.

As regards the Emperor's assent to the 'Zunftbrief' ('Kaiser und Reich hätten uns besser beistehen sollen'), Hebbel has followed Werlich alone (p. 115: 'Keyser Carl hat keine einzige Einred gehabt'), for Stetten relates (p. 117) that the consent of the Emperor was obtained with great difficulty and only after one embassy had been unsuccessful. On the other hand, the conclusion of the same speech ('Wir hatten genug zu tun, dass wir uns nur nicht selbst unter die Metzger und Handschuhmacher aufnehmen lassen...mussten') is taken from Stetten, pp. 115—116 ('Die Handwerker verlangten von den Geschlechtern, dass sie sich in ihre Zünften begeben, und also der Geschlechters-Stand und Gesellschaft völlig aufgehoben werden solle;...allein der meiste Theil wollte sich durchaus hiezu nicht bequemen, und lieber die Stadt meiden'). This example is very typical of Hebbel's use of the sources: he does not keep to one even for a single incident, but selects from several as suits his purpose. Thus, half the Bürgermeister's speech is taken from Werlich and half from Stetten.

Act II, sc. 3 and 8: Concerning Caspar Bernauer's reference to the Vehmgericht, it is to be noted that Stetten and Werlich often mention

¹ Werlich, p. 165, and Stetten, p. 154, refer to the 'Tantz-Hauss' where the scene of Act I, scene 15, is laid.

² This incident was doubtless inserted to depict the disintegration of society at the close of the Middle Ages.

‘das heimliche Westphälische Fehm-Gericht’; for example, Stetten (p. 161), immediately after the short notice of the death of Agnes Bernauer, relates that thirty-two citizens of Augsburg were appointed ‘Schöffen und Richter des...Fehm-Gerichts.’

Act III, sc. 7: Albrecht speaks of the view from the windows of the castle of Vohburg as ‘ein wahrer Lug in’s Land.’ It is interesting to notice that both Werlich and Stetten¹ repeatedly refer to the tower near Augsburg named on account of its height ‘Lug ins Land.’

INDEBTEDNESS TO WERLICH ALONE.

I have only been able to find two passages where the influence of Werlich apart from Stetten can be traced.

Act I, sc. 16: *Frauenhoven*: ‘Ist es wahr,...dass der Boden von Augsburg keine Ratten duldet?’ *Bürgermeister*: ‘Gewiss...Das war schon so zu den Zeiten des Drusus.’ In the introduction to his work, in which he describes Augsburg, Werlich (p. 1) uses exactly the same words (‘der Bodem [von Augspurg]...duldet keine Ratten’); Werlich (p. 8) and Stetten (p. 7) both mention Drusus.

Act IV, sc. 2: A peasant brings Duke Ernst a huge ear of corn. Werlich (p. 165) notes ‘eine grosse Wolfeile im Getreydt’ in the year 1427.

INDEBTEDNESS TO STETTEN ALONE.

‘Personennamen.’ I have not been able to find the name ‘Knip-peldollinger’ in any of the sources, but Stetten (p. 137) speaks of a certain Stadtvogt Dollinger.

Act I, sc. 18: The *Bürgermeister* tells how his cousin Juliana Peutinger when only four years old welcomed the Emperor with a Latin speech. Stetten (p. 258) also relates this incident, but under the year 1504.

Act III, sc. 6: Ernst’s reference to the blocking of the Lech—‘dass er uns von den Augsburgern nicht wieder auf einen Wink des Kaisers versperrt werden kann, wie anno Neunzehn bei den Bischofhändeln!’ corresponds exactly to Stetten’s version. He records (p. 148) that in 1419 ‘hielten Hertzog Ernst und Wilhelm von Bayern...die Strassen gegen der Stadt gesperret. Dahero dann der Kayser bewogen worden, den Augspurgern zu befehlen, dass sie den Lech-Strom gleichfalls gegen Bayern schützen, schirmen und verschlagen sollen.’ Werlich (p. 156)

¹ For example Stetten page 250 and Werlich page 167.

has related the incident in quite a different manner. According to him Ludwig of Bavaria blockaded the Lech against the people of Augsburg.

There remain only the two passages from Stetten, which Hebbel noted in his diary on Oct. 15, 1851.

(1) '1418 Zigeuner zuerst in Augsburg.' In Act IV, sc. 9, Agnes speaks of the gypsies passing through Straubing. (2) Hebbel notes the name Susanna Neidhart and the date 1496. Under that year Stetten describes the visit of Prince Philip to Augsburg, the dances and tournaments given in his honour and tells how the prince danced with the beautiful patrician Susanna Neidhart. This statement may have influenced the last scenes of the first act of the drama, where Albrecht meets Agnes at a dance.

One other chronicle must be noted which seems only to have influenced one sentence of Hebbel's drama. This is an anonymous translation of Veit Arnpeck's *Chronicon Boioariae*.

Act III, sc. 8: *Albrecht*: 'Agnes, hat man's Dir schon gesagt, dass der rothe Wein, wenn Du ihn trinkst durch den Alabaster Deines Halses hindurch leuchtet, als ob man ihn aus einen Kristall in den andern gösse?' The translation of Arnpeck's Latin chronicle describes Agnes Bernauer in very similar words, 'man sagt, dass sie so hübsch gewesen sey, wann sie roten wein getrunckhen hett, So hett man ihr den Wein in der khel hinab gehen sehen' (Freyberg, p. 174). A. Neumann (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xxx, p. 250) has shown that this passage was not contained in the original Latin, but was added by the translator, and S. Riezler¹ mentions that this was a favourite trait for the delineation of female beauty in the middle ages. As there seems to be no other point of resemblance in this chronicle to Hebbel's play and as the passage referred to occurs immediately after the mention of Agnes's burial, it is very probable that Hebbel merely read the short account of her on p. 174.

AGNES LÖWENSTEIN.

LONDON.

¹ S. Riezler, *Untersuchungen über Agnes Bernauer und die bairischen Herzoge* (Sitzungsber. der Münchener Akademie, xv, 1885, p. 289).

(To be continued.)

THE DIALECT OF THE TEXT OF THE NORTHUMBRIAN GENEALOGIES.

THE text of the Northumbrian Genealogies is edited by Dr Sweet in *The Oldest English Texts* (pp. 167—171). In his introductory remarks the editor quotes the following information about the MS. from the letter-press accompanying Plate 165 of the publications of the Palæographical Society (Part X, 1880), which gives a facsimile of part of the MS. Additions have been made to the lists in later times, but an examination of the portions due to the first hand proves that the MS. was written between the years 811 and 814. The last name in the list of popes, by the first hand, is that of Leo III, who died in 816; the last king is Coenuulf of Mercia who died in 819; and among the latest of the bishops in the different dioceses are some who succeeded about the year 811, and others who died in 814. The fact that the latest recorded succession among the kings is one of the house of Mercia, points to that kingdom as the part of England where the MS. was written. The character of the writing confirms this view, being of the same school as that of the Mercian charters of the same period. But the editor remarks: 'The fact of the royal genealogies beginning with Northumbria is an equally strong argument in favour of the assumption of a Northumbrian scribe, which is further confirmed by their being preceded by a work of the Northumbrian Bede, and the want of Northumbrian charters makes the evidence of handwriting doubtful.' In the following article an attempt will be made to solve the problem of the text's place of origin, by inquiring how far the scribe has modified the forms of names drawn from four dialectal areas, Kentish, Saxon, Mercian and Northumbrian, in the direction of his own dialect.

I. The Kentish group of names (1—4, 10—11, 111—116).

(a) In the Kt. names the symbols *æ* (originally for low-front-wide) and *e* (orig. for mid-front-wide) are not confused as is commonly the case in nearly all Kt. charters¹; *æ* corresponds to W. Gmc. *a* in *iaen*-4, *-daeg* 115, and *e* to W. Gmc. *e* in *-helm* 10, *ueg*- 115, *geb*- 10, to W. Gmc.

¹ Weightman, in *Eng. Stud.*, xxxv, 337 ff.

a-j in *ecg-* 112, and prim. O.E. *ā-i* in *hengest* 114. Nothing can be inferred from the two forms *ēil-* 113 and *æðil-* 112, as the *e* of the former may be an unrounded form of *ē*. As early as the end of the eighth century *æ* no longer represented a pure low-front-wide sound in Kt., but a sound nearly mid-front-wide, under which it was levelled during the ninth century. Even in the earlier charters *æ*, *ē* and *e* are used indiscriminately for prim. O.E. *æ* and *e*, but not to the same extent as in the later charters. But the fact that in these Kt. names *æ* and *e* are not used indiscriminately for two originally different sounds, does not prove that the discrimination is due to a scribe in whose dialect they still possessed different phonetic values. The influence of traditional spelling would still be felt in Kt. even had the two sounds become one, which was not probably the case at the very beginning of the ninth century.

(b) Prim. O.E. *ē* (< W. Gmc. *ā*) is found in *uer-* 11, and *-red* (3). The latter invariably forms the second element of a name, and always contains *e*. It lost its stress early, its vowel consequently being shortened, but not before *ē* had been raised to *ē*. In the pure Kt. charters dated between 679 and 811 (Sw. *O.E.T.*) we find that *e* represents prim. O.E. *ē* 29 times, in *-red* 4/4 etc. (24), *uer-* 33/2, 19, *stret* 5/3, *meg-* 5/3, but *ē* in *wēr-* 33/11 (d. 803), *-rēd* 33/10; *æ* (*ae*) appears three times only, once for prim. O.E. *ā-i* in *-maeri* 4/5, and twice for prim. O.E. *æ* lengthened after loss of *g* in *gæn-* 34/10 (d. 805). This indiscriminate use of *ae*, *ē* and *e* for prim. O.E. *ē* is only found elsewhere in the Merc. dialect of Ru.¹, where *æ* was probably due to Saxon influence.

(c) Prim. O.E. *æ*, *e*, *i* were as a rule diphthongised before certain consonant-combs. in pure Kt. In the first four pure Kt. charters there is no example of the 'breaking' of *æ* before *l*-combs., or of *e* before *r*-combs., the forms which occur being *balth-* 6/3, 7/5, *ald-* 4/5, 7/6, *-uuald* 5/5 (2), *-uualh* 7/5, *-uualla* 7/5, *berht* 4/4 etc. (14), *bern-* 4/6, 5/6. The diphthong from prim. O.E. *æ* before *r*-combs. is variously represented as *a*, *ae*, *aea* in *-hard* 4/5, 6, 7/5, *-haerd* 5/6, *-haeard* 6/3, *-iaeard* 6/4.

In the later charters (770-811). (1) *ea* from prim. O.E. *æ* before *l*-combs. is found in *uealh-* 8/5, 34/4, *ealh-* 33/13, 35/14, *eald-* 34/4, and *ea* from *æ* before *r*-combs. in *eard-* 8/1 etc. (4), *-heard* 33/1 etc. (15), *ieard* 3/4, *geard* 35/5, 13; but *a* in *alh-* 33/5 etc. (4), *ald* 33/3 etc. (4), *-bald* 33/11, 19, *-wald* 34/4, *-waling* 35/7, and *-hard* 33/18.

(2) *eo* from O.E. *e* before *r*-combs. occurs in *beorn-* 32/2 etc. (5), *beorcol* 33/21, but *e* in *-berht* 8/4 etc. always. That *berht* never appears

as *beorht* is probably due to an early fronting of the comb. *rh*. The form *-bericht* found in the Stowe MS. of charter 5/4 (d. 700 or 715) seems to favour this view.

(3) Prim. O.E. *i* before *r*- and *h*-combs. appears as *i* in *irmin*- 4/5, *uiiht*- 5/1, 5 in the earlier charters, and as *i* in *uiiht* 8/5, 33/20, *io* in *wioht* 34/7 in the later.

In the Kt. names in our text diphthongs due to 'breaking' are, with two exceptions, distributed in the same way.

(1) *a* is written before *l*-combs. in *ald*- 10, *-wald* 2, *-bald* 113, and *ea* before *r*-combs. in *eard*- 11, *-heard* 4.

(2) *eo* in *beorn*- 11, but *e* in *berht* (always) 3 etc., and *ercon*- 112.

(3) *i* before *ht* in *wiht*- 115, but *iu* before *rm* in *iurmen*- 114.

The two exceptional forms are *ercon*- and *iurmen*-. As 'smoothing' did not take place in Kt., *ercon* must be regarded as a Merc. or North. form of prim. O.E. **eorcon*. In the Moore-MS. of Bede's *History* (*O.E.T.*, 131 ff.) it appears as *earcon*- 148 etc. (6), *ercon*- 236 etc. (4). In the L.V. names (*O.E.T.*, 153 ff.) it only occurs once, and there appears as *ercin*-. In the North. dialect, but more particularly in North-North., *eo* due to 'breaking' was lowered to *ea* (*æa*?) which in a 'smoothed' form appears as *e* (*æ*), whence *earcon*- and *ercon*- in B.H. Again the diphthong *iu* is not found in Kt. and its presence in a Kt. name is probably due to a non-Kt. scribe. In the North. dialect of L.V. *iu* is frequent.

(d) The absence of the diphthongisation of *e* in *geb*- after a front *g* is characteristic of Kt., Merc. and North.

(e) The form *diora*" is pure Kt. and may be traced back to W.Gmc. *eu* or *iu-i*, as *io* came to represent both *īo* and *ēo* in late Kt. The name also occurs in Sax.-Kt. charters as *diora* 25/11 and *diara* 30/19, both forms showing Kt. influence. In L.V. it appears as *diori*, in which prim. O.E. *īo* (< W. Gmc. *iu-i*) is preserved.

Thus the only two exceptional forms in the Kt. group of names are probably due to a Northumbrian scribe, the remaining forms being preserved unaltered.

II. The Saxon group of names (5—8, 12—25, 45—50).

(a) In the Sax. names there is no instance of the 'breaking' of prim. O.E. *æ* before *l*-combs.; it appears as *a* in *alh*- 22, *ald*- 24, 50, *-wald* 6, 24, *-bald* 7, 21, *-walk* 7. This might be regarded as being due

to a non-Sax. scribe, seeing that in pure W.S., at least, prim. O.E. $\bar{a} > ea$ before l -combs. But on turning to other Saxon texts we find that a is the rule, and ea only the exception. In the first early Sax. charters (*O.E.T.*, 1—3) dated 692–778, in a later charter dated 847, and in the Saxon Genealogies (*O.E.T.*, 179), the MS. of which dates from the second half of the ninth century, we find a in *-uald* cht. 2/1, *bald*- 3/8, *alh*- 20/22, 24, *-wald* S.G. 179/5, *-bald* 179/7, 22, *-uald* chts. 1/6, 2/1, *-bald* 1/7, 3/12 but ea in *ealh*- S.G. 179/3 only. There is therefore no reason for attributing a in our text to a Merc. or North. scribe. Besides, in the second elements of compound words $ea > a$ ($\bar{o}$) even in pure W.S. through want of stress.

(b) In the forms *ercon*- 6 and *-haeh* 6 (from the names of two East-Saxon bishops) ‘smoothing’ of eo and $\bar{e}a$ has apparently taken place. In the only two East-Saxon charters edited in *O.E.T.*, we find the three forms *ercn*- 1/6 (d. 692–3), *-sex*- 1/1, and *-sæx*-, all showing ‘smoothing,’ $eo > e$ before rc , and $ea > e$, $\bar{e}$ before $c(s)$. One is, therefore, justified in assuming that the forms *ercon*- and *-haeh* are pure East-Saxon. The development of ‘smoothing’ in this Saxon patois may have been due to Merc. influence. In a Kt. charter d. 803, *æðelhaeh* 33/6, the name of a Mercian keeps its pure Merc. form. In L.V. *-hēah* appears as *-hech* 68, and *-haeg* 372.

The preservation of io in *uiuiohthun*, the name of a South-Saxon bishop, is probably due to traditional spelling. The same bishop’s name appears as *uiuhthun* in a Kt. charter (33 d. 803). Before ht , io had become i in most dialects (in W.S. $wio > wu$) by the beginning of the ninth century. *Uuict* or *uiiht* is always the spelling in L.V. and B.H.

(c) The continental forms *agil*- 17 and *leutherius* 18 are left unaltered. In L.V. *agil*- is always *egil*-.

(d) The spelling $\bar{o}e$ ($< \bar{o}-i$) in *coen*- 7 is not due to a non-Saxon scribe, for it occurs in the two East-Saxon charters mentioned under II. b.

There is therefore no form among the Saxon names, which cannot be shown to be characteristic of other Saxon texts.

III. The Mercian group of names (26—41, 91—110, 117—121).

The Merc. names exhibit on the whole the same developments as the forms which occur in Merc. charters (*O.E.T.*, 9—16, 46—8).

(a) Prim. O.E. *æ* (< W. Gmc. *a* isolatively treated) remains in *æsc*- 28, *caed*- 108, as also in *iaen*- cht. 46/1, and *aet*, *waes*, *ðæt*, *ðæs* etc. 47 (d. 846).

(b) Prim. O.E. *æ* (< W. Gmc. *a-i*) is spelt *ae* and *e* in *æðil*- 29, 91, *eðil*- 118, *uuæren*- 40. The forms *aethyl*-, *eðil*-, *edil*- cht. 9 (d. 736) also show this same confusion of symbols. In the same way *ae* and *e* are used in the forms *aelf*- 30, *cuelde*- 108, for prim. O.E. *æ* before *l* + combinations + *i*. In chts. 13/5, 15/6, and 16/5 *aelf*- only is found.

(c) W. Gmc. *ā* which was fronted to *ē* in Merc. is found in *uuer*- 30, 94 and *-red* 40. The first form is also spelt *uuær*- 94. The charters have *e* in *uer*- 15/6, 16/5, *-red* 10/1 (*réd*), 3, 46/6, *legeo* 10/2, and *werun* (pret. pl.) 48/17, but *æ* in *-flæd* 13/5. In the form *raeð*- 47/3 *ae* represents *ē* (< *ō-i*). In the Merc. dialect of Ru.¹ also prim. O.E. *ā* (< W. Gmc. *ā*) is written *ae* and *e*. In North. texts the symbols are never confused.

(d) *Ceadda* (beside *caed*-) with the diphthongisation of prim. O.E. *æ* after front *c* is a regular Merc. development as is shown by similar forms in Ru.¹

(e) In the following forms the diphthongs have been 'smoothed'
 (1) *ea* > *ae* before *c(s)* in *saex*- 35 etc. (3), (2) *ēa* > *āe* before *g(h)* in *-laeg* 95, (3) *eo* > *e* before *rh* in *berht* 24 etc. (14), (4) *io* > *i* before *h* in *uiht*- 95, (5) *īo* > *ī* before *h* in *-uuih* 98. In the charters the forms with diphthongs are numerous (1) *ea* > *ae* before *c(s)* in *saex*- 11/2 (d. 767), and *e* before *rg* in *hergae* 11/2, (2) *ēa* remains before *h* in *-leah*, *-leu* 47/2, (3) *eo* > *e* before *c(s)* in *sex* 47/15, before *rc* in *bercol* 9/7, and before *rh* in *berht* (50). In *beorg* the diphthong remains. (4) *īo* > *ī* before *h* in *uiiht*- (4), and *bituih* 11/2, but remains in *uuiht* (2) and *uueoht* (1).

(f) In Merc. back-umlaut was more fully developed than in the other dialects. In these names, however, we find *al(u)*- 98 and *waðol*- 95, by the side of *heaðo*- 28, *headda* 36, and *frioð(u)*- 110. In the same way *heaðo*- and *haðo*- occur together in the charters.

The only non-Merc. forms are *-geot* 94 etc. (5), *eost*- 117, and *eamer* 93, which are probably due to a North. scribe. In the South-North. dialect of L.V. and Ru.² W. Gmc. *au* apparently became *ēo*, whence *-geot* for W.S. *gēat* and *eost*- for *ēast*, while prim. O.E. *e* before 'breaking' combs. became *ea* regularly in North-North. and sporadically in South-North., whence *eamer* for *ēomer* < **eoh-mær*-.

IV. The Northumbrian group of names (42—44, 51—69, 72—90).

(a) In North. prim. O.E. *æ* remains, as here in *blaec*- 90, *-daeg* 76; *eðil*- (3) may be another form of *æðil*- (2) and not of *œðil*- (1). In L.V. *eðil*- is the usual form.

(b) W. Gmc. *ā* regularly gives *ē* in North. as in *sueb*- 75, *bel*- 82, and *-red*. The symbol *æ* is not found at all.

(c) In the South-North. dialect, as we have seen, W. Gmc. *au* became *ēo* (*āo*?). In these names *ean*- 3, *ead*- (3), *eat*- (1), *frea*- (2), and *eata* (3) are spelt with *ea*, but *eota* (1), and *-geot* (2) with *eo*. In the L.V. names, also, *ea* is far more numerous than *eo*. It is only in Ru.², that *eo* becomes the regular symbol.

(d) In North. *īo* (< Gmc. *eu-i*) was not levelled under *ēo* (< Gmc. *eu*) as in Merc. and W.S., hence *io* in *liod*- 87 is correct North.

(e) In *peht*- 68(2), and *-berht* (11) the diphthongs have been 'smoothed' as in regular North. In the form *-wio*- (< **wīh*) 79 *h* perhaps disappeared before the 'smoothing' period.

(f) The forms *heaðo*-, *beað(u)*-, *frioðo*- (2) show back-umlaut of prim. O.E. *æ* and *i*, but in *alusa* and *uestor*- the diphthong is wanting.

All these forms are therefore regular North.

The results yielded by this analysis of the forms of the names are :

(a) The scribe preserved the native dialectal forms of most of the names unmodified.

(b) The North. forms *-geot*, *eost*- and *eamer* in Merc. names point to Northumbria as the locality where the list was compiled.

(c) The theory of the North. authorship of the list is corroborated, firstly by the occurrence of the diphthong *iu* in one Kt. name, and of the 'smoothing' of *eo* in another, secondly by the retention of *īo* in the Kt. name *diora*, and in the Merc. name *crioda*, and thirdly by the normal character of the North. names.

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DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN AND THE POETS OF THE PLÉIADE.

IN an article on *The Scottish Sonneteers and the French Poets*, in the *Modern Language Review* (Oct., 1907), I showed that Drummond of Hawthornden had borrowed the matter of a large number of his sonnets from those of the French poet Desportes¹. I was then under the impression that, in spite of his acquaintance with the works of several other French poets of the second half of the sixteenth century, Drummond did not appear to have been directly influenced by them. However a closer investigation has established the fact that the Scottish poet likewise drew on the works of more than one poet of the Pléiade. In view of Drummond's debt to Desportes, I could not persuade myself that he owed nothing to Ronsard in particular. I have accordingly gone through again, and carefully compared his sonnets with those of the chief of the Pléiade, and although the Scotchman naturally proceeds with even more than usual wariness, there can be no doubt that several of his sonnets present refashionings of certain sonnets of his famous predecessor, whose works were well known to Drummond, the *Amours*, the *Franciade*, the *Hymnes* and other of his works figuring among the lists of books read which Drummond was wont to draw up between 1606 and 1614.

Sonnet XIII reproduces, with some variations in the phraseology, Sonnet LIV of *Amours*, I:

O sacred blush, impurpling cheek's pure skies With crimson wings which spread thee like the morn;	O doux parler dont les mots douxereux Sont engravés au fond de ma memoire!
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¹ It may be added that the opening lines of Sonnet XII of *The Second Part* of Drummond's *Poems* are translated from the fifth sonnet of Desportes *Regrets Funèbres sur la Mort de Diane*, and that the piece included in the *Miscellanies* under the rubric *Regret* is an adaptation, in a different form, of the twenty-third sonnet of *Cléonice* (ed. Michiels, p. 190).

O bashful look, sent from those shining
 eyes,
 Which, though cast down on earth,
 couldst heaven adorn;
 O tongue, in which most luscious nectar
 lies,
 That can at once both bless and make
 forlorn;
 Dear coral lip, which beauty beautifies,
 That trembling stood ere that her words
 were born;
 And you her words, words, no, but golden
 chains,
 Which did captive mine ears, ensnare
 my soul,
 Wise image of her mind, mind that
 contains
 A power, all power of senses to control;
 Ye all from love dissuade so sweetly
 me,
 That I love more, if more my love
 could be.

O front, d'Amour le trofée et la gloire,
 O doux sourcis, ô baisers savoureux!
 O cheveux d'or, ô coustaux plantureux
 De lis, d'œillets, de porphyre et d'yvoire!
 O feux jumeaux, d'où le ciel me fit boire
 A si longs traits le venin amoureux!
 O vermeillons! ô perlettes encloses!
 O diamants! ô lis pourprés de roses!
 O chant qui peut les plus durs émouvoir,
 Et dont l'accent dans les âmes demeure.
 Eh! dea! beautés, reviendra jamais
 l'heure
 Qu'entre mes bras je vous puisse ravoir?

Sonnet xxxvii ('Of Cytherea's birds, that milk-white pair') is clearly suggested by a similar composition on the same theme in Ronsard's *Amours*, II, No. LXII ('Que dis-tu, que fais-tu, pensive tourterelle?').

The beautiful Sonnet XLVI offers a good example of how Drummond could transform a colourless canvas into a glowing picture:

Alexis, here she stay'd; among these
 pines,
 Sweet hermitress, she did alone repair;
 Here did she spread the treasure of her
 hair,
 More rich than that brought from the
 Colchian mines.
 She set her by these musked eglantines,
 The happy place the print seems yet to
 bear;
 Her voice did sweeten here thy sugar'd
 lines,
 To which winds, trees, beasts, birds, did
 lend their ear.
 Me here she first perceived, and here
 a morn
 Of bright carnations did o'erspread her
 face;
 Here did she sigh, here first my hopes
 were born,
 And I first got a pledge of promis'd
 grace:
 But ah! what serv'd it to be happy so,
 Sith passed pleasures double but new
 woe?

Voicy le bois que ma sainte Angelette
 Sur le printemps anima de son chant;
 Voicy les fleurs où son pied va marchant,
 Lorsque, pensive, elle s'ébat seulette;
 Io, voicy la prée verdelette,
 Qui prend vigueur de sa main la touchant,
 Quand pas à pas, pillarde, va cherchant
 Le bel émail de l'herbe nouvelette.
 Icy chanter, là pleurer je la vy
 Icy sourire, et là je fu ravy
 De ses beaux yeux par lesquels je des-vie;
 Icy s'asseoir, là je la vy danser:
 Sus le mestier d'un si vague penser
 Amour ourdit les trames de ma vie.

This indeed is the best kind of imitation, the imitation or rather assimilation of the kind the Pléiade preached, but which they did not always practise.

The indebtedness of Drummond to Ronsard is further illustrated by Sonnet XLVIII, which reproduces, with certain variations, Sonnet XII of *Amours Diverses*:

Hair, precious hair which Midas' hand did strain,	Doux cheveux, doux présent de ma douce maistresse,
Part of the wreath of gold that crowns these brows	Doux liens qui liez ma douce liberté,
Which winter's whitest white in white- ness stain,	Doux filets où je suis doucement arrêté,
And lily, by Eridan's bank that grows;	Qui pourriez adoucir d'un Scythe la rudesse;
Hair, fatal present, which first caus'd my woes,	Cheveux, vous ressemblez à ceux de la princesse,
When loose ye hang like Danaë's golden rain,	Qui eurent pour leur grace un astre merité;
Sweet nets, which sweetly do all hearts enchain,	Cheveux dignes d'un temple et d'im- mortalité,
Strings, deadly strings, with which Love bends his bows,	Et d'estre consacrez à Vénus la déesse.
How are ye hither come? tell me, O hair,	Je ne cesse, cheveux, pour mon mal appaier,
Dear armelet, for what thus were ye given?	De vous voir et toucher, baiser et rebaïser,
I know a badge of bondage I you wear,	Vous parfumer de musc, d'ambre gris et de bême
Yet hair, for you, O that I were a heaven!	Et de vos nœuds crespes tout le col m'enserrer,
Like Berenice's lock that ye might shine,	Afin que, prisonnier, je vous puisse asseurer
But brighter far, about this arm of mine.	Que les liens du col sont les liens de l'ame.

Again the sonnet entitled *An Epitaph of one named Margaret* (Ward, II, 180) is based on *Amours*, I, No. CLXXXIX; the subject is identical, and the same allusion to the double meaning of Margaret is found.

A few additional examples may be instanced from the *Epigrams*. Drummond had probably more than a passing acquaintance with the poets of the Greek Anthology. However, he does not appear to have had recourse to them frequently or even directly. In reference to Drummond's epigram, entitled *The Trojan Horse* (*Poems*, I, 149), W. C. Ward remarks that there is an epigram on this topic by Antiphilus of Byzantium (*Anth. Pal.*, II, 30), but that it bears little or no resemblance to Drummond's. It has been suggested by the same writer that possibly the epigram on *Craton's Death* (*Poems*, I, 164) was prompted by a like composition of Julianus the Egyptian in the same

collection (*Anth. Pal.*, I, 386), but Drummond's source is evidently the following version of the epigram of Julianus by Ronsard:

Amidst the waves profound, Far, far from all relief, The honest fisher, Craton, ah! is drowned	Berteau le pêcheur s'est noyé En sa nacelle poissonniere, Dont le bois fut tout employé
Into his little skiff; The boards of which did serve him for a bier,	A faire les aiz de sa biere; De Charon la main nautonniere
So that to the black world when he came near,	Ne prit argent de ce Berteau,
Of him no waftage greedy Charon got, For he in his own boat	Comme ayant passé la riviere Des morts en son propre bateau.
Did pass that flood by which the gods do swear.	

I am inclined to think that Ronsard was also the direct source of the piece beginning 'What course of life should wretched mortals take?' (*Poems*, II, 155). This piece appeared originally in Philipps's edition of the *Poems*, under the title 'A Translation of S. John Scot his verses, beginning: Quod vitae sectabor iter.' The original¹ is obviously the well-known epigram attributed to Posidippus (*Anth. Pal.*, II, 71). Sir John Scot's elegy is a very free paraphrase of the same epigram, extending the ten verses of Greek into thirty-eight of Latin, so that Philipps's rubric can hardly be a true indication of Drummond's model, whereas Ronsard's version (*Œuvres*, ed. Blanchemain, VI, 409) contains but twenty-two, and agrees closely in its phraseology with that of Drummond.

But it is not only in the sonnets and shorter pieces that Drummond is indebted to Ronsard; indeed his debt is much greater in the longer poems. *Forth Feasting*², one of the longest of the Scottish poet's compositions, is constructed in great part on the pattern of the opening poem, addressed to Henry III of France, of the *Bocage Royal* (*Œuvres*,

¹ It is prettily translated by Philip Ayres (1638-1712), in Saintsbury's *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, II, 343. The reply by Metrodorus to this epigram, asserting the contrary in every particular, is translated in the *Arte of English Poesie* (Bk III, ch. 19), attributed to Puttenham, and also by Philip Ayres. The Greek original can be found conveniently on p. 299 of the new edition of J. W. Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, London, 1906.

² Prof. John Purves (*Athenæum*, Feb. 11, 1905) points out that Drummond probably derived the title of this piece from Marino's *Tebro Festante*, a panegyric and congratulatory poem on the election of Leo XI, which appears to have been issued for the first time in the *Nuove Poesie* of Marino (1614). Considering Drummond's large debt to Marino, this may be readily admitted; but that he borrowed no more than the title is at once obvious to anyone who chooses to read the two compositions, which bear no resemblance to each other either in form or matter. (Cf. p. 98 of Menghini's *Vita ed Opere di Giambattista Marino*, Rome, 1888.)

III, 265); several passages in fact follow the French text at no great distance, and generally in a condensed form, such as the following:

When years thee vigour gave, O then how clear	A forcer par les bois un cerf au front ramé,
Did smother'd sparkles in bright flames appear!	Enfermer un sanglier de defenses armé,
Amongst the woods to force a flying hart,	Voir levreter le lièvre à la jambe pelue,
To pierce the mountain wolf with feather'd dart,	Voir pendre les faucons au milieu de la nue,
See falcons climb the clouds, the fox ensnare,	Faire d'un pied leger poudroyer les sablon,
Outrun the wind-outrunning daedal hare,	Voir bondir par les prez l'enflure des ballons ;
To loose a trampling steed amongst a plain,	A porter le harnois, à courir la campagne,
And in meand'ring gyres him bring again,	A donter sous le frein un beau genet d'Espagne,
The press thee making place, were vulgar things;	A sauter, à luitter d'un bras fort et vouté :
In admiration's air, on glory's wings, O! thou far from the common pitch didst rise,	Voilà les ferremens trenchans l'oisiveté.
With thy designs to dazzle envy's eyes: Thou sought'st to know this All's eternal source,	Il a voulu sçavoir ce que peut la nature, Et de quel pas marchoit la première closture
Of ever-turning heavens the restless course,	Du ciel, qui tournoyant se resuit en son cours,
Their fixed eyes, their lights which wand'ring run,	Et du soleil, qui fait le sien tout au rebours.
Whence moon her silver hath, his gold the sun;	Il a voulu sçavoir des planètes les dances,
If destine be or no, if planets can	Tours, aspects et vertus, demeures et distances ;
By fierce aspects force the free-will of man ;	Il a voulu sçavoir les cornes du croissant,
The light and spiring fire, the liquid air,	Comme d'un feu bastard il se va rem- plissant,
The flaming dragons, comets with red hair,	Second Endymion amoureux de la lune.
Heaven's tilting lances, artillery, and bow,	Il a voulu sçavoir que c'estoit que Fortune,
Loud-sounding trumpets, darts of hail and snow,	Que c'estoit que Destin, si les influxions
The roaring element with people dumb,	Des astres commandoient à nos com- plexions.
The earth, with what conceiv'd is in her womb,	Puis, descendant plus bas sous le second estage,
What on her moves, were set unto thy sight,	Il a cognu du feu la nature volage,
Till thou didst find their causes, essence, might :	Il a pratiqué l'air, combien il est subtil,
But unto nought thou so thy mind didst strain,	Comme il est nourrissier de ce monde fertil,
As to be read in man, and learn to reign,	Comme il est imprimé de formes diffe- rentes.

To know the weight and Atlas of a
crown,
To spare the humble, poudlings pester
down.
When from those piercing cares which
thrones invest,
As thorns the rose, thou wearied wouldst
thee rest,
With lute in hand, full of celestial fire,
To the Pierian groves thou didst retire:

There, garlanded, with all Urania's
flowers,
In sweeter lays than builded Thebes'
towers,
Or them which charm'd the dolphins in
the main,
Or which did call Eurydice again,
Thou sung'st away the hours, till from
their sphere
Stars seem'd to shoot, thy melody to
hear.
The god with golden hair, the sister
maids,
Left nymphal Helicon, their Tempe's
shades,
To see thine isle, here lost their native
tongue,
And in thy world-divided language sung.

Il a cognu la foudre et ses flèches
errantes
D'un grand bruit par le vague, et si le
soleil peint
L'arc au ciel en substance, ou s'il ap-
paroist feint.
Puis il a fait passer son esprit sous
les ondes,
A cognu de Tethys les abysmes profondes,
Et du vieillard Protée a conté les
troupeaux.

Il a cognu le flot et le refflot des eaux;
Si la lune a credit sur l'element humide,
Ou si l'ame de l'eau d'elle-mesme se
guide,
Eslançant son esprit des terres à l'entour
Pour ne vivre en paresse et croupir en
sejour.
Puis, venant sur la terre, a visité les
villes,
Les hommes et leurs mœurs et leurs
reigles civiles,
Pour sçavoir à son peuple en vertus
esclairer,
Pour luy lascher la bride ou pour la luy
serrer,
Cognoissant par effect toutes vertus
morales.
Puis, entrant sous la terre aux caves
infernales,
A cherché les métaux, et, d'esprit diligent
Cognu comme se fait l'or, le plomb et
l'argent,
Quelle humeur les engendre ès veines de
la terre,
Et le cuivre et le fer, instrument de la
guerre.
Puis d'un si haut travail se voulant
soulager,
Et d'un docte laurier ses tempes om-
brager,
Prenant le luth en main qui dextrement
me guide,
Se va seul recréer en l'antre Pieride,
Toutes les fleurs d'Euterpe attachant
à son front.
Apollon, qui l'escoute, et les Muses, qui
vout
Dansant autour de luy, l'inspirent de
leur grace,
Soit qu'il vueille tourner une chanson
d'Horace,
Soit qu'il vueille chanter en accords
plus parfaits
Les gestes martiaux que luy-mesmes
a faits.

Another of the Scottish poet's longest and finest pieces, *An Hymn of the Fairest Fair*, may be called an amplification of the French poet's *Hymne de l'Éternité* (*Œuvres*, v, p. 13), whole passages being little more than translations :

Grant me, time's Father, world-containing King,
A pow'r, of thee in pow'rful lays to sing,
That as thy beauty in earth lives,
heaven shines,
So it may dawn or shadow in my lines.

As far beyond the starry walls of
heaven,
As is the loftiest of the planets seven
Sequestered from this earth, in purest
light,
Outshining ours, as ours doth sable
night,
Thou, all-sufficient, omnipotent,
Thou ever-glorious, most excellent,

God various in names, in essence one,

High art installed on a golden throne,
Outreaching heaven's wide vasts, the
bounds of nought,
Transcending all the circles of our
thought :

With diamantine sceptre in thy hand

There thou giv'st laws, and dost this
world command,
This world of concords rais'd unlikely
sweet,
Which like a ball lies prostrate to thy
feet.

.....
.....not far from thy right side,

With curled locks Youth ever doth
abide;
Rose-cheeked Youth, who, garlanded
with flowers

Still blooming, ceaselessly unto thee
pours

Immortal nectar in a cup of gold,
That by no darts of ages thou grow old,
And, as ends and beginnings thee not
claim,
Successionless that thou be still the
same.

Near to thy other side resistless Might

From head to foot in burnish'd armour
dight

Donne-moy donc de grâce, immense
Éternité,
Pouvoir de raconter ta grande déité ;
.....

Afin que ma chanson soit vive autant
de jours,
Qu'éternelle tu vis sans voir finir ton
cours ;
.....

Tout au plus haut du ciel dans un
trône doré

Tu te sieds en l'habit d'un manteau
coloré

De pourpre rayé d'or, duquel la broderie
De tous costés s'esclatte en riche pier-
rerie,

Et là, tenant au poing un sceptre
adamantin,

Tu ordonnes tes loix au severe Destin,
Qu'il n'ose outrepasser, et que luy-mesme
engrave

Fermes au front du ciel, car il est ton
esclave,

Faisant tourner sous toy les neuf temples
voûtez

Qui dedans et dehors cernent de tous
costez,

Sans rien laisser ailleurs, tous les mem-
bres du monde

Qui gist dessous tes pieds comme une
boule ronde.

A ton dextre costé la Jeunesse se tient,
Jeunesse au chef crespé, de qui la tresse
vient

Flottant jusqu'aux talons par ondes non
tondue,

Et luy frappe le dos en fils d'or estendue.

Ceste belle Jeunesse au teint vermeil
et franc,

D'une boucle d'azur ceinte dessus le flanc,
Dans un vase doré te donne de la destre
A boire du nectar, à fin de te faire estre

Tousjours saine et dispoite, et à fin que
ton front

Ne soit jamais ridé comme les nostres
sont.

Elle de main senestre, avec grande
rudesse,

That rings about him, with a waving
 brand
 And watchful eye, great sentinel doth
 stand;
 That neither time nor force in aught
 impair
 Thy workmanship, nor harm thine
 empire fair,
 Soon to give death to all again that
 would
 Stern discord raise, which thou destroy'd
 of old;
 Discord, that foe to order, nurse of war,
 By which the noblest things demolish'd
 are;
 But, caitiff, she no treason doth devise,
 When might to nought doth bring her
 enterprise,
 Thy all-upholding Might her malice
 reins,
 And her in hell throws bound in iron
 chains.

Repousse l'estomac de la triste Vieillesse,
 Et la chasse du ciel à coups d'espée, à
 fin
 Que le ciel ne vieillisse et qu'il ne prenne
 fin.
 A ton autre costé la Puissance éternelle
 Se tient debout plantée, armée à la
 mammelle
 D'un corselet gravé qui luy couvre le
 sein,
 Branslant de nuict et jour un espieu
 dans la main,
 Pour garder seurement les bords de ton
 empire,
 Ton regne et ta richesse, à fin que rien
 n'empire
 Par la suite des ans, et pour donner la
 mort
 A quiconque voudroit ramener le Dis-
 cord,
 Discord ton ennemy, qui ses forces
 assemble
 Pour faire mutiner les elemens ensemble
 A la perte du monde et de ton doux
 repos,
 Et voudroit, s'il pouvoit, r'engendrer le
 Chaos.
 Mais tout incontinent que cet ennemy
 brasse
 Trahison contre toy, la Vertu le menasse,
 Et l'envoye là bas aux abysmes d'enfer
 Garrotté pieds et mains de cent chaisnes
 de fer.

In the long fragment entitled *The Shadow of the Judgment* Ronsard's sixth hymn *De la Justice* (*Œuvres*, v, 107) is laid under contribution for the complaint of Justice to the King of Ages; although in this instance the resemblance in particulars is slight, yet parallel passages could be quoted which are also close renderings. Lastly it may be pointed out that the *Pastoral Elegy on the Death of Sir Anthony Alexander* owes something to the sixth eclogue of Ronsard, more particularly in the concluding lines, and that the *Entertainment of the High and Mighty Monarch, Prince Charles* contains several reminiscences of the first piece in the same collection, except that for Ronsard's description of the beauties of France, Drummond substitutes a corresponding passage on Scotland and Scottish character which Buchanan had introduced in his *Epithalamium* in honour of Francis of Valois and Mary Stuart (*Sylvae*, iv).

This repeated recurrence on the part of Drummond to the works of

a poet whose star had long set in his own land may seem strange at first sight. However, it must be remembered that when the young Scot was first in France the fame of Ronsard, though declining, was still a power, and that Malherbe had not yet established in the world of letters that ascendancy which after a short struggle he was destined to maintain for many years. Moreover, although the case of Drummond is in all probability an isolated phenomenon in English literature—the height of Ronsard's popularity in England coinciding with the last two decades of the sixteenth century—the same cannot be said of other countries. In Germany and Holland more especially, and to a lesser degree in Italy, the works of the chief of the Pléiade were read eagerly and imitated during the whole time that Drummond was writing poetry, and when Ronsard's writings, in his own native land, were perused only by a few conservative country gentlemen. Opitz, both in theory and practice, took him as his chief model¹ in his attempt to reform German poetry; a large number of passages in the *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* are copied verbatim from Ronsard's *Art Poétique* or from his prefaces to the *Franciade*, and a still larger proportion of his poems are translations or paraphrases of his French predecessor's work, while others are skilfully tessellated with passages culled here and there from Ronsard's poetry. P. Melissus, G. R. Weckherlin, and other poets of the group of German writers associated with Opitz, were also fervent admirers of the 'grand Vendômois.' In Holland, D. Heinsius in his *Nederduytsche Poëmata* (1618) frequently imitated the same model. In so doing he was following the example set by his predecessors Spieghele, van der Noot, and Jan van Hout who as early as 1575 had composed fluent verses in the same manner. In Italy, during the vogue of Marinism, Marino himself borrowed the matter of more than one of his poems from the same source, and Ronsard was the only modern foreign poet, besides Garcilaso de la Vega, for whom the admiring Italian found a niche in his *Galleria*.

We will now return to our main topic, and proceed to investigate Drummond's indebtedness to another member of Ronsard's group, namely, Pontus de Tyard, one of the lesser stars of the Pléiade, and the author of the *Erreurs Amoureuses* (1549–1554), a collection of sonnets with a few miscellaneous pieces interspersed, of which Drummond is known to have had a copy on his shelves². Apart

¹ See Richard Beckhern, *M. Opitz, P. Ronsard und D. Heinsius*, Königsberg, 1888.

² Pontus de Tyard was also one of Mary Queen of Scots favourite French poets; her library contained a copy of the *Erreurs Amoureuses*.

from the importance in the history of French literature of the date of Tyard's collection, the first book of which appeared at the close of 1549 a few months after Du Bellay's *Olive*, it has little to recommend it to the lover of poetry. The verse is invariably dull and not infrequently intricate and even obscure. Thus it is difficult to understand how Drummond came to be attracted by the French poet's work; possibly the explanation is to be found in that combination of philosophic thought and spiritual love which Pontus de Tyard had imbibed from the *Délie* of Maurice Scève, and which he further reinforced by studying and translating the *Dialoghi di Amore* of Leo Hebraeus. However, Drummond borrowed only very sparingly and discreetly from the author of the *Erreurs*, and not wholesale as he did from Desportes. Sonnet XLV of Drummond (ed. Ward, I, 86) is a close adaptation of Sonnet XI of the Third Book of the *Erreurs Amoureuses*, which is quoted according to Marty-Laveaux (*Œuvres Poétiques de Pontus de Tyard*, Paris, 1875). It need hardly be pointed out that, as is nearly invariably the case, the conveyance is executed with Drummond's usual felicity:

Are these the flow'ry banks, is this the mead, Where she was wont to pass the pleasant hours? Did here her eyes exhale mine eyes' salt show'rs, When on her lap I laid my weary head? Is this the goodly elm did us o'erspread, Whose tender rind, cut out in curious flow'rs By that white hand, contains those flames of ours? Is this the rustling spring us music made? Deflourish'd mead, where is your heavenly hue? Bank, where that arras did you late adorn? How look ye, elm, all withered and forlorn? Only, sweet spring, nought altered seems in you; But while here chang'd each other thing appears, To sour your streams take of mine eyes these tears.	Sont-ce ces prez où ma Déesse affable Comme Diane allaigrement troussée, Chantoit un chant de ma peine passée, Et s'en rendoit soy-même pitoyable? Est-ce cest Orme, où d'un riz aimable, Disant, A dieu gloire de ma pensée, Mignardement à mon col enlacée, Elle me fut d'un baiser faorable? Et deà, où est (ô prez defleurez) donq Le beau tappiz, qui vous ornoit adonq? Et l'honneur gay (Orme) de ta verdure? Languissez vous pour ma Nymphette absente? Donques sa veuë est elle assez puis-sante, Pour, comme moy, vous donner nourriture?
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Again Sonnet XXVII of Drummond is manifestly written on the pattern of the opening sonnet of the Second Book of the French poet's sonnet-cycle:

That I so slenderly set forth my mind,	Ie n'atten point que mon nom l'on escriue
Writing I wot not what in ragged rhymes,	Au rang de ceux, qui ont des rameaux vers
And charg'd with brass into these golden times,	Du, blond Phébus les scauans frons couuers,
When others tower so high, am left behind;	Hors du danger de l'oublieuse riue.
I crave not Phoebus leave his sacred cell	Sceve parmi les doctes bouches viue:
To bind my brows with fresh Aonian bays;	Reste Romans honoré par les vers
Let them have that who tuning sweetest lays	De Desautelz: & chante l'Vniuers
By Tempe sit, or Aganippe's well;	Le riche loz de l'Immortelle Oliue:
Nor yet to Venus' tree do I aspire,	Vueille Apollon du double mont de- scendre,
Sith she for whom I might affect that praise,	Pour rendre grace à cest autre Ter- pandre,
My best attempts with cruel words gainsays,	Qui renouuelle & l'vne, & l'autre Lyre.
And I seek not that others me admire. Of weeping myrrh the crown is which I crave,	Mais moy, scez tu à quoy, Dame, i'aspire? C'est sanz espoir de piteuse te rendre
With a sad cypress to adorn my grave.	Que seulement mes plains tu daignes lire.

Instead of adopting Tyard's rather prosy enumeration of some of his poetic friends, Drummond replaces the second quatrain and the first tercet by an amplification of the first quatrain of the next sonnet in which the same theme is elaborated:

Ie n'ay encor de la sainte eau sceu boire
Dessous le pied du prompt cheual des Cieux:
Ny le douz songe ha repu mes deux yeux
Au double mont, des filles de Memoire.

A piece entitled *Épigramme* (*Œuvres Poétiques*, p. 24) gives Drummond a start for Sonnet XXXIV, the opening lines being an almost literal translation:

O cruel beauty, meekness inhumane,	Beauté cruelle, & douceur inhumaine,
That night and day contend with my desire,	Qui guerroyez sans cesse en mon désir,
And seek my hope to kill, not quench my fire,	Pour esbranler l'espoir du desplaisir
By death, not balm, to ease my pleasant pain.	Qui me trauaille en si plaisante peine.

Lastly Sonnet XLVII is clearly suggested by the following sonnet of the *Erreurs Amoureuses* (*Œuvres Poétiques*, p. 111):

O Night, clear night, O dark and gloomy day!	O calme nuit, qui doucement composes
O woful waking! O soul-pleasing sleep!	En ma faveur l'ombre mieux animée,

O sweet conceits which in my brains did
 creep,
 Yet sour conceits which went so soon
 away!
 A sleep I had more than poor words
 can say,
 For, closed in arms, methought, I did
 thee keep;
 A sorry wretch plung'd in misfortunes
 deep
 Am I not, wak'd, when light doth lies
 bewray?
 O that that night had ever still been
 black!
 O that that day had never yet begun!
 And you, mine eyes, would ye no time
 saw sun,
 To have your sun in such a zodiac!
 Lo! what is good of life is but a
 dream,
 When sorrow is a never-ebbing stream.

Qu'onques Morphée en sa sale en-
 fumée,
 Peignit du rien de ses Metamor-
 phoses!
 Combien heureux les œillets, & les roses
 Ceingnoient le bras de mon ame
 esparmée,
 Affriandant une langue affamée
 Du Paradis de deux leures descloses!
 Lors que Phébus, laissant sa molle
 couche,
 Se vint moquer de mes bras, de ma
 bouche,
 Et de sa sœur, la lumière fourchuë!
 Ah, que boiteux d'une poussieue haleine
 Soient ses chevaux, & ne cueille sa
 peine
 Qu'vn fruit amer de la vierge branchue.

From the other associates of Ronsard Drummond does not appear to have taken much. The seventh sonnet of the *Second Part* of the *Poems* ('O! it is not to me, bright lamp of day') is manifestly written on the model of a sonnet of Baif's *Amours de Francine* ('Las! ny pour moy les zefirs ne ventellent').

Last of all attention may be drawn to the curious device employed on two occasions by Drummond—once in Sonnet LI of the *Poems*, and a second time in a composition of similar form in the *Flowers of Sion*. This device consists of constructing the sonnet on two rime-words only, alternating according to rules. There can be little doubt that the Scottish poet borrowed this idea from Sonnet CX in Du Bellay's *Olive*; in both poets the two rime-words chosen are the same, and the general theme of Du Bellay's sonnet and of the one 'Upon the Sepulchre of our Lord' in the *Flowers of Sion* is very similar:

Life, to give life, deprived is of life,
 And death display'd hath ensign against
 death;
 So follow the rigour was of death,
 That nought could daunt it but the life
 of life:
 No power had power to thrall life's
 power to death,
 But willingly life hath abandoned life,
 Love gave the wound which wrought
 this work of death,
 His bow and shafts were of the tree of
 life.

Dieu, qui changeant avec obscure mort
 Ta bien-heureuse et immortelle vie
 Fus aux pécheurs prodigue de ta vie,
 Pour les tirer de l'éternelle mort:
 Telle pitié coupable de ta mort
 Guide les pas de ma fascheuse vie
 Tant que par toy, à plus joyeuse
 vie
 Je soy' conduit du travail de la mort.

Now quakes the author of eternal death,	N'avise point, ô Seigneur, que ma vie
To find that they whom erst he reft of	Ne soit noyée aux ondes de la mort,
life,	
Shall fill his room above the lists of	Qui me distrahit d'une si douce vie:
death;	
Now all rejoice in death who hope for	Oste la palme à ceste injuste mort
life.	
Dead Jesus lies, who death hath killed	Qui jà s'en va superbe de ma vie,
by death,	
His tomb no tomb is, but new source	Et morte soy toujours pour moy la
of life.	mort.

Very probably Drummond found an additional inducement to attempt this metrical *tour de force* from the fact that Sir Philip Sidney, whom he never ceased to look upon as a model, had successfully coped with the difficulties it presents in the eighty-ninth sonnet of *Astrophel and Stella*, and also in the sonnet of the Third Book of *Arcadia*, with which Zelmane, sitting in the first entry of the wonderful cave, 'gave a doleful way to her bitter effects¹.'

L. E. KASTNER.

ABERYSTWYTH.

¹ The two rime-words used by Sir Philip Sidney are 'night' and 'day,' and 'dark' and 'light' respectively. This device, though very rare, was not unknown to the Italians. In view of the above considerations, it is highly improbable that Drummond's source is Italian rather than French, or that he constructed the sonnet in question on the pattern of the anonymous Italian sonnet utilized by Du Bellay and found by the latter in a collection which in Drummond's days was no longer read. (Cf. J. Vianey, *Les sources italiennes de l'Olive*, Paris, 1901.) Originally the idea seems to have been suggested by the fourteenth sonnet of Petrarch's *Rime*, in which the octave is constructed on the two rime-words 'parte' and 'luce.'

SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS: AN EXAMINATION.

IV¹.

To Shakspeare's portion of *The Taming of the Shrew* various dates from 1594 to 1607 have been assigned. That the play is only partly his is admitted on all hands. The whole of Act I; II, 1, from 'But who comes here? *Enter Gremio*' to 'That is, her love; for that is all in all'; III, 1; the last nine speeches of III, 2; IV, 2; IV, 4; the last three lines of IV, 5; V, 1; and the first speech and five closing speeches of V, 2 are clearly by another author, to whom also must be attributed the closing portion of II, 1 (perhaps from the re-entry of Baptista, perhaps only from Petruchio's exit) and that portion of III, 2 extending from Petruchio's first entry to his re-entry (or, it may be, only from his first exit to Gremio's subsequent entry), while that part of V, 2 preceding Bianca's exit may also perhaps be wholly or partly by him. Whoever this writer was, he may be judged by his metre to belong to the early days of the drama, for his style is stiff and antiquated. Shakspeare's work in the play proper—that is to say, all that is not to be ascribed to the second writer—is also so obviously of early date that it is difficult to understand how any critics can have been bold enough to declare it to be in his best style, or even to attribute it to so late a date as 1597. His work of much earlier date than that is more finished than is his portion of *The Shrew*. Part of IV, 3 and perhaps also the longest speech in his part of V, 2 may alone be deemed to belong to his second period. The play tells two separate stories—that of the shrew (contained in the first 28 speeches of I, 2; II, 1, to Petruchio's exit; III, 2; IV, 1, 3, 5; V, 1, from Gremio's exit; and V, 2), and that of Bianca's lovers. With the latter Shakspeare did not meddle: for the former he was mainly responsible. It has been said that the merit of the play is entirely confined to the Petruchio scenes. This is true; but the merit is by no

¹ Continued from *Modern Language Review*, Vol. iv (January, 1909), p. 199.

means so great as the critics would have us believe. That Shakspeare could possibly have created in his third or fourth period so tame a shrew as Katherine is incredible. Her shrewishness is shown only by an occasional cuffing, but her conquest is really very easy and not at all convincing; and the conception and presentment of the character would (if it be not damnable heresy to say so) do little credit to the great dramatist even in his second period. Besides this and the run of the verse, there are other reasons for the belief that the play is of early date. The denying of Vincentio resembles the denying of Ægeon in *The Comedy of Errors*, and portions of II, 1 and V, 2 are comparable with the silly chaff that plays so large a part in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Whether Shakspeare's work was grafted on to the other man's or his was the earlier is not an easy question to settle. The mention of 'Cousin Ferdinand' in IV, 1, and the introduction of Hortensio in IV, 3 apparently in his stead may be held to be against co-operation, and, as they occur in Shakspeare's portion, to favour the view that he was the reviser rather than the original author. The question is complicated by the fact that an old play *The Taming of a Shrew*, published in 1594, was used by Shakspeare in writing up the Petruchio story (unless indeed both plays stole from some lost original). In the old play the Bianca story does not occur, and the author of that portion of the later play is verbally indebted to *A Shrew* only for the couplet in Petruchio's last speech beginning 'Come Kate, we'll to bed' (unless, as is probable, that couplet be Shakspeare's conclusion to the play, the other author having preceded it by a couple of doggrel lines and followed it by four others). With this possible exception, the use of the old play is confined to Shakspeare's part of V, 2, to his IV, 1 and IV, 3, and to the Induction.

Of this induction, together with the short interlude between the two scenes of Act I, nothing has yet been said. This framework of the play of *The Shrew* is certainly not by the author of the Lucentio-Bianca story; but whether it is or is not by Shakspeare is a matter not easy to decide. There is nothing in it that might not (judging by style) be early Shakspeare, and yet it is hard to find a passage that can be pronounced incontrovertibly his. It might, by reason of his presence in the main body of the play and its resemblance to his work, be ascribed to Shakspeare, were it not for the circumstance that in the folio it is shown that one of the actors was Sinklo, who belonged to the Chamberlain's Company at a date when Shakspeare could hardly have written in this style, and for the further circumstance that the Induction contains a very plain allusion to Fletcher's *Women Pleased*,

which cannot well be dated earlier than Shakspeare's fourth period. Perhaps the most natural explanation is that Shakspeare's version originally ran:

Lord. Do you intend to stay with me to-night?
2nd Play. So please your lordship to accept our duty;
Lord. Well, you are come to me in happy time;

and that the seven lines containing the allusion referred to were a late insertion by some one other than Shakspeare.

Henry V contains one fragment of doubtful authorship—the last twenty-two speeches of III, 2, containing the chatter of the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish captains. The drama would lose nothing by its omission, as it serves no purpose and is possibly a late insertion, perhaps Shakspeare's, but more probably not. It is not found in the quarto version, and in the folio contains oaths which have been omitted in most other parts of the play, while it is worthy of note that Fluellen, previously styled 'Flu.' in the sideheads, is here called 'Welch.' The rest of the play is undoubtedly Shakspeare's, but either the work is very hurried or it has been greatly curtailed. The former explanation is probably the correct one, for there are one or two inconsistencies that can be accounted for otherwise only if the shortening was accompanied by needless alteration.

Of the two *Henry IV* plays, the only portions that are to be considered as of doubtful authorship occur in the first part. They are II, 1 as far as 'Exeunt Carriers' and the final couplet in IV, 2. Though it is possible that the earlier may be a player's insertion and that the latter may be a remnant of the work of an early writer, they may both, though not without hesitation, be ascribed to Shakspeare, some of whose work in the first play may be of early date. This play is certainly an alteration and was published as 'corrected' by Shakspeare. There exist reasons not individually strong but cumulatively of some weight to believe that it was in existence in some form in 1592. The second part is not always consistent with the first, and it is obvious that either much of it is hasty work or it has been subject to alteration. Both causes may operate, the latter one certainly does.

In the first part it is extraordinary that Shakspeare should have thrown away the fine opportunity that was afforded him in the charging of Falstaff with the robbery and the striking of the chief Justice by the Prince. Did he shirk it? And again it might have been expected that the audience would have been enlightened before V, 3 as to the intention of the king to have many 'marching in his coats.' It may

also be remarked that the name Gadshill which must have struck many readers as a strange name for the author to have given to one of the heroes of the robbery at Gad's Hill is due to Shakspeare's misunderstanding of the use of the name in the anonymous *Famous Victories*, where the robber, whose real name is Cutter, is addressed ironically by his victim as Gadshill, to show that he is recognised. Both the *Henry IV* plays seem, like *Merry Wives*, to have some mysterious connection with Michael Drayton, but the writing shows no sign of his presence.

As to the date of the second part, it is to be noted that Meres (in 1598) speaks of *Henry IV*, as if it were but a single play. This may, but does not certainly, mean that the second part was not then in existence. Confirmation is afforded by the entry of the first part in the *Stationers' Register* in February 1597-8 as *The History of Henry the Fourth* without any hint of its being only one of two parts. That later editions continued the title of the first quarto does not seriously affect the argument, and it is singular that it is not till June 1623 that the earlier play is first spoken of as the first part. The second part should therefore date some time between 1597-8 and its publication in 1600. It may be set against this view that Meres classes *Henry IV* among the tragedies; but the first part is better entitled to be so classed than is the second part, though the tragedy is not Henry's, but Percy's.

That Shakspeare's work in *The Merchant of Venice* is of more than one date should be clear to all. The early portion of I, 1 and II, 1 are imitative of Marlowe and the coarseness of Portia in I, 2 may be ascribed to the youthful mind. The story was dramatised as early as 1579, and there are some reasons to believe that the old play was used by Shakspeare. To the old writer may be attributed the doggrel that closes I, 2:

Sirrah, go before.

Whiles we shut the gate upon one wooer, another knocks at the door.

In III, 5 a Moor is mentioned as being in child by Launcelot Gobbo. This probably refers to some incident dropped out by Shakspeare when he re-wrote the play. The two speeches in which the matter is referred to may possibly belong to the original writer, but would seem rather to be Shaksperian, probably reduced from doggrel to prose. With the exception of the doggrel couplet in I, 1, which is in all probability Shakspeare's own, there is no other fragment of the present play that can be a relic of the old drama of 1579. In I, 2 there has apparently been some revision, for, though six suitors are named, they are after-

wards spoken of as only four in number. An examination of this scene serves to show that the speech naming Faulconbridge and the three speeches immediately following were a late insertion after the first production of the play. They may or may not be Shakspeare's, for they contain nothing either markedly typical of him or distinctly opposed to his authorship. There being no other sign of the presence of a later reviser, they may be attributed to Shakspeare, like the rest of the play, except the one bit of doggrel already quoted. It may be remarked that this Faulconbridge insertion has supplied critics with a reason for dating the drama 1596. The name is very reasonably supposed to have been taken from *John*, but such an argument may quite as well be advanced against Shakspeare's authorship of the passage wherein it occurs as in favour of a date of 1596. Some of the play besides this particular passage would seem by style to belong to such a date or even two or three years later, but a great deal of it is much earlier. This means that Shakspeare wrote the play on the basis of the old comedy of 1579 and afterwards revised his work. To the first version may belong the allusion in IV, 1, to Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* ('of the stock of Barabbas'). Though such an idea will certainly be scouted, it is more than probable that in the opening portion of Act 5 Shakspeare deliberately refers to Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido*, his own *Troilus* (the first production of which has been shown to be of early date), his *Midsummer Night's Dream* (or more probably, some *Pyramus and Thisbe* play at which Shakspeare laughed in the *Dream*), and a lost play on the subject of *Medea*. This first version must have been produced not later than 1594.

John is clearly Shakspeare's (though founded on the old non-Shaksperian *Troublesome Reign*) but also clearly of two periods, I, 1, I, 2, and II, 1, e.g., being obviously much earlier than v, 1. The play would seem to have been shortened for representation; and the same may be said of *Richard II*, which also is entirely Shakspeare's, though one speech from it is in England's *Parnassus* (1600) attributed to Drayton.

Concerning *Romeo* it is not easy to come to any definite opinion. That the play is at least mainly Shakspeare's is certain, and it is almost equally certain that it is of two dates, the prologue; I, 2, 5, chorus; II, 1, 3; IV, 1 (as far as Paris' exit), 2, 3, 5 (from Lady Capulet's entry); and v, 2 being much earlier in style than the rest of the play; but it is questionable if some of these are Shakspeare's, the ones that raise a doubt being the prologue, II, 3, IV, 2, IV, 3, and the above-mentioned portion of IV, 5. The first four may be given to Shakspeare because they contain nothing that may not be his, but that part of IV, 5 lying

between Lady Capulet's entry and the end of Capulet's second last speech, though it may possibly be Shakspeare's, looks rather like burlesque and is reminiscent of the foolery in the play within the play of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. It must be branded 'very doubtful.' The statement on the title-page of the first quarto that this play was acted by Lord Hunsdon's men is generally taken to show that the date of production was between August 1596 and April 1597, during which time alone was Shakspeare's company known as Lord Hunsdon's. In reality the statement implies nothing of the sort. All that is to be deduced from it is that the quarto was published during the eight months that the company was not known as the Lord Chamberlain's. Thus the 1599 edition described it as acted by the Lord Chamberlain's, because the company was then so called.

Richard III is best considered with the *Henry VI* trilogy, to which it forms a sequel; and *Titus* is for many reasons best taken with them. The remaining plays are *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Two Gentlemen*, *Comedy of Errors*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*. Of these the first-named is entirely Shakspeare's, but there are many signs of the play having undergone revision and abbreviation. If in its present form it be of as early a date as some of the critics have supposed, Shakspeare's style must have been formed early. Rather may it be believed with others of the *cognoscenti* that its revision is attributable to the latter part of Shakspeare's second period or to the early part of his third.

Two Gentlemen, *Comedy of Errors*, and *Love's Labour's Lost* are bound together by the occurrence of doggrel in all of them, though in the first-named there is no great quantity—less indeed than in *The Shrew*, which is, with the exception of *The Merchant of Venice* (which has a mere trifle), the only other one of the thirty-six folio plays so distinguished. The critics have accordingly proclaimed doggrel to be a characteristic of Shakspeare's first period, and then, using the base with which they have thus provided themselves, have declared the play which contains the greatest amount of doggrel (*Love's Labour's Lost*) to be the earliest in date, the only other one which is very largely tainted (*Comedy of Errors*) to be its immediate successor, and the *Two Gentlemen* to come third on the list, it being recognised that the doggrel in *The Shrew* is wholly or mainly the work of another. This is circular argument; these plays are the earliest because they contain so much of the doggrel characteristic of Shakspeare in his first period, and the doggrel is characteristic of Shakspeare in his first period because it is found in these, his earliest plays. It stands to reason that if the

great poet used this species of verse at all it must have been in the early part of his career, before he knew better, and in that case the inference is strong that these three plays are his earliest; but his authorship of the passages on which this conclusion is based must first be determined. In this connection one has to consider that portion of the opening scene of *The Two Gentlemen* during which Speed is on the stage, the four anapæstic four-foot lines succeeding Silvia's entry in II, 1, and the doggrel and seven-foot verse (totalling eleven lines) in the latter part of the same scene; the whole of III, 1 of *The Comedy of Errors* save the first speech and the last five speeches, the doggrel in IV, 2, a couple of lines in II, 1, two in II, 2, the same number also in III, 2, and the final couplet in V, 1; and in *Love's Labour's Lost*, II, 1 from the King's exit, III, 1 to Moth's second exit, IV, 1 from Costard's entry (omitting the letter and the half-dozen lines following), IV, 2 prior to Jaquenetta's second speech, IV, 3 prior to Dumain's ode and from Jaquenetta's entry to exit, and V, 2 to Boyet's entry and from Costard's first entry to Mercade's entry. Outside of these scenes and portions of scenes, there is nothing in any of the three plays that is to be classed as non-Shaksperian, with the exception perhaps of three lines in I, 1 of *Errors*:

Thus have you heard me severed from my bliss,
That by misfortunes was my life prolonged,
To tell sad stories of my own mishaps.

These lines may be accepted (with a grimace) as Shakspeare's if the presence of another be discernible nowhere else in the play, and may be his in any case; but before the authorship of the other passages indicated above be considered, a few words may be said in regard to each of the three plays in question.

The undoubtedly Shaksperian part of *Two Gentlemen* is obviously of more than one date, and that it has undergone alteration, is, moreover, rendered probable by the confusion that exists in one or two particulars, and also by the very uneven lengths of the various acts. Of the assuredly Shaksperian scenes, II, 4 may be mentioned as a sample of early work, and IV, 4 as a sample of revision, while part of IV, 1 may be of still later date. Meres, in 1598, speaks of *The Gentlemen of Verona*, and this may perhaps have been the title of Shakspeare's first version. *Love's Labour's Lost* likewise shows many signs of alteration, amongst which may be mentioned the confusion between Holofernes and Nathaniel. Some of the play was obviously written not long before its publication in 1598, and the statement on the title-page of the

quarto, that it had been 'newly corrected and augmented' is clearly trustworthy. The natural interpretation is that there was an earlier edition, unfortunately now lost. Even the unquestionably Shaksperian portions are of partly first and partly second period. *The Comedy of Errors* differs from both these plays in that the style of the undeniably genuine portion may well be all of the one period. The date is a matter of doubt, the only allusions giving a clue occurring in III, 2, and even these are not decisive, for, to anyone who regards them strictly on their merits, all they prove is a date not earlier than April 1585 and not later than February 1593-4. If the probabilities be considered fairly, the reference to France's 'heir' may be held to imply a date prior to rather than subsequent to August 1589, while the allusion to Spain's hot breath may, as Richard Simpson urged, infer a pre-Armada date. In this connection it is well to remember the Tarleton allusion in *Twelfth Night* (necessarily not later than 1588) and the points of contact between that play and *The Comedy of Errors*.

There are three possible solutions of the authorship of the doggrel passages in the three plays that are now claiming our attention—the first (that adopted by all the critics without exception) is, that Shakspeare wrote them as he wrote the rest of the three plays; the second is, that he had a colleague who was responsible for these portions of the plays, an idea which may be summarily dismissed, inasmuch as the doggrel appears in some scenes intertwined with work that is unquestionably Shaksperian; the third is, that Shakspeare's work was in every case based on an early play by some other writer. This last is the view that, though, so far as I know, never yet put forward, has most to commend it.

Let us consider all that is meant by an acceptance of the common belief that the miserable doggrel in these three plays must be laid at the door of Shakspeare. He is universally held to have been the greatest writer, the greatest dramatist, the greatest poet whom the world has ever seen; yet, if this theory be correct, he was, when (if the dates ordinarily accepted for the first versions of the three plays be taken) from twenty-five to thirty years of age, writing doggrel that a schoolboy of that day would have been ashamed to father. If one assume dates of from 1587 to 1589 for the first versions of his plays the case is not much better, for he was twenty-three years of age in the former year, twenty-five in the latter—quite old enough to know better. Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, had all written blank verse, and shown what it was capable of; and yet, we are asked to believe, Shakspeare was so lacking

in taste, so incapable of appreciation of this new instrument being forged for the use of English poets that he preferred to dabble in doggrel such as had been rejected with scorn by poets only slightly older. Who can credit that, with the exception of Robert Wilson, the only dramatist of the day to write doggrel was William Shakspeare? That is what the acceptance of the common view calls upon us to believe. The idea is preposterous. In reality the mere presence of anything more than the merest sprinkling of doggrel in a play should be enough to suggest for it a date prior to 1588. It may be doubted if even the non-Shaksperian portions of *The Shrew* form an exception.

The chances are then in favour of a very early date for the doggrel portions of these three plays, and there are not lacking facts in support of this view. In 1584-5 there was a *Felix and Philismena* acted at Court by the Queen's men. This play must have been founded on Montemayor's story, which forms one of the two bases of Shakspeare's *Two Gentlemen*. In 1581-2 the Chamberlain's Company presented at Court a *History of Ferrar* which may or may not have been identical with the *History of Error* given by Paul's five years earlier. Concerning an original of *Love's Labour's Lost* we have no information, but it is noteworthy that part of the play deals with an event of May 1583, when the Russian Embassy visited England. The probability of the originals of all these plays dating between 1581 and 1585 is thus considerable; and one is justified in assuming that the antiquated verse of much of the three plays must belong to them, and confirmation of the assumption is perhaps afforded by Speed's statement (in II, 1 of *Two Gentlemen*) concerning some 7-foot verse he has just spoken—'All this I speak in print, for in print I found it.'

If this view be right, the doggrel patches in II, 1, II, 2, III, 2, IV, 2, and V, 1 of *Comedy of Errors* may perhaps be remnants of the original play by another author than Shakspeare and the bulk of III, 1 must be attributable to this early writer. One might reasonably assert (as has often been asserted) that Shakspeare made the Dromios speak in doggrel because it suited their characters, but in III, 1, Antipholus of Ephesus, Angelo and Balthazar all speak the dialect of Dromio. In *The Two Gentlemen*, the remaining work of the original author, whoever he may have been, consists only of fifteen lines in II, 1, and fragments of the Speed portion of the opening scene. Of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the parts already indicated as doubtful are the remains of a pre-Shaksperian writer, though III, 1, as far as Moth's second exit, the first part of IV, 2 (that is to say, prior to Jaquenetta's second speech), IV, 3 prior to

Dumain's ode, and v, 2, to Boyet's entry and from Costard's first exit to Mercade's entry, contain work of Shakspeare's.

All the thirty-six plays of the folio have now been dealt with with the exception of five in which the work of the great dramatist was of a purely imitative character, making it exceedingly difficult to discriminate between his work and that of the men he honoured with imitation. The basis of style taken here is scarcely sufficient for the purpose. Moreover a fitting investigation of these five plays would require almost as much space as I have devoted to the other thirty-one; for every one of them shows the presence of another writer than Shakspeare, and all of them offer resemblances to certain anonymous plays of the period—*Arden*, *Edward III*, *Soliman and Perseda*, and others—all of which would call for careful study and comparison with the five plays in question.

It will not have been overlooked that, by limiting my field of operations to the plays contained in the first folio, I have excluded *Pericles*, which is unanimously regarded as canonical. But, so far as the external evidence is concerned, it has no stronger a claim than two or three other plays excluded from the first folio; and therefore it would be invidious to pick out it alone for study. On the other hand, to enter upon the examination of all the plays connected with Shakspeare's name but omitted from the first folio is a task calling for more time than I have at my disposal. Therefore, feeling the only fair alternative to be to deal with all or with none of these plays, I decided on the latter course, though it has necessitated the omission of *Pericles*.

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THE SOURCE OF SOUTHERNE'S 'FATAL MARRIAGE.'

THOMAS SOUTHERNE'S tragi-comedy *The Fatal Marriage, or The Innocent Adultery* (1694) may be said to consist of two independent plays. It contains a tragedy the subject of which is fairly accurately described by its two titles, and which owes nothing, it may be added, to Scarron's novel, *L'Adultère innocent*. This tragedy was separated out by Garrick and printed in 1757 under the title *Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage*. The second element is an unsavoury comic underplot, which, as the author has himself admitted, is cumbersome for the progress of the main action: 'I have given you a little taste of comedy...not from my own opinion, but the present humour of the town: I never contend that, because every reasonable man will, and ought to govern in the pleasures he pays for. I had no occasion for the comedy, but in the three first acts,' etc.¹ Garrick had thus the best excuse for remodelling the play, and he has done so with complete success.

Not only are the tragedy and comedy in Southerne's drama easily separable, but they are distinct in origin. In Southerne's *Dedication* just quoted he says: 'I took the hint of the tragical part from a novel of Mrs Behn's, called the *Fair Vow-breaker*: you will forgive me for calling it a hint, when you find I have little more than borrowed the question, how far such a distress was to be carried, upon the misfortune of a woman's having innocently two husbands at the same time?' By most biographers and critics this curiously involved and qualified statement has been assumed to mean that Southerne was indebted to Mrs Aphra Behn for the main plot of his tragi-comedy. This interpretation was first put forward in the *Life of Southerne* prefixed to Volume I of the three volume edition of the *Plays* printed for Thomas Evans and T. Becket (1774). Although Thomas Evans

¹ Southerne, in his *Dedication to The Fatal Marriage* (*Plays*, 1774, Vol. II, p. 182).

(1742-84), who was both bookseller and critic, is not mentioned as the author of the *Life* either in the *Dictionary of National Biography* or in the Catalogue of the British Museum, yet no doubt seems possible that it was written by him, it being signed with his initials 'T. E.' Now it was in this biography that the 'hint' of Southerne's own statement was transformed into a confession of borrowing¹. Evans' statement reappears in Ward's *History of Dramatic Literature*², in the same writer's notice of Southerne in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in Joseph Knight's *David Garrick* (1894)³.

It is, however, a little surprising to find that not one of Mrs Behn's tales corresponds with Southerne's description in his *Dedication*, or with the subject of his tragedy. The bibliography of that authoress is so confused and the collection of her works in the British Museum so incomplete, that it is unsafe to make too sweeping statements. Among her collected novels⁴, there is one entitled *The Nun, or the Perjur'd Beauty*, and Mr Gosse has kindly informed me that that story is identical with *The Nun, or the Fair Vow-breaker* which appears in the *editio princeps* of 1689 (inaccessible to me). This being so, it is clear that Southerne's biographers have been in error as to the real source of *The Fatal Marriage*. For the perjured nun of Mrs Behn's novel, instead of having, as Southerne implies, two husbands at the same time, remains unmarried to the last, notwithstanding her fickle passions for three different men, and, so far from being the innocent woman described by Southerne, she is responsible for five deaths: her three lovers, the mother superior of the convent and herself. Isabella, on the other hand, is as virtuous as Mrs Behn's nun is the opposite, and she falls a victim to her brother-in-law's wiles; Southerne's play is sentimental, while Mrs Behn's story is a picture of heartless treachery, beginning with perjury and ending in bloodshed. The contrast could not well be greater.

Thus Southerne took for his play, as he himself said, no more than a hint—one is inclined to say hardly a hint—from Mrs Behn's *The Fair Vow-breaker*. An examination of Mrs Behn's other novels has not revealed any material points of analogy between these and *The Fatal Marriage*.

¹ '...the plot, by the author's own confession, is taken from a novel of Mrs Behn's called *The Nun, or Fair Vow-breaker*.' (*Life of Southerne*, in *Plays*, 1774, Vol. i, p. 6.)

² Ed. 1899, Vol. iii, p. 421.

³ Ward, *l.c.*, surmises that Southerne's *Innocent Adultery* is the book mentioned in Sheridan's *Rivals* (i, ii). But was Miss Lydia Languish not more likely to have read Scarron's novel, several English versions of which had long been in existence?

⁴ *All the Histories and Novels*, 1705.

Much more closely allied to the theme of the play is a novel by Roger Lestrangle, *The Virgin Captive*, the fifth story in *The Spanish Decameron*, made English by Roger Lestrangle, London, 1687. In that novel, the foreign source of which I have not been able to trace, two lovers, Philocles and Aurelia, promise to wait two years for each other. A report is spread that Philocles has been killed in the wars, and when the two years are over, Aurelia resolves to become a nun. On the way to the convent, she meets a stranger in a slave's habit, who proves to be no other than her lover just freed from captivity. He claims her and marries her. This story is, however, of so common a type that its analogy with Southerne's plot is no proof that he made use of Lestrangle's work. The same type of story appears for instance, twice in the *Decamerone*, once with a tragic ending (IV, 8), and again with a happy one (X, 9)¹; it then passed with Boccaccio to Spain, and from Spain found its way into English drama and fiction.

The real source of *The Fatal Marriage*, as of so many other seventeenth century plays, is Spanish. It is the story of the lovers of Teruel, which was not probably known to Southerne through an English version of the legend—the existence of which is problematical—but through the most popular Spanish version, namely, Juan Perez de Montalvan's *Amantes de Teruel* (1638). This comedia had been preceded by two others on the same theme, A. Rey de Artieda's (1581) and Tirso de Molina's (1635), it being itself based on the latter. The source of the Spanish legend is, according to the best authorities², Boccaccio's tale of *Girolamo and Salvestra* (*Decamerone*, IV, 8).

The main point in which Southerne's drama differs from the Spanish originals is the circumstance mentioned in his *Dedication* as a hint borrowed from Mrs Behn. The Spanish heroine, Isabella de Segura, is not married to two men at the same time. She is pledged to wait for her first lover during a definite period: three years and three days in Tirso and Montalvan, seven years in Hieronimo de Guerta's *Florando de Castilla* (1616)³, and after waiting faithfully and being disappointed, she reluctantly yields to a second suitor who is favoured by her father. Thus there is only one marriage, and the Spanish Isabella is free from the charge of adultery, either guilty or innocent. On the night of the wedding the first lover, who has been falsely reported to have fallen in

¹ It is treated farcically in Shirley's *Hyde Park*.

² E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de los Amantes de Teruel*, Madrid, 1907; Miss C. B. Bourland, *Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan Literature in the Revue Hispanique*, XII; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, II (1907), p. xvi.

³ Canto IX.

the wars, reappears. From this point onwards, the story differs considerably in the two Spanish plays; Tirso adheres closely to tradition and to Boccaccio, while Montalvan introduces several changes, some of which have been adopted by his English imitator. In Tirso the first lover meets the bride in the bridal chamber, claims a kiss and when denied, falls down at her feet and dies of grief. The bridegroom then takes the dead man on his back and carries him to the threshold of his father's house. At the funeral the bride dies upon her lover's body. In Montalvan's version of the legend the marriage is consummated and the bedroom and funeral scenes omitted; Montalvan's lover '*se dió la muerte sin espada*,' i.e., dies of a broken heart behind a curtain, and when the curtain is drawn aside, the lady takes his hand, kisses him and dies also.

The English Restoration dramatist carries what might be called the prosaic interpretation of the legend a step further. He preserves Isabella's Christian name and nationality, but he transfers her from Teruel to Brussels, and makes her a runaway nun¹. His heroine is not a despairing maiden, but a mourning and courted widow, and the melodramatic element is heightened by scenes of madness, the introduction of hired assassins, by the machinations of a stage villain and by suicide. While Tirso and Montalvan disregard the unity of time, Southerne's play does not cover much more than the twenty-four hours allowed by the critical doctrine of his day. The English playwright is mainly concerned with the subject of the third '*jornada*' of the Spanish comedias, namely, his heroine's second marriage, and her earlier elopement from a convent is only lightly touched upon. Isabella appears here as a distressed widow and mother. Her broken vows are urged against her, she is driven to despair by her relentless father-in-law and by his fiendish son, and her innocent child is threatened with starvation, all before she consents to marry her second suitor. Thus domestic interests are brought into the foreground; the English playwright divides his heroine's feelings between two husbands and a child, and her fidelity to her first love, which was the main feature of the original legend, is obscured.

Southerne again differs from Tirso and Montalvan in the choice of the agency by which the '*fatal marriage*'—with him the second—is brought about. In Boccaccio's tale there is no pledge or engagement. In De Guerta's narrative Isabella marries the second suitor after the

¹ Since the appearance of Marianna d'Alcoforado's love-letters, translated by Roger LeStrange in 1678, the loves of nuns were a favourite theme in literature.

lapse of the seven years agreed upon, but in each of the three plays an intrigue is introduced. In Tirso de Molina, the second suitor, Gonçalo, is a villain and has a messenger bring false news of the first lover's death; in Montalvan a cousin of Isabella, Elena, who is herself in love with the absent warrior, plots with the second suitor to intercept the letters to Isabella, and to have the false news brought to her. Southerne, while retaining the story of the intercepted letters and the lying messenger, introduces a new villain to carry out the intrigue. In the English play an obdurate father-in-law is substituted for Isabella's own father¹, and the war takes place in the island of Candy instead of Tunis; there are also many changes in the minor characters.

Here the analogies between *The Fatal Marriage* and its Spanish prototypes come to an end, and English influences, especially of Shakspeare and Fletcher, make themselves felt. The villain Carlos, for instance, who brings about the catastrophe reminds us of Edmund in *Lear*, and a Shakspearian touch may also be detected in the despair and madness of Isabella after her first husband reappears.

For the comic underplot, or, as it is called in the *Dedication* of *The Fatal Marriage*, the 'comedy,' an English source has been pointed out, namely, Fletcher's *Nightwalker, or the Little Thief*. This play, indeed, reads like a burlesque of Boccaccio's *Girolamo and Salvestra* and its Spanish imitations; like *The Fatal Marriage*, it contains two death and burial incidents, and in both plays a miser is buried alive by his own son, and persuaded that he belongs to the nether world until he promises to renounce his avarice.

The connection between Southerne's play and Montalvan's is unmistakable, but the question is naturally still open whether Southerne was not drawing from some more immediate English source—possibly even from some lost version of the story by Mrs Behn herself. Have there been English stories on the same theme, directly or indirectly descended from *Decamerone*, iv, 8, other than Roger Lestrangle's *Virgin Captive* and Turberville's doggrel 'tragical tale' of *Girolam and Salvestra*? The latter, it may be added, is of no account in the present connection. In his *Dedication* Southerne may have merely intended to pay a compliment to his literary friend Mrs Behn; but he is certainly not likely to have troubled himself either to conceal or discover his indebtedness to Montalvan or any other Spanish source.

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LIÈGE.

¹ In Boccaccio this rôle is attributed to the lover's mother, assisted by his guardians, or 'tutors,' as Turberville calls them.

THE TEXT OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN.'

I. THE A-TEXT.

THE question of the authorship of the different versions of *Piers Plowman* has recently been discussed at some length by many critics¹, and is likely to give rise to much further discussion before opinion settles down definitely in favour of either 'one author or five.' It is not our purpose here to enter into that controversy, but to draw attention to certain textual problems which seem hitherto to have been overlooked, but which nevertheless affect, to a very considerable degree, the arguments which have been put forward upon either side.

Professor Manly has called attention to the fact that many of the minor alterations, generally supposed to have been made when the work was recast into what Professor Skeat has named the B-text, are really to be found in certain MSS. of the A-text: 'In his reworking of the poems he [the author of the B-text] practically disregarded passus XII and changed the preceding eleven passus by insertions and expansions. Minor verbal alterations he also made, but far fewer than is usually supposed. Many of those credited to him are to be found among the variant readings of the A-text, and were merely taken over unchanged from the MS. of A used as the basis².' This would seem to clench finally the argument in favour of multiple authorship. For these variants are exceedingly numerous: they often involve serious differences of sense and of metre. It is hardly conceivable that the reviser, had he been the original author, would have used as the basis of his B-text a vicious transcript which had travelled, by successive corruptions, so far from his original work.

¹ J. M. Manly in *Modern Philology*, January, 1906; H. Bradley in *The Athenæum*, April 21, 1906; J. M. Manly in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. II, 1908; Th. Hall in *The Modern Language Review*, October, 1908; J. J. Jusserand in *Modern Philology*, January, 1909.

² *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 23.

But an interpretation of the phenomena of the text, quite different from that assumed by Professor Manly, is possible. Do these so-called 'variants' preserve the real reading of the original A-text, as it left the author's hands, whilst the alternative readings, which have been adopted in the received A-text, represent the variants of an individual MS. or class of MSS.?

It has not been recognized that the received A-text is not an attempt to reconstruct the original text, as written by the poet. It is a reprint with some corrections of a single MS.—the Vernon (V)—which Prof. Skeat selected, believing that its readings were, 'on the whole, better than those of any other.' Having selected this MS., the editor's object was to print it *with as few corrections as might be*. With this object, readings admittedly inferior were retained in the text, and have been reproduced alike in the Early English Text and in the Oxford editions¹. Nevertheless, in some two hundred cases², that is approximately once in every dozen lines, the reading of the Vernon MS. had to be corrected from the other MSS.: in the first place from MS. Harleian 875 (H), which of all the A-MSS. agrees most closely with V: from other MSS. where, as not infrequently, V and H agree in an impossible reading.

It is, then, a grave misapprehension for critics to speak and argue as if the received text of A reproduced, or had been intended to reproduce, the author's exact words, and could thus be taken as a criterion of his vocabulary and metrical usage. If, in two hundred places, the Vernon MS. is so erroneous that an editor, determined to make no alteration unless it be absolutely necessary, is yet compelled to fall back upon the other MSS., then it may well contain a thousand or more uncorrected alterations and corruptions. For, to every one instance in which we can detect a scribal alteration by reason of its intrinsic absurdity, there may well be half a dozen in which the variant is not so seriously inferior as to be quite untenable. Hence it is, and has long been, a recognized principle in the textual criticism of the Greek and Latin classics, that a text, which adheres to one MS. in every case except where the reading of that one MS. is untenable, cannot arrive at a reconstruction of the original. In so many of the most interesting old and middle English texts, preserved as they have been in unique MSS., we are, then, entirely at the mercy of the scribe, and can only resign ourselves to the certainty

¹ Cf. the critical notes in the E.E.T.S. edition of the A-text, to Pro., 14, 75; i, 39, 79, 87, 135; ii, 9, 118, 129, 206; iii, 32, 174, 266—9; and especially v, 125 where Skeat states 'My object is to avoid alteration as much as possible.'

² Excluding cases where a whole line or passage is inserted from other MSS.

that, whilst that scribe has made many alterations which we can detect, he has as certainly made many others which we cannot, and that therefore we must give up all hope of getting the author's exact words in every case. But where, on the other hand, we have a peculiarly rich supply of MSS., as we have in the case of *Piers Plowman*, we may well hope to correct even the minor errors of the one by comparison with the others.

There are fourteen MSS. of the A-text of *Piers Plowman*. A complete collation of these has never been issued. Professor Skeat appended to his reprint of the Vernon text complete collations of three MSS., and partial collations of two others. There remain eight MSS. scattered throughout the kingdom, collations of which have not been published; in some cases because Professor Skeat thought them of only secondary importance, but in others¹ because, at the time the Vernon text was being printed, they were unknown. And indeed, so long as the A-text was regarded as merely the first rough draft of a poem, afterwards reissued authoritatively by its author in complete form as the B-text, it might well seem an effort of needless curiosity to strive to fix, to an *Ac* or a *But* the precise wording of such a superseded draft. But now that it is being argued from the 'diction, metre and sentence structure' of this A-text, that its author cannot have been the reviser of the B-text, it becomes important to fix, with the utmost possible precision, the exact text of the original A-version. We therefore submit the following notes, which are founded upon our own transcripts and collations of every known MS. of the A-text², whether good or bad.

The impression created when the A- and B-texts are read side by side is generally that the A-text is inferior in both metre and style. Many passages, vigorous, energetic and metrically correct in B, are feeble and tentative in A. Yet this impression is erroneous; for if we take some typical instances where B seems most clearly to have improved upon A, we shall find that the received reading of A is found only in a small minority of the A-MSS., and that the bulk of the A-MSS. have the so-called B-reading. Here are some examples:

(A Pro. 76.) Of the pardoner who makes a trade of absolving men from their vows:

Weore þe Bisschop I-blesset · and worþ boþe his Eres
Heo scholde not beo so hardi · to deceyue so þe peple.

¹ E.g., Westminster, Ingilby, Rawlinson, Dublin.

² For a description of these A-MSS., and an explanation of the symbols used in the footnotes, see below, pp. 373 seq., 384. In the notes orthographic variations are not recorded: the spelling followed is that of the MS. first quoted of each group.

The plural *heo* is strange, for the author is speaking only of one pardoner. His confederate, the parish priest, has not yet been mentioned. The reading of the B-text is at once more lucid and more vigorous: 'If the bishop were worth his ears'—

His seel shulde nouȝt be sent · to deceyue þe peple (B Pro. 79).

And this is also the reading of nine¹ out of eleven A-MSS.

(A I, 17—21.) The gifts given by Truth to man :

And for he hihte þe eorþe · to seruen ow vchone....
And Comaundet of his Cortesye · In Comune þreo þinges;
Heore nomes beþ needful.

Yet it is not the names of the things, but the things themselves which are needful: *serue* does not alliterate: *therefore* would give better sense than *for*. All these are found improved in the B-text, and in the overwhelming majority of the A-MSS.²:

And þerfore he hyȝte þe erthe · to help ȝow vchone...
And comaunded of his curteisye · in comune þree þinges;
Arne none nedful but þo....

(A I, 34.)

Al nis not good to þe gost · þat þe bodi lykeþ.

Instead of *that the bodi lyketh*, the B-text, and nine out of eleven A-MSS.³ give *that the gutte(s) axeth (lyketh)*, which is metrically superior.

(A I, 86.)

For hose is trewe of his tonge · telleþ not elles,
Doþ his werkes þer-with · and doþ no mon ille,
He is a-counted to þe gospel · on grounde and on lofte,
And eke I-liknet to vr lord · bi seint Lucus wordes.
Clerkes þat knowen hit · scholde techen hit aboute,
For Cristene and vn-cristene · him cleymeþ vchone.

The repetition of *doth* in the second line is unsatisfactory, with regard alike to sense, style and alliteration. *He is accounted to the gospel* is barely intelligible, and *him cleymeth* is, as we choose to interpret it, either syntactically wrong or an anti-climax: *techen* does

¹ RUEITH₂WDL; *As is here defective*; Dig also reads *seale*; but Dig is here rather a C than an A-text; V and H alone have the received reading.

² therefore RUEITH₂DLDigH; for V; *As defective*; helpe(n) RUEITH₂DLDig; *serue* VHW. U is corrupt here.

(n)ar(n) non nedful but þo (þei) RUEITH₂DL; E has medful *miswritten* for nedful; so nedful as þo W; Ther ar none so nedefull, Dig; *As missing*; the received reading is given by VH only.

³ gut REITH₂WD, guttes Dig; L transposes *gost* and *gotte*, but his original had obviously the same reading as the rest; U and As defective; bodi VH.

not alliterate. But all this is given rightly in the B-text, and in the great majority of the A-MSS.¹:

Who-so is trewe of his tonge · & telleth none other,
And doth þe werkis þer-with · and wilneth no man ille,
He is a god bi þe gospel · agrounde and aloft,
And ylike to owre lorde · bi seynte lukes wordes.
Þe clerkes þat knoweþ þis · shulde kenne it aboute
For cristene and vncristne · clameþ it vchone.

(A I, 159—63.)

For Iames þe gentel · bond hit in his Book,
That [Fey] *wit*houten [fait] · Is febelore þen nouȝt,
And ded as a dore naȝl · but þe deede folewe.
Chastite *wit*houten Charite · (wite þou forsoþe)
Is as lewed as a Laumpe · that no liht is Inne.

The alliteration of the first line is improved in the B-text:

For Iames þe gentil · iugged in his bokes.

and the last sentence is much more powerful:

For-thi chastite with-oute charite · worth cheyned in helle;
It is as lewed as a laumpe · that no liȝte is Inne.

But both these readings are found in many A-MSS., whilst those of the received A-text are only found in two², the former indeed only in one.

(A II, 5—6.) The words of Holy Church to the poet's question how he may know Falsehood:

'Loke on þe lufthond' *quod* heo · 'and seo wher [he] stondeþ,
Boþe Fals and Fauuel · and al his hole Meyne.'

Neither line alliterates satisfactorily: as in the preceding example the received text of A seems to be satisfied with separate alliteration within each half line. More correctly, the B-text has:

Loke vpon þi left half · and lo where he standeth,
Bothe fals and fauel · and here feres manye.

But this is also the reading of the bulk of the A-MSS.³

¹ wilneth, willeth or will REITH₂WDLDig; doth VH. *Skeat, though reading doth, prefers willeth (see p. 139).*

a god by þe gospel(es) RETWDLDig; in god be ye gospell I; good be gospel H₂; a-counted to þe gospel VH. kenne REITH₂WDLDig; techen VH.

cleymeth hit, clayme(n) hit EITH₂WDLDigH; him cleymeþ V. cleymeþ R. U and As are defective here.

² jugyd, jugyðh RUIWLDigAs; demys E (*written for jugys by the common interchange of synonyms*); ioynide TH₂; hath wryten D; bond hit V; H has seyth in later hand over erasure: the last three letters ide of the original are just perceptible.

chenyd in hell EITH₂WDig, but it may be doubted whether the right A reading in spite of inferior alliteration is not schryned in Helle RUL; shewed in helle D; tenyd in helle As; wite þou forsoþe VH. There was evidently some corruption in the early copies, and the scribe of the MS. from which V and H alike derive altered, according to his custom, a word which appeared to him obscure into the colourless and unmetrical wite thou forsothe. In helle is added in T in a later hand.

³ *quod* heo (he, sche) omitted RUTDLDig; inserted VHH₂UWI; EAs corrupt here. Lo ETH₂WLAs; seo, se VHUUDIDig; loke R.

his (her) feres alle (many) RUEITH₂WDLAs; Dig omits line; al his hole Meyne VH.

After Mede's wedding has been forbidden by Theology, Favel rides with the rest to London, according to the received A-text *feyntly a-tyred* (A II, 140). B has *fetislich* (B II, 165) which is much more appropriate to the attire of one who was to give the bride away. And this is the reading of seven out of twelve A-MSS.¹

When Liar escaped to the friars, they, to prevent his being known by all comers, according to the received A-text *Kepten him as a Frere* (A II, 206); B has the much more appropriate *coped* (B II, 230) which is also the reading of twelve out of thirteen A-MSS.²

(A III, 32.) Mede promises to the clerks who comfort her:

in Constorie at Court · to tellen heore names.

In B the alliteration is rectified by the reading *do calle* for *tellen*. *Calle* is also the reading of nine out of twelve A-MSS.³

(A III, 35.) Those clerks whom Mede loves shall, she boasts, be advanced, where cunning clerks shall 'couche behynde.' *Couche* Skeat interprets 'lie down apart, be left in the lurch,' a somewhat forced use of the word. A much better reading is *cllokke*, i.e. 'limp' (Fr. *cloquer*) the reading of B and of nine out of eleven A-MSS.⁴

(A III, 231.) Describing the two kinds of Mede, Conscience contrasts with the true Mede, which God will give, the False Mede beyond Measure:

Bote þer is a Meede Mesureles · þat Maystrie desyret
To Meyntene Misdoers · Meede þei taken.

The king above has just said that Mede is worthy 'muche maystrie to haue' but it is difficult to see how Mede Measureless desires mastery, or to whom 'thei' in the next line refers.

The B-text reads:

There is an-other Mede mesurelees · þat maistres desireth
To meyntene mysdoers · Mede þei take.

'Another Meed which magistrates covet' (for *masters* = magistrates cf. A III, 67). The context shows the B reading to be right. It is also that of ten out of twelve A-MSS.⁵

¹ fetisliche TWULDig; fetelych I; fetyssy R; fastlyche D; H₂ has queyntliche, *having used fetiliche above*. Feyntliche VHE. As is *wanting here*.

² copyd, copide, copeden, capyd RUEITH₂WDHLDigAs; V alone kepten. See also Skeat's note, p. 142.

³ calle, callen, etc. RUEITH₂WLDig; As *wanting here*. tellen VH; telleþ D. See Skeat, p. 142.

⁴ clocke, klockyn, etc. RUITH₂WLDDig; EAs *defective here*; couche VH.

⁵ maysteres RUEITH₂WLDDig; maystrie VH; As *wanting*.

Instances where the imperfect alliteration of the received A-text is corrected in B are very numerous. Here are some:

Pow hast honged on my Nekke · Enleue tymes (A III, 174).

halfe (or *halse*) for *Nekke* is found in B and in ten out of twelve A-MSS.¹

Among þis Riche Rayes · lernde I a Lessun (A v, 125).

B has *I rendred*, as have eleven out of thirteen A-MSS.²

For his wikkede lyf · that he i-liued hedde (A v, 217).

B has *lither life*, as have eleven out of thirteen A-MSS.³

For nis no gult her so gret · his Merci nis wel more (A v, 228).

B has *his goodnesse*, as have eight out of eleven A-MSS.⁴

Treuþe wolde loue me þe lasse · a gret while after (A vi, 49).

B has *a longe tyme*, and *long* is also the reading of eleven out of thirteen A-MSS.⁵

Bolde Bidders and Beggys · þat mowen her mete biswynke (A vii, 202).

B has *her bred biswynke*, as have five out of ten A-MSS.⁶

In all the instances given above there is a strong presumption that the difference between the reading of the received text of A and that of the received text of B is not due to corruptions in the MS. which the B-reviser used, but rather to corruptions in the Vernon MS. upon which the received A-text rests.

It is not merely that, of the twelve or thirteen A-MSS. available, all but two in most cases favour the B-reading. For numbers in this matter do not count for all. 'MSS. must be weighed as well as counted,' and it is quite conceivable that the two MSS. might preserve the correct reading, and the ten agree in a corruption. Until we have weighed the MSS. we have no right to argue from the numerical superiority of either group. But we have a right to argue that the reading of the ten is vigorous, picturesque, and metrically accurate, that of the two commonplace and metrically defective. Anyone, therefore, who believes that the received text of A reproduces in these passages the original author's

¹ half RUEITH₂WDLDig. In many of these instances the reading is indisputably *halfe*; in one or two it might be either *halfe* or *halse*; As is wanting; Nekke VH.

² rendred RUEITH₂WDLDigAs; lernde VH.

³ lethy, liþer RUEITH₂WDLDigAs; wikkede VH.

⁴ godenesse ITH₂WDLDigAs; grace E; Merci VH; RU omit the line.

⁵ long RUEITH₂WDLDigAs; gret VH.

⁶ bred RTLDigAs; mete VHUI; EH₂ wanting; D corrupted.

words, will have to admit that that text received material improvements at the hands of a scribe, whose phrasing was more effective, and whose ideas of metre were more strict, than were those of the original author.

Let us now consider some cases in which the reading of the majority of the A-MSS., which is followed by B, *must* clearly be the original reading. For in these cases the reading of the received text of A (i.e., generally that of V and H) is unintelligible till we see it to be a corruption of the reading which we find in the bulk of the A-MSS., and in the received text of B.

(A I, 54.)

For Rihtfoliche Resoun · schulde rulen ou alle,
And kuynde wit be wardeyn · owre weolpe to kepe,
And tour of vr tresour · to take hit [3ow] at nede.

A tower may keep treasure, but it cannot possibly hand it to you at need. The right reading is obviously *tutour*, as given by eight out of ten A-MSS.¹, and as followed in the B-text.

(A I, 104.)

[For crist, kyngene kyng · knyhtide tene]
Cherubin *and* Seraphin · an al þe foure ordres—

There are either nine or ten angelic orders, according as the lost angels are, or are not, counted as a separate class.

The reading *an al the foure ordres* can only be the careless writing of a scribe, whose mind was running upon the four orders of friars. The right reading is obviously that of the B-text:

Cherubyn and seraphin · suche seuene and an othre

thus making nine orders of angels, in addition to the tenth order, which fell. And this reading, or a corruption of it, is found in the majority of the A-MSS.²

(A III, 41.) The corrupt Friar offers to shrive Mede:

I schal asoyle þe my-self · for a summe of whete.

summe is a manifest miswriting for *seem*, a load, which is the reading of eleven out of thirteen A-MSS.³, and of the B-text.

(A III, 73.) Of the 'Brewsters, Bakers, Butchers and Cooks' who adulterate food:

þei punisschen þe peple priueliche....

¹ RITH₂WDLDig. U and As are here defective, E omits the word; V and H read tour(e).

² such seuene & a noþer, TH₂W; suche seuene & oþer D; and such seuene oþer RE; and siche mo oþere U; & seuen moo oyere I; As wanting; L also makes nine orders. The only MSS. giving four orders are V, H and Dig.

³ summe VH; sem RUEITH₂WDLAsDig.

The right reading is obviously *poison*, as B and nine A-MSS., against one which reads *punisschen*; *punish* has come in from four lines above¹.

(A III, 122.) Conscience says, accusing Mede before the king

Vr Fader Adam heo falde · wip Feire biheste.

It is difficult to see how Conscience can accuse Mede of this evil act, which was the deed of the enemy in person. Whatever sins may have contributed to Adam's fall, Bribery can hardly be said to have played any part. The true reading is clearly:

Your fadir sche fellide · þurw false byhestes

and 'Your father' is the reading of nine out of twelve A-MSS., followed by B. The reference is to the death of Edward II, for it is abundantly clear from the allusions to the French campaign that the king of the allegory is Edward III. But that several scribes did not understand the passage as a reference to Edward II is certain: one boldly alters 'your father she felled' into 'many men she fells.' The scribe of the Vernon MS. is however alone in his attempt to explain the allusion as a reference to Adam's fall².

That the reference is to Edward II rather than to Adam is clear also from Mede's defence; for she understands 'Your father' as referring, not to Adam, but to a king:

(A III, 180.)

For Culde I neuere no kyng · ne counseilede þer-after;
Ne dude i neuere as þou dust · I do hit on þe kyng.

But here there is a further corruption: *I never did as thou dost or didst* gives no meaning, we want *as thou judgest*: and this is the reading of nine out of twelve A-MSS., and of the B-text:

Ne dide as þou demist · I do hit on þe kyng³.

¹ poysone RUEITH₂DLDig; perrechyn As *through the scribe's eye catching* rechyn in the line below; appose altered to appresse W. pȳlen H; punisschen V only.

² ȝour fadir sche fellide UREIH₂WDL; As *is missing here*; T has ȝoure fadir he fellide; H fele men heo falliþ; Dig our Father sche fylyd; V alone has Vr Fader Adam heo falde. Skeat points out (Clarendon Press edition, vol. II, p. 45) that the reading of the received A-text must here be erroneous. Cf. too on this point a most valuable article by E. Teichmann in *Anglia*, xv, 224—5. Teichmann obviously doubted whether the Vernon MS. justifies the confidence which has been placed in its text of *Piers Plowman*.

³ demest UEITH₂WDLDig; dost RV; didest H; As *wtg.*

The conclusion of the indictment of Mede by Conscience in the received A-text is hardly intelligible (III, 264):

þe Culorum of þis [clause] · kepe I not to schewe,
 In Auenture hit [nuyzed] me · an ende wol I make:
 ¶ And riht as Agag hedde · hapne schulle summe;
 Samuel schal slen him · and Saul schal be blamet,
 Daudid schal ben Dyademed · and daunten hem alle,
 And on cristene kyng · kepen vs vchone.
 Conscience knoweþ þis; for kuynde wit me tauzte
 þat Resun schal regne · and Reames gouerne.

Lines have been misplaced: the passage should run as it does in the B-text, and in eleven out of thirteen A-MSS.

The culorum of þis cas · kepe I nouzte to shewe;
 An auenture it noyed men · none ende wil I make....
 I Conscience knowe þis · for kynde witt me it tauzte
 That resoun schal regne · and rewmes gouerne;
 And rihte as agag hadde · happe shul somme
 Samuel schal sleen hym · and Saul schal be blamed
 And dauid shal be diademed · and daunten hem alle,
 And one cristene kynge · kepen hem alle¹.

Among the disreputable company in the Alehouse is given

(A v, 164.)

Dauwe þe disschere.

But this is clearly wrong, for we have 'Rose þe disschere' only two lines below. The scribe's eye has caught the second word and he has miswritten Dawe's occupation. Dawe is a ditcher, not a dish-seller: he is mentioned subsequently ('Dawe þe dyker' B vi, 331 'Dawe þe deluere' C ix, 354). And *dykere* is the reading of the B-text and of eight out of thirteen A-MSS.²

(A viii, 29—35.) Among the works of public munificence by which merchants may make friends of mammon, are mentioned, together with the building of hospitals and bridges, and the endowing of nuns, widows and scholars:

And wikkede wones · wihtly to amende...
 Rule Religion · and Rente hem betere.

¹ RUEITH₂WDLADig; VH alone have wrong order.

Some confusion was caused by the scribes forgetting that Conscience is speaking: I consiens is found only in IWLHAs. D reads yf conscience. Elsewhere it is generally corrupted to 'In consiens knowe I' RTH₂UDig; E omits the second I.

² dykere RUITH₂WDDig; L is corrupt here, AsE have drynkere, which no doubt describes Dawe accurately enough, but would not sufficiently differentiate him from his fellows in the tavern; VH alone disschere. Here again, cf. Skeat's note, (Cl. Press), p. 91, and Teichmann in *Anglia* xv, p. 226.

Wones cannot be right. To keep one's property in repair is only an act of common sense. The right reading must be *wikked wayes*, as in B and eleven out of twelve A-MSS.¹

Merchants obviously do not rule, but relieve, religious houses, as in B and eight out of eleven A-MSS.²

(A VIII, 79.) Beggars mutilate their children, in order that they may beg the better, for

per ben mo mis-happes amongus hem · hose takeþ heede
þen of alle opure men · þat on Molde wandren.

Skeat explains 'they are always meeting with accidents' which hardly agrees with the context. The B-text has *There is moo mysshape peple*—that there are more deformed among them than among other folk is a proof that they mutilate their children. And this is the reading of eight out of eleven A-MSS.³

Notwithstanding these and similar blemishes, the merits of the Vernon text are undeniable. Yet the very goodness of the Vernon MS., when regarded as an isolated version, sometimes diminishes its value as a means of restoring the original text of the poem. For the intelligibility of Vernon is often the result of the scribe or his predecessor having deliberately smoothed away the difficulties he found in his original. It is natural that a scribe, engaged in copying and turning into his own speech poems often written in widely differing dialects, should become something of an editor. Sometimes he makes a slip, and we can detect him at work. We have seen how, not understanding the reference to Mede having slain King Edward II, he made her slay father Adam⁴.

Again, turn to VIII, 106, where the author obviously wrote:

þe prophete his payn eet · in penauns and wepyng....
Fuerunt michi lacrimæ panes

a reading which is kept in MSS. U, I, L.

But the word *payn* was evidently not understood, and most of the scribes bungled over it. T has nonsense, *the prophet his peyned*, R has only very halting sense, *the prophete his peyne hath*⁵. Alone among the

¹ wyckede weyes RUTH₂WDLADigH; *wones* V; E *wanting here*.

² releyue RITH₂DLDigH; rule UWV; EAs *wanting here*.

³ mysshape, myschapyn RUITWDL; mishappes V̇H; myschapmen H₂; EAs *wanting*; mischefes Dig.

⁴ That this is the work of the V, and not of the common original of V and H is clear: for H, equally puzzled, has edited the passage in another and even more violent way 'many men she fells.' H goes further, and also smoothes away the subsequent passage where Mede defends herself from the charge of having killed the king. V, more honest than his fellow H, has abstained from telling a second lie to cover up the tracks of his first.

⁵ Over an erasure. Probably the scribe first wrote *penaunce*.

MSS. of the first class V and H have not only 'sophisticated' the passage, but have done so cleverly. V has 'The prophetes peyneden hem · in penaunce and wepyng.' H has, still more ingeniously 'Ther is profyt in peyne' etc.

It is the very cleverness of these plausible corruptions which makes their danger. A scribe who is intelligent enough to do this kind of thing, is likely to mislead us more than a bungler who copies, more or less incorrectly, the text before him. What Dr Moore has remarked of the early MSS. of the *Divine Comedy* is equally true of the MSS. of *Piers Plowman*: their writers are not exact copyists, but editors, although working without an editor's sense of responsibility. But whilst this applies, to some extent, to all the MSS., it is particularly applicable to Vernon, and to one or two others, including Vernon's nearest relative, Harleian 875 (H), which is perhaps more given to editing than even V, though there is not space to quote instances here.

Had this been all, it might have been possible to correct V and H, the one from the other. But unfortunately it is clear from the instances quoted above, where V and H so often agree in one and the same variant, that the common ancestor of V and H was also an 'edited' MS., whose scribe was ready to replace a difficult or perhaps corrupt word by a commonplace tag. Many further examples of this might be quoted. Theology forbids the marriage between Mede and False; for Mede is a lady, the daughter of Amends—just compensation—and God's will is that she should be wedded to Truth. The passage runs in B, as it probably ran in the original A:

For Mede is moylere · of Amendes engendred,
And god graunteth to gyf · Mede to Treuthe. (B II, 119.)

But, though a very early corruption, which all but one or two A-MSS. share, (*A*)*mendes* was altered to the senseless *Frendes*¹. The scribe whose work underlies VH, tried to make sense by a reckless alteration of the passage. At the same time he corrupted the word *moylere*, which apparently he did not understand. So the passage ran in the archetype of V and H:

For Mede is a Medeler · a Mayden of goode,
God graunte us to giue her · ther treuthe wol asigne [or assente].

The Vernon scribe did not understand *Medeler*, and so altered to *Iuweler*, i.e., one bedecked with or owning jewels, a word appropriate

¹ For mede is (a) muliere of frendis engendryt RUTH₂D: E tries to improve the sense by altering *frendis* to *fendes*. LIDig give the right reading *Mendes*, but almost certainly in Dig, possibly in I, this may be regarded as the correction of a scribe who supplied the right word from his knowledge of a B or C text. Ashmole is defective here.

enough to Mede in general, though certainly not in this context. Hence we get the reading of the received A-text:

For Meede is a Iuweler · A Mayden of goode,
God graunte vs to giue hire · ther treupe wol asigne.

Or again, in v, 129, the poet seems to have written

My wyf was a wynnestre and wollen cloþ made (so RETDL),

wynster meaning a woman making money. We have not met the word elsewhere, but it seems a quite possible one, and is supported by the use of *winner* meaning a workman ('winners with handen' C I, 222) and *win* meaning to earn one's living (A I, 153). Yet we can understand the scribes being puzzled by the word, and altering it. U changes to the senseless, but graphically very close *breustere*: more intelligently IH₂WDigAs have *webstere*, *webbere*¹ etc. But the scribe whose work underlies V and H, was not satisfied with so simple an alteration. He wrote:

And my wyf at Westmunstre · that wollene cloth made.

Most of the scribes were puzzled by the name of *one Waryn Wisdom*, who, with Witty, rides to court (IV, 24 etc.). *Waryn* was not understood as a proper name, and corrupted to *were*, *warned*, *wary*. The ancestor of V and H remedied the passage by making Wisdom and Witty ride to court *on a wayn*.

Many other instances of this 'editing' might be quoted: the most striking, however, is in Passus x, 188, etc., where the poet speaks of the ill-assorted marriages of folk who will never win the Dunmow flich without perjury:

Þeiȝ þei don hem to dunmowe but ȝif þe deuil helpe
To folewe aftir þe flicche fecche þei it neuere
But ȝif þei boþe be forsworn þat bacoun þei tyne.
For þi I counseile alle cristene couette not be weddid
ffor coueitise of catel or of kynrede riche;
But maidenis and maidenis macche ȝow ysamme
Wydeveris & wydewis werchþ riȝt also
And glade ȝe god þat al good sendiþ².

¹ This seems simpler than the alternative supposition that RETDL independently agreed in corrupting the familiar *webster* into the unfamiliar *winster*. Also, if the original reading were *webster*, we should have no reason for the variants of U and VH. The confusion of the MSS. shows that the original reading must have been a difficult and puzzling one. Had *winster* been found only in one group of MSS. and *webster* in the others, we might have supposed that *webster* had been corrupted to *winster* through the scribe's eye catching *spinster* immediately below. But RETDL are no single group.

² þeiȝ] om. RUDAsW. don hem] hidden hem RU; be don D; hien hym welfast W. dunmowe] don now I. but...helpe] om. W. ȝif] om. UI. þe deuil] dowel As. folewe aftir] fechen W. flicche] flesche R, flysh W. fecche] fatte As cache W. ȝif] om. UAsW. þei] om. As. forsworn] forswon R.

So the passage runs in the MS. of Trinity College, Cambridge: the variants of the other MSS.—except V—are given below. The variants of the Ingilby scribe show that he or his original did not understand the allusion to Dunmow, and objected to applying the word maiden to a bachelor. Ingilby therefore corrupts (probably unintentionally) *dunmow* to *don now*, and (intentionally) *maidenis* to *sengil*.

But the Vernon text represents the version of a scribe who was not content to copy faithfully an unintelligible passage. He makes it bear a superficial appearance of sense.

Dauȝ þei don hem to done · al þat þei mowen
To folewen aftur þe Flucchen · fecche þei hit neuere
Bote ȝif þei boþe ben forswore · and Cursen þat tyme.
Forþi I Counseile alle Cristene · coueite not ben I-weddet
For Couetyse of Catel · ne of kun Riche,
Bote Maydens and vn-Maydens · clene ow saue
Widewers and widewes · worschupeþ also
And penne glade ȝe god · þat alle goodes sendeþ.

We cannot be certain if this last piece of editing is due to V or to the common source of VH, for H is here wanting. In view of the other instances quoted, however, it is most likely that, if we had H, we should find him erring with V.

But not only does this common source edit corrupt passages: the scribe has another serious fault, that of substituting one synonym for another, more particularly with a view to excluding a word which he does not like, even at the expense of ruining the alliteration. This is a common fault, but the VH scribe seems to have possessed it to an uncommon degree¹. The most characteristic instance is the systematic substitution of *teach* for *ken*.

for þi] þer for I, om. As.

couette] þei couyte R. be] to be RUAsDigW; wedded begins next line in W; to wedde D. or of] or for RU; ne of IDigW; and of As. kynrede] kyn IW.

maidenis and maidenis] sengil and madenys I; maydenis As.

macche ȝow ysamme] ȝow to same takyn RU; marie ȝou togyderis H₂; makkyth ȝou same I; mache ȝou þe same D; matche you togeders Dig W; meke ȝou to gederis As.

wydeveris & wydewis] transposed I. riȝt also] ȝe al so RU; the same H₂; riȝt so Dig; ȝe þe same AsW. And] þanne RU; and þan I, DigW.

þat al good sendeþ] and alle goode saintz W. good] godes RUI. As omits the last line.

¹ Pro. 14 trily, trigly RUEITH₂WDig. The word was a difficult one, for IDL alter to trulyche, treoweliche, etc.; wonderliche VH. As is wanting in the Prologue.

Pro. 41 bratful bredful RUTH₂DL. This again was clearly a difficult word, for E reads with bred full and WIDig ful, fully; faste VH. Of bred ful is also the reading of the received text of the B version: bretful reappears in the C-text.

Sometimes the alteration of the VH scribe appears quite wanton, as when he changes hold to give (I, 9, hold þei no tale RUEITH₂WDLDig; ȝeneþ þei no tale VH; As wanting) or wisse to teach (I, 72 wysse etc. REITH₂WDLDig; techēþ V tawght H; UAs wanting) or tie to bind (I, 94 teiȝe hem faste REITH₂DLDig; bynde(n) VHW; UAs wanting) or catel to meed (IV, 69 catel RUEITH₂WDLDigAs; meede VH). Whilst the interchange of

These, and other instances too numerous to quote, throw suspicion upon V, H, and their common source. However plausible be the text presented by V and, in the main, supported by H, we cannot accept it without demur when we see that the scribes of these MSS. were improvers, who took such great liberties with their originals. And the support which V receives from H, and in virtue of which Skeat often allows a doubtful V-reading to stand, is invalidated when we see that V and H alike go back to a somewhat corrupt original.

But, further, it may be doubted whether V has even the character which we have hitherto allowed it, of presenting a text better in itself—or at least more plausible—than that of the other MSS. Here it is difficult to avoid arguing in a circle. The best MSS. are clearly those which give the best readings: and in deciding what are the best readings we shall ultimately have to place much, though not all, our reliance upon the evidence of what we have decided to be the best MSS. The four MSS. which Skeat selected, with justice, as being the four best available when he printed the A-text were:

V. The Vernon MS. in the Bodleian, wanting after XI, 180 (see Skeat, pp. xv—xvii).

H. Harl. 875 in the British Museum, wanting after VIII, 144 (see Skeat, pp. xvii—xviii).

T. Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 14 (see Skeat, pp. xviii—xix).

U. University College, Oxford (see Skeat, pp. xix—xx).

Let us examine the individual readings of each of these MSS. on *their own merits*, trying not to allow ourselves to be influenced by considerations drawn from the number of MSS. which agree or disagree in each case. The results will, of course, be quite provisional, for

synonyms is a general fault, the source of VH was peculiarly addicted to it, as is shown by the following examples, in all of which the alliteration demands *ken* not *teach*:

- i, 79 *kenne* REITH₂WLDig; *teche* VHRD; UAs *wanting*.
- i, 90 *kenne* REITH₂WDLDig; VH *teche*; UAs *wtg*.
- i, 127 *kenne* UITH₂WDLDig; *teche* VHR; *lere* E; As *wtg*.
- ii, 4 *ken* RUUEITH₂WDLDigAs; *teche* VH.
- vi, 30 *kennyd*, etc. RUETH₂WDLDigAs; *tauzte* VHI.
- vii, 23 *kennest* RUEILDigAsH; *techest* VTH₂WD.
- vii, 25 *kenne* UEITH₂WDLDigAs; *kene* R; *teche* V; H *wtg*.
- viii, 120 *kennyd* UITH₂WDLDig; *tauzte* VHRAs; E *wtg*.
- ix, 50 *bekenne* RUIH₂WDigAs; *beotake* V; ELH *wtg*.

Skeat points out in his critical notes (A-text *E.E.T.S.*, p. 139) that in i, 79, 90, 127 we might with advantage read *kenne*, but adds 'I have preferred leaving the text intact to making *three* alterations.' Yet in point of fact there is less violence in making three alterations than in making one. The case for alteration is strengthened with each succeeding instance in which we find Vernon reading *teach* and the alliteration demanding *ken*: in the later passus Skeat, in fact, usually abandons the Vernon reading in these cases.

subsequently MS. authority may—and indeed will—lead us to think that in some cases what we have condemned as the inferior reading, must be the actual words of the original writer, and that what we have regarded as the better reading, is only the felicitous corruption of an isolated scribe. But we cannot invoke MS. authority yet: we have still to decide where it lies.

If, up to the point where Vernon breaks off, we compare it with the other three MSS. which Skeat collated with it, we get the following results:

	In V.	In H, <i>up to</i> VIII, 144 ¹ .	In T.	In U.
1. Necessary lines or words omitted	32	16	17	34
2. Good lines or words omitted	33	20	18	29
3. Reading distinctly inferior	208	194	131	217
4. Reading somewhat inferior	44	42	42	47

From classes 2 and 4 we cannot with safety argue; for a quite good line or word may be due to interpolation in a certain group of MSS. rather than to deficiency in the others. When the sense or the alliteration appears to *demand* a word or a reading, we can argue with greater approximation to certainty; thus adding together classes 1 and 3 we get:

Against V	240 errors
„ H	210 „
„ T	148 „
„ U	251 „

But U has gaps of some 120 lines, and H of some 630. If we allow U an average of 13 blunders for these lost passages and H an average of 77, we get the following results, grouping the MSS. in order of merit on the strength of our rough test.

T	148 errors
V	240 „
U	264 „
H	287 „

Of course no exact value can be claimed for these figures, but this examination has satisfied us that V has no extraordinary value, above TU and H.

But the real question is not the value of any individual MS., but of

¹ Where H breaks off.

each group. There is no necessity to argue, what has been recognized by all students of the subject, that V and H form one group and T and U another. If anyone wishes to satisfy himself of this afresh, five minutes' study of Skeat's footnotes, taken at random anywhere, would prove it. By a comparison of V with H and of T with U we can eliminate the more obvious blunders peculiar to the later scribes, and get a good idea of the original MSS. from which each pair, VH and TU, ultimately derive.

But in the VH group this comparison can only go as far as Passus VIII, 144, where H breaks off suddenly, leaving V for the rest of the poem unsupported. Examining the blunders up to this point charged against V and H, we find that 63 were common to both, and were, therefore presumably inherited from the common ancestor, which we will call $\mathfrak{f}$.

Of the blunders made up to this point by T and U, only 22 are common to both, and therefore presumably inherited from their common original, which we will call τ .

We can therefore correct $\mathfrak{f}$ from τ some three times as often as we can correct τ from $\mathfrak{f}$. τ , having fewer blunders is, then, presumably nearer to the original archetype of the A-text.

On the evidence, then, of the four MSS. of which full collations have been published, we are led to suspect that, whilst neither the TU tradition nor the VH tradition is to be despised in our search after the original A-text, the greater weight is to be placed upon the TU tradition.

Yet this tradition has hitherto been quite neglected, except in those few cases where the reading of VH was so obviously wrong as to compel recourse to it¹.

A survey of the MSS. which have hitherto been only partially or not at all collated will, we think, strengthen the impression already gained, of the weight of the TU tradition².

¹ Passages where there appears to be a corruption or confusion common to both VH and TU are, *for the present*, left out of consideration.

² Current knowledge of these MSS. rests upon the examination of them made by Skeat at different times, the results of which were published, some in his A-text (*E.E.T.S.*), and some in his *Parallel Extracts*. These results are necessarily tentative, but cautious, and, so far as they attempt to go, exceedingly valuable. An elaborate tree, showing the interdependence of the fourteen A-MSS., has been published by Dr Kron in his *William Langleys Buch von Peter dem Pflüger*, 1885. This has been accepted as authoritative by Brandl (*D.L.Z.*, 1886, p. 518), and even by Skeat, who says 'Dr Kron...has examined the less important MSS. with greater care than I gave to them.... I therefore follow his classification.'

Dr Kron appears to have seen most of the MSS.; but he has not recorded a single reading of a single A-MS. which he has not derived from Skeat. Indeed he admits (p. 20)

Some of these uncollated MSS. are merely descendants of τ , and therefore only prove that τ was more prolific than, not necessarily superior to, f . Yet these MSS. are worth examining; for they all help us to fix more exactly the text of the original τ . Three of them seem to be related by a remarkable characteristic to T. These are:

(Brit. Mus.) MS. Harl. 6041 [H_2] (see Skeat's A-text, *E.E.T.S.* pp. xx, xxi).

(Bodleian) MS. Digby 145 [Dig] (see Skeat's A-text, p. xxiv).

The Duke of Westminster's MS. [W] (see Skeat's *Parallel Extracts*, p. 25).

Now these MSS., TH₂DigW, instead of ending, as many other MSS. do, with Passus XI, continue from that point with the C-text. This joining on of C to A *might* of course have been done independently, but in one case at least it is certain, and in the others it seems most likely, that this common characteristic is due to the MSS. having been copied ultimately from one MS. 't,' which had had the C-text appended to it in this way. When 't' is spoken of as a combination of A and C, it does not mean that the scribe has attempted to amalgamate a C and an A-text by splicing the two together throughout: he has merely added to a pure A-text the later passus of the C-text. Such 'combined texts' must then be carefully distinguished from the 'combined texts' with which we shall have to deal later: texts produced apparently by a scribe who had before him two MSS. and systematically contaminated both.

That H_2 is closely allied to T, does not need demonstration. Skeat says 'After collating it closely with the text from the beginning down to l. 146 of Passus II I ceased doing so; finding that it is, practically, little else than an inferior duplicate of T, and may be neglected without much loss.' And, indeed, for fifty or a hundred lines together H_2 sometimes reads as if it were a mere transcript of T. Yet it is not, for, of 126 blunders made by T in those passages common to T and H_2 —for H_2 is defective—nineteen are not shared by H_2 . And even when H_2 blunders together with T, it is sometimes with a difference which helps us to see what the reading of T's original was, and why T went wrong.

that his examination of the MSS. was quite perfunctory. Whatever, therefore, may be the value of his work in other directions, it is not only useless but misleading with reference to the relationship of the A-MSS. Dr Kron has only restated dogmatically Skeat's tentative results. He has added a large number of serious errors; as when (p. 23) he quotes eleven instances between Pass. i, 34 and i, 90 in which he asserts that U agrees with VH as against T and T's cognates. Such an agreement would be most abnormal. As a matter of fact a leaf is here missing from U. U consequently does not appear in Skeat's footnotes as differing from VH, and Dr Kron, overlooking Skeat's repeated entry as to U's deficiency, has assumed that U agrees with VH.

On the other hand, H_2 has a large number of mistakes peculiar to itself. Its chief value is that it enables us to eliminate the worst blunders of the last scribe of T, and to restore to some extent the text of his original.

From another point of view H_2 is interesting. It has had corrections written in by a later hand. These corrections seem to have been made on no very clearly intelligible principle. Three or four of them, however, could only have been made by a man who was familiar with the earlier passus of the poem in the B or C version. Had H_2 been copied again, we should have had in the copy a characteristic A-text of the T-type with a few puzzling and sporadic B-readings.

Much more puzzling is the problem presented by the Digby MS. (Dig). This MS. must have been copied from *two* originals: the one an A-MS, with or without the C continuation; the other a C-MS. The scribe began with an attempt to combine the two systematically. The first five lines have the typical C peculiarities; then follow eight lines as they occur in the A and B texts, these lines being for the most part wanting in the C-text; then four C lines; then two lines as in A; a line and a half as in C; then A again. After two hundred lines or so of this laborious contamination, the scribe grew tired, and threw down his pen. When the copying is resumed, in a slightly altered hand, the A version is followed fairly consistently¹, and only rarely contaminated². W likewise has been contaminated by interpolations from a B type, and apparently also from a C type. It is unnecessary to enumerate these interpolations, as the most important instances in the earlier passus will be found in Skeat's *Parallel Passages*³.

T, then, is not very efficiently backed up by the MSS. most closely related to it. H_2 is so close as to afford comparatively little check; and the fact that Dig and W have been thus contaminated greatly invalidates their evidence. In many places their reading will not be a

¹ E.g. in the following passages, where B makes additions, alterations or omissions, the Digby scribe adheres to A. A 1, 1, 4, 31 (where however one line of the B-C addition has been afterwards added between the lines), 110 etc., 119 etc., 129 etc., 136 etc., 174; II, 11 etc., 17, 19 etc., 33, 40 etc., 64 etc., 84, 178—9; III, 90, 173, 228 etc., 249, 282 etc.; IV, 18, 116, 133 etc., 138, 141 etc., 146 etc.; V, 10, 28; VII, 10 etc., 38 etc., 45 etc., 66 etc., 110, 134 etc., 166 etc., 180 etc., 212 etc., 301 etc., 311 etc.; VIII, 8, 13 etc., 39 etc., 43 etc., 49 etc., 58, 72 etc., 99 etc., 105, 122.

² E.g. v, 42. There is some contamination also among the Seven Deadly Sins. Glutton makes his confession according to the A version: he is then made to fall into a swoon from which he is aroused by vigilate the weyle—this passage being borrowed from the subsequent confession of Sloth. On recovering he makes a second confession according to the B-text. The B-additions to Sloth are also given. Cf. also vi, 82 etc.; 96 etc.

³ pp. 25, 26.

genuine A-reading at all, but a reading reflected back from the B-C-recensions. Except in those passages where the B-text has departed entirely from the A-text, we shall not then be able to use the evidence of Dig and W; or at any rate we shall have to use it only with the utmost caution.

Much more helpful is the support afforded to U by its nearest cognates. These are:

(Bodleian) MS. Rawlinson Poet. 137 (R), see Skeat's A-text 142*; Trinity College, Dublin D. 4. 12 (E), see Skeat's B-text, p. vi, footnote.

Both these were discovered during the publication of Prof. Skeat's monumental edition in the *E.E.T.S.*; but too late to be used in the formation of the A-text, except quite at the end. Consequently no collations of these MSS. have been published. Yet they are of great importance: R is in some respects equal, in one at least superior to U. RUE are descended from one original. In this original apparently two leaves had got misplaced; for alike in R, U and E we find ll. 71—213 or 216 of Passus VII inserted after l. 182 of Passus I¹. E, apparently, was not copied directly from this source. There are signs that the most immediate original of E was a transcript which had been corrected and interpolated from a copy of the B-text. This would account for the B-lines which occur sporadically in E. We shall therefore have to be careful not to take the evidence of E in any case where the true reading could have been ascertained from a B-text, unless that reading is supported also by E's uncontaminated fellows. E, however, still has value, as it will enable us to decide between its nearest relatives U and R when they differ.

The existence of these MSS., Digby, Dublin, Westminster (and, we may add, Harleian 3954), all showing a greater or less amount of features characteristic of the B or C versions, raises a question of great importance as to the manner in which the author, or authors, issued his, or their work, a question, too, which must be settled before we can get any further in our study of MS. relationships. Did the author issue

¹ Another peculiarity of this group is the protest against Love-Days:

Vicars on fele halue · fonden hem to done

Leders pei be of louedays · and with þe lawe medle.

The lines are found, with two others, in E. They are also found in R, but a blank space is left where the word *Vicars* should occur. By reason probably of this undecipherable word, the whole passage is omitted in U.

from time to time additions to his work, so as to give rise to series of transitional texts, between A and B? This last explanation was that adopted by Prof. Skeat, and it has been lately fully and persuasively stated by M. Jusserand. Jusserand supposes that Langland, like Montaigne, kept his work by him and was ever making additions in the margin, or on slips of parchment: 'Tentative additions, written by the author on the margin or on scraps, to be later definitely admitted or not into the text, were inserted haphazard anywhere by some copyists, and let alone by others¹. In his next revision the poet never failed to remove a number of errors left in the previous text, always, however, forgetting a few. As shown by the condition of MSS., the poet let copyists transcribe his work at various moments, when it was in the making (it was indeed ever in the making) and was in a far from complete and perfect state; sometimes when part or the whole of an episode was lacking, or when it ended with a canto or passus merely sketched and left unfinished. The scribes who copied the MS. Harl. 875 and the Lincoln's Inn MS. had apparently before them an original of version A, containing only the first eight passus, that is, the episodes of Meed and Piers.'

Now it may be that, when the evidence of the MSS. has been finally sifted, there will be left over certain passages supporting this theory. But certainly the bulk of the phenomena which might seem at first sight to support it, on further examination do not do so. Thus, the fact that Harleian 875 and the Lincoln's Inn MS. go no further than Passus VIII, is a sheer accident. Both MSS. have been mutilated; and whether in each case a few lines or three passus have been torn away from the end, there is no evidence in the MS. itself to show. But Harleian 875 is copied, beyond doubt, from the same original as Vernon; and Vernon goes to Passus XI. There is no evidence whatever, then, that the Lincoln's Inn MS. was copied from an original version of A containing only the first eight passus; whilst there is strong evidence that Harleian 875 was copied from an original containing at least some eleven passus.

Again, with regard to the lines found in Harleian 875 alone, M. Jusserand's theory apparently is that they were added as an afterthought by the writer, and therefore are wanting in other A-texts; whilst they were subsequently either lost or cancelled, and are therefore

¹ 'Of this sort are, to all appearances, the additional lines in the MS. Harl. 875 of A, not to be found elsewhere, especially the two passages giving, as in a parenthesis, some supplementary touches, on Fals and on Favel, one of four and the other of three lines.'—(Jusserand.)

wanting in the B and C texts. And this would be a very possible theory, if the lines were found both in Vernon and Harleian 875. But they are found in Harleian 875 alone. If the lines are genuine, not the additions of H, but copied from his original, how comes it that they are not to be found in Vernon, copied from the same original?

Precisely the same line of argument leads us to suppose that the B-lines in E cannot be derived from the archetype of E, but are the independent additions of a scribe, made from his knowledge of a B or C text. For, that E is ultimately a copy of the same original as U and R, is certain. Innumerable peculiarities, and above all the odd transposition of some of the matter, prove this. Yet these B-lines do not occur in RU.

In like manner, the peculiarities of the Digby MS. cannot be explained as due to that MS. being copied from a first draft of the B-text, in which only a few of the B-additions, such as the rat-fable, as yet appear. On the contrary, minute examination shows that the MS. is compounded from at least two others; and we can almost see the scribe at work, writing now a few lines from his A-text original, now a few from his C-text.

We are compelled therefore, however reluctantly, to believe that this B-element in A-MSS. is due to the 'sophistication' of later scribes, and accordingly to doubt the evidence of these 'sophisticated' MSS.

We have found the MSS. so far considered, to fall into two great classes; one represented by V and H, derived from an original *ƒ*. This *ƒ* we cannot reconstruct with any degree of certainty. For where V and H differ, and they differ frequently, it will be very difficult to decide between them. In many cases, it is true, the reading of V, and still more often that of H, is obviously unmetrical or nonsensical. But often the differences are of such a character as to make it difficult to choose. Since we do not yet know exactly what laws of alliteration the author of the A-text observed, we shall often hesitate, even when one reading seems metrically superior. We shall be driven in reconstructing our theoretical *ƒ*, to the rather desperate course of following V, which is on the whole a much surer guide than H, except in those cases where H offers a clearly better reading. We cannot by this means hope to reconstruct exactly the original *ƒ*; but we get something nearer than we should if we adopted either of the other courses open to us (1) that of following H, except where V is clearly better, or (2) tossing a penny in all doubtful cases.

Our reconstructed $\mathcal{F}$ is then, after all, a somewhat doubtful quantity.

Our second group of MSS. consists of TH₂WDigRUE, and we have seen that these subdivide into two sub-groups, distinguished each by a remarkable characteristic: TH₂WDig (the T group) and URE (the U group). Although, as we have seen, the MS. T is much better than MS. U, there is nevertheless not much to choose between these two sub-groups. For the MSS. we have classed with T do not help us much: H₂ is too close to T to be of more than secondary value as a check; W and Dig are suspect by reason of B-contamination. Indeed, owing to this cross relationship, it becomes exceedingly difficult to make out what the real affinities of W and Dig are. Much more efficient is the checking and support which U derives from R and E; for E is not affected by B-influence to the same extent as are Dig and W.

The T group and the U group fortunately do not differ very much: when they do they are of so nearly equal value that in many cases there is little to choose. Here we want an arbitrator; unless in all readings where there is no clear superiority, we are to be again at the mercy of chance.

Here we may perhaps be helped by the partially collated D—Douce 323 in the Bodleian. 'This MS.,' says Skeat, 'follows T rather closely, but is full of gross blunders. On this account, after collating with Passus I—IV I desisted, finding that it only tended to choke the footnotes with inferior readings.'

Yet Douce might repay careful collation throughout. It belongs clearly, like H₂R and E, to the TU group; yet it seems, within that group, not to fall very clearly either into the TH₂ section or into the RUE section, though in many cases it goes with TH₂ against RUE. Indeed, with all its many and serious corruptions, Douce has sometimes preserved the right reading where both T and U are obviously wrong. Of course Douce is constantly straying independently. But with such good guides as TRU, we shall hardly be misled into any of D's corruptions; whilst D will help us considerably in reconstructing the common original. Here and there, though rarely, D will enable us to get a better reading than either T or RU supply; but D's chief function will be to decide the balance between the readings of T and of RU, where these differ without a clear advantage on either side.

We have seen that the TU tradition is apparently more correct than the VH tradition, in so far as it gives us fewer common blunders. We are therefore fortunate in having eight MSS. of this class TH₂DigWRUED to help us to establish the text of the original

MS. of this type, and to reduce the number of common blunders to a somewhat smaller figure. At the same time the more uncertain VH tradition cannot be neglected, since, as we have seen, it preserves what appears to be the right reading in some twenty-two instances where the T group and the RU group both seem to be wrong, and where, in all but two cases, D is also wrong.

And we may be certain that for one instance where the correctness of VH can be proved, there are many where VH are right though we cannot prove it; for only in a minority of the cases in which the two traditions vary, can we definitely declare either tradition right in virtue of intrinsic superiority alone.

What we therefore need is a MS. independent alike of the VH and of the TU group. Such a MS. would not be useless, even were it very corrupt; for, as Dr Johnson charitably observed, even the greatest liar may speak more truth in his lifetime than untruth. The important thing is that we should be certain of this MS. being independent of either family.

Let us now examine the Lincoln's Inn MS. [L], which is thus described by Skeat: 'On comparing a transcript of a considerable number of lines kindly made for me by Dr Furnivall, I found that the text had been much corrupted by the scribe, and that to collate it would only fill the footnotes with false readings, except in places where the text is sufficiently ascertained without it. The corruptions are due to an inordinate love of alliteration....Careful examination of the MS. shows, in fact, that it is best dismissed.' Indeed the corruptions of L are so numerous and so violent that to use it as the basis of a text would be absurd. Yet it may be of value in helping us to decide between the conflicting readings of our two good traditions VH and TU, especially as the corruptions of L are, as Skeat states, due to an excessive love of alliteration, whilst those of VH and TU often involve a disregard of it. It is exceedingly unlikely that VH and L, or TU and L, will often agree in making the same change, unless there is a relationship between them. That L is independent of both the VH and the TU group seems however clear. We have seen that V and H are characterized by 63 common blunders, in places where T or U or both give the correct reading. In 53 cases L gives the right reading in agreement with T or U: in seven L is corrupt or illegible, differing alike from VH and from TU; though indeed, in many cases the corruption is evidently a miswriting of the reading of TU. In three

instances only does L go wrong with VH, and these three are of such a character that the resemblance may well be accidental. That L does not belong to the VH group seems then fairly clear. T and U, we have seen, agree in offering a reading inferior to that of V in twenty-two instances: (if we include D, TUD offer an inferior reading in only twenty instances). Of the twenty-two cases where we have judged TU inferior to VH, L agrees with VH in fifteen, is wanting in one, and agrees with TU in six. Six cases of common blundering would be enough to prove some connection, though slight, between TU and L. But on scrutinizing these six instances we find that in each case the inferiority of the TUL reading consists only in the line not running or alliterating as well as that offered by VH. In no case, however, is the TUL reading an impossible one; and in each case the TUL reading is backed up by all the extant MSS., except VH. In two cases even H deserts V, and goes with TUL and the rest. There seems then a strong presumption that in these six cases TU and L do, after all, give the original reading, and that the variant given, sometimes by V alone, sometimes by V and H, is only an example of the desire so frequently shown by scribes, of improving the alliteration.

The agreement in these six cases of TU and L does not therefore prove any connection between L and the TU group; and we have seen that there is no connection between L and the VH group.

Further, there are passages where a very early corruption has crept in, which is common to both the VH group and the TU group. Here L sometimes shows a reading superior to that of either group.

An example is the line referred to above, p. 368:

For Mede is moylere of Amendes engendred.

We saw that in TU and their fellows, Amendes had been corrupted to a senseless 'frendis.' In VH the passage had been altered, evidently because the scribe had in his original some reading which he could not understand. L however retains the right reading 'of Mendes engendred.'

Again, in iv, 141, where both the VH and the TU group go wrong over the name of Warren Wisdom, L has it correctly:

Waryn Wisdom þo ny Witty his fere¹.

¹ In ii, 87 I and Dig also have the right reading, whilst W and As are wanting. In iv, 141, I, Dig and W also have the right reading. But, almost certainly in the case of Dig and W, and possibly in the case of I, this is a correction due to the influence of the B-text.

L then is a garbled copy of a good MS., independent of both the other groups. It is a pity that this type of MS. should be represented only by this garbled copy, just as it would have been a pity had it been represented only by a MS. of which the rats had gnawed every page. But neither of these mishaps would entirely vitiate the MS. For we have such good evidence from VHTU, that we can put our fingers with certainty upon the lines of L which are garbled. Of other passages we can say with equal certainty 'Here the scribe is following his copy accurately: and the fact that he agrees with TU against VH (or the contrary) is a strong argument that it is VH and not TU which has here wandered away from the original.' The very ignorance of the scribe who corrupted the L version, is, in fact, in his favour. Had he been a man who knew the poem in some other version, and who corrected his copy from his knowledge of that version, he would have produced a text much more accurate than that now preserved at Lincoln's Inn; but one for our purpose comparatively worthless. On the contrary, however, L's tradition seems to be a peculiarly uncontaminated one; and his corruptions are his own. Hence his worth; much as in certain cases an ignorant and illiterate witness may give evidence, the value of which is enhanced by his ignorance¹.

In the Ingilby MS. [I] (see Skeat, *Parallel Extracts*, 28—31) we have another MS. which is related only distantly to either the VH or the TU groups: of the two it stands nearer to TU. I's independence becomes manifest if we compare its behaviour in the places where V and H, or T and U, go wrong together.

Of the sixty-three places where V and H agree in what seemed to be a departure from the true reading as preserved in T or U, I agrees with T or U in fifty. In six cases I is corrupt or missing. In seven, however, I agrees with VH. But, on scrutinizing these seven, we find that four of them are cases where, on weighing all the MS. evidence, it is quite possible that the agreement of VH and I is due, after all, to their reading being the original one; and that the better alliteration given, for example, by U, is due to a scribe's attempt at improving his original. In two other cases the reading of VH and I, though indis-

¹ The corruptions of the garbler are in themselves interesting. He had a good alliterative vocabulary, and rejoiced in good old words like *weoued*, altar. He probably wrote in the late 14th or very early 15th century: for he has altered 'That heore Parisch haþ ben pore seppe the Pestilence tyme' P. 81, to 'þat sen þe furste pestilence heore parysch weore' [pore *illegible*]. This alteration would be natural if made by a contemporary not long after the last pestilence. It would hardly have been made late in the 15th century, when the distinction between the different pestilences must have been largely obliterated in popular memory.

putably a departure from the original text, might well have been made independently. Only in one instance out of the sixty-three does I accompany VH in what is pretty clearly an error, and yet one not very likely to have been made independently. That there should be only one such instance in eight passus, is strong evidence that I belongs to a type quite distinct from the VH group.

As to any possible relation between I and the TU group: we have seen that of the twenty-two passages where T and U seem to go astray together, six are possibly not errors after all. Of these twenty-two passages, I goes with TU in eleven; including the six doubtful cases, which ought to be dismissed as inconclusive. The five remaining cases are not very conclusive either; but they serve to suggest the possibility of some slight connection between I and the TU group.

The Ingilby MS. then, is not connected with the VH group: it may be very slightly connected with the TU group. It is a much less corrupt MS. than is the one at Lincoln's Inn; but for our purpose it is much less useful. For there are some signs that it has passed through the hands of a scribe or of a corrector who knew the text in the C-version: hence, when I corrects VH or TU, we cannot be certain, without careful scrutiny, that we have a genuine unpolluted tradition. But the traces of B or C influence upon I are, after all, very small; so that the evidence of I is still of great value, though we must receive it with caution.

Two other MS. need mention. Ashmole 1468 [As] combines all possible faults. It is imperfect, corrupt, and contaminated by B or C-influence. Harleian 3954 [H₃] is, up to Passus v, not an A MS. at all, but a B-type. From Passus v onwards it is a contaminated A-MS. As however most of our examples have been drawn from the earlier passus, it seemed best not to quote H₃.

The Ilchester MS., though mainly a C-text, contains a passage derived from an A-MS., apparently of the TU type.

Many of the above suggestions are put forth only tentatively; for we have not yet had time to sift thoroughly our transcripts and collations. The following statements, however, are advanced with some confidence:

1. That a nearer approximation to the original A-text can be drawn from the MSS. of the TU group than from the Vernon MS.

2. That any text which is to reproduce closely the original poem, must be founded both upon the TU group and also, although to a less

degree, upon the VH group; the MSS. which belong to neither tradition must be used to turn the scale in doubtful cases; whilst the danger of introducing readings which may themselves be the result of correction from a B- or C-text, must be borne in mind.

3. That a text so formed will be found to approximate much more closely to the received B-text than the received A-text does.

4. That only when we know what is the 'diction, metre and sentence structure' of the original A-text, can we argue with certainty whether these are, or are not, materially different from those of the B-additions, or decide whether B's treatment of the A-text is really inconsistent with unity of authorship.

It is impossible to do any work at the text of *Piers Plowman* without troubling a large number of persons: and thanks are more particularly due to Sir Henry Ingilby for the long loan of his MS.: to Professor R. A. Williams for a preliminary inspection of the Dublin MS., and to the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin, for a three months loan of that MS.: to the Earl of Ilchester for kindly placing his MS. at the British Museum: to the Duke of Westminster for allowing us to consult his MS. at Eaton Hall: and to the librarians, of the British Museum, of the Bodleian, of Trinity College Cambridge, and of Lincoln's Inn for their unfailing courtesy and consideration. It goes without saying that every student of *Piers Plowman* is under heavy obligations to Prof. Skeat, upon whose work all later research must be based: we have also to thank him personally for the interest he has taken in our work.

The writers hope, later in the year, to print either MS. T or R, with collations of all the other MSS. Meantime, in illustration of what has been said above, Passus v, 43—106 is given from T, with collations from R(awlinson), U(niv. Coll., Oxford), E (Trin. Coll., Dub.), H₂ (Harl. 6041), D(ouce), Dg (Digby), W (The Duke of Westminster's MS.), L(incoln's Inn MS.), I (Sir Henry Ingilby's MS.), A(shmole), V(ernon), H(arl. 875). As the sole object is to illustrate the relationship of the MSS., mere orthographic variations are omitted.

PIERS PLOWMAN.

Passus v, 43—106.

- panne repentaunce reherside his teme
 And made wil to wepe watir wiþ his eizen
 45 Pernel proud herte plat hire to þe erpe
 And lay longe er heo lokide vp & lord mercy criede
 And behizte to hym þat vs alle made
 Heo shulde vnsewe hire serke & sette þere an heire
 For to affaiten hire flessch þat fers was to synne
 50 Shal neuere heiȝ herte me hente but holde me lowe
 And suffre to be misseid & so dide I neuere
 But now wile I meke me & mercy beseke
 Of alle þat I haue had enuye in myn herte
 Lecchour seide alas & to oure lady criede
 55 To make mercy for his mysdede betwyn god & hym
 57 With þat he þe satirday seue ȝer þer aftir
 Shulde drinke but wiþ þe doke & dyne but ones
 Enuye wiþ heuy herte askide aftir shrift

43. *panne*] And *pan* W; *pan* ran EDgLIAVH. *reherside*] & rehersyd DgLIAVH; to reherche W. *his*] *þis* V. 44. *made*] gart A; omitted D. *wil*] *wylkiam* H₂; William VH. *to wepe*] *wepen* W. *wiþ*] of E; riht at bothe I; with boþe AV. *eizen*] eye R; here a hole in H. 45. *proudherte*] þe proud A. *plat hire*] *fel plat* W; *plat doun* A. *þe erpe*] *grounde* AVH. 46. *vp*] om. RUDDgLIAVH. *lord mercy*] *mercy sho* E; *lord merci heo* H₂; *oure lord mercy* L; *mercy* A; to vr ladi V. *criede*] *gan crie* A. *And lay—criede*] She sighed sorryfu & saide lord mercy W.

47. I omits this line. *behizte*] *sho hight* E; *hight* W. *made*] *maked* with his myght L. 48. *Heo*] *Yat sho* EA; he L. *shulde*] *wolde* LAVH. *serke*] *schorte* L; *shert* H; *smok* DgV. *þere*] *yerin* EA; on added, later hand H₂. 49. *For to*] To RUWA. *affaiten*] *afauten* R; *flete* EVH; *afeyntyn* A; *dawntyn* I. *fers*] *fresch* RULH; *frele* AV. 50. *heiȝ*] *liht* VH. *hente*] *hende* U; *hente quop* heo H; *haunte* D; hold A. *heiȝ—hente*] *my hert be so heigh* W. *holde me*] *euer holdyn it* A. 52. *But*] And IV; omitted H. *wil I*] I wil RI; wil omitted A; I con wel V. *me*] myself H. 53. *alle*] om. L; alle ying I. *haue*] om. D. *enuye*] of enuye RA; pride WI. 54. *Lecchour*] *Lechery* DgW; þe lechoure L; þe lechours H. *seide*] *yo seyð* I. to] on RUEDDgWLL. to—lady] lord mercy H. *criede*] *gradde* L; bad H. 55. *mercy*] *amendes* U. To—mercy] om. H. for] of L. *mysdede*] *mysdedis* IH; *sowle* A. *him*] *hys soaulle* EDgL; *hym of mysdede* A; *hym siluen* H. I omits betwyn hym and inserts mene after mercy, above the line. In W the line reads: To gete mercy of god in helpe of his soule. V expands into two lines: To maken him han Merci for his mysdede; Bitwene god almihti and his pore soule.

After l. 55 H₂ inserts four ll.: And chastite to seke as a chyld clene, The lust of his likam to leten for euere, And fle fro felyschipe there foly may arise, For that makith many man mysdo ful ofte. 57. *With*] and A. *he*] he schulde RUEDgWLIAVH. *þe satirday*] *saterday* W; *saturdayes* RU; om. I. *ȝer*] *ȝere* sykerly I. *þer*] om. REDAV. *Shulde*] om. RUEDDgWLIAVH. *but*] om. EH₂DgWA. *doke*] *doge* L; *goos* RU. *dyne*] *eten* VH. 59. *heuy*] *hiȝe* H.

- 60 And carfulliche his cope begynneþ he to shewe
 He was as pale as a palet & on þe palesie he semide
 He was cloþid in a caury maury I can it nouȝt descryue
 A kertil & a courtepy a knyf be his side
 Of a Freris frokke were þe fore sleuys
- 65 As a lek þat hadde leyn longe in þe sonne
 So lokide he wiþ lene chekis lourande foule
 His body was bolnid for wroþ þat he bot his lippe
 And wroþliche he wroþ his fest to wreke hym he þouȝte
 Wiþ werkis & wordis whanne he saiȝ his tyme
- 70 Venym & verious or vyngre I trowe
 Walewiþ in my wombe & waxiþ as I wene
 I miȝte not many day do as a man miȝte
 Such wynd in my wombe wexiþ er I dyne

60. *And*] *om.* W. *carfulliche*] *gretliche* V. *cope*] *coupe* UED; *culpe* Dg; *coupe* W; *compte* R; *counte* A; *gult* LI; *gultus* VH. *begynneþ he*] he gynnyþ RU; *biginneþ* DVH; *begynnyth* for I; he couettes E; *com* for A. 61. *He was*] *om.* WVH. *as pale*] *pale* RDg; *om.* E. *a palet*] *a pelet* R₂DgLA; *a pelat* U; *a piller* E; *erthe* I. *He—palet*] *þe pelour* was pelled H. *and*] *om.* DLAVH. *on*] in EDgWLI AVH. *þe*] *a* DgWV; *om.* DL. *palesie*] *perlesy* E. *on þe palesie*] *palyk* R; *palatik* U. *semide*] *semeth* L. 62. *was*] E *omits.* *He was*] *om.* H; and L. *a*] *om.* H. *I can*] *I coude* RUEDgWIAVH; *coude* y L. *it*] *om.* EA; *hym* UVH. *it nouȝt*] *not* it D. *descryue*] *discrie* RUELA; *deserue* Dg; *deuise* W.

63, 64. *Wanting in V.* 63. *knyf*] *kneuet* A. 64. *Of*] *As* A. *freres*] *frere* DLI. *frokke*] *frog* RA; *frogge* U; *freyke* I. *þe*] *hys* ELdGWAH. *fore*] *forne* DgI; *forme* UA; *two* H. 65. *As—þat*] *Like as* he H. *þat*] *om.* W. *þat—þe*] *longe leyn* in the hote L. 66. *he*] E *omits.* *lene*] *his lene* H. *lourande*] *lowrynge* RUDDgWLIAH; *lourede* he V. *foule*] *full foul* EDg; *ful lowe* H. 67. *bolnid*] *bolled* VH. *His—bolnid*] *Al forbolne* W. *for*] *with* DgA. *wroþ*] *angre* W. *þat he bot*] *bote* he on A; *he bot* V; *he bot boþe* H. *lippe*] *lippes* EDgWLIAVH.

68, 69. *One line in A:* He lokyd vndur his browis as a bond dogge. *And*] *om.* VH. *he*] *om.* E. *wroþ*] *wrong* REDgLVH; *wroþ* *corr.* *later hand* to *wrong* W. *fest*] *handes* E. *hym*] *hem* DgW. *he*] *om.* D. *to—þouȝte*] *he þouȝte* him *awreke* V; *he þouȝte* hym to *wreke* H. 69. *werkis & wordis*] *werkes* and *with* *wordes* R; *werk* or *wiþ* *word* UE; *werkes* or *wordes* DL; *werk & woord* W; *workes* or *with* *wordes* DgVH. *whanne*] *than* H₂. *saiȝ*] *sey* RUDI; *say* H₂; *seeȝ* Dg; *seiȝ* V; *sawe* ELH.

After l. 69 W inserts seven B lines (87—93; not 84—93 cf. Skeat, Par. Extracts, p. 26). 70. *ð*] or RUEDAVH; *than* Dg; *om.* I. *verious*] *vergeous* UD; *Vernish* DgWV; *vernychith* I; *verdegrese* H. *Venym—vyngre*] *Wormes (or Wernies—first two letters over erasure)* or *wynagre* or *venom* E; *Wyrmys* or *vermyn* or *vinegre* or *wyriuis* A. *Instead of this line L reads:* Of leosardes or of lobbes *venym* hath me laghte. 71. *Walewiþ*] *And walweth* L; *walles* EVH; *waldeþ* W; *Walkyn* A. *wombe*] *wombe quop* he H. *ð*] or VH. *as*] *om.* RDVH. *wene*] *trowe* W. *waxiþ—wene*] *worcheth* me *wrathe* L.

71, 72, 73 *form one line in A:* *Walkyn* in my wombe, *werkyn* or *I dyne*. 72. *I miȝte*] *Myght* I W; *I ne mihte* V; *þat* I *myghte* L. *many*] *many* a RDgH. *many—don*] *leve mony ȝeres* E. *a man miȝte*] *a man suld* EW; *a man owghte* DgLVH. 73. *wynd*] *a wynde* W. *wexiþ*] *waxed* D. *dyne*] *dye* V. *er I dyne*] *alway* W.

- I haue a neizebour neiȝ me I haue noiȝed hym ofte
 75 And blamide hym behynde his bak to bringe hym in fame
 To apeire hym be my power I pursuide wel ofte
 And belowen hym to lordis to don hym lese siluer
 And don hise frendis ben hise fon þoruȝ my false tunge
 His grace & hise gode happis greuide me wel sore
 80 Betwyn hym & his meyne I haue mad wrappe
 Boþe his lyme & his lif was lost þoruȝ my tunge
 Whanne I mette hym in a market þat I most hatide
 I hailside hym as hendely as I his frend were
 He is douȝtiere þanne I I dar non harm don hym
 85 Ac hadde I maistrie & miȝt I wolde murdre hym for euere
 Whanne I come to þe chirche & knelide to þe rode
 To preye for þe peple as þe prest techip

74. *a neizebour*] a nextbur E; nezeboris H. *neiȝ me*] nere me EDg; by me W; me neiȝ V; many H. *I haue noiȝed*] I noyed RE; Yat I haue noiȝed I; hath noyd A. *hym*] hem WH; me A; *om.* I. *ofte*] wel ofte RU; full ofte E. 75. *And blamide*] I blamed E; Ablamed V. *hym—his*] hem—here H. *his bak*] W *omits.* to bringe] to putte W; & brouht I. *hym*] hem HW. *in fame*] to defame L; in default WH; in disclaundre V.

A *omits* ll. 75 and 76; H *puts them after* l. 77. 76. *To apeire*] To pare EW; And peired V. *hym*] *om.* W; hem H. *be*] with UI; in E. *I pursuide*] I perused hym E, hem W; I haue pursued L; y preued (*error for per[s]ued?*) H; I-punissched him V. *wel ofte*] ful ofte DVH; ofte UEIW; feole sithes L. 77. *And*] and als E; and eke DgLH; *om.* WV; I haue A. *belowen*] yley on U; misloued E; apayryd I; ybulled H. *hym*] *om.* A; hem H. *lordis*] þe lord H. *don*] gar E; make VH. *hym*] hem H. *hym lese*] losse hys E. 78. *And*] To E; Tho A; *om.* WV; I H. *don*] gar E; mad L; I-don V; made H. *hise—hise*] here—here H. *ben*] to ben R. *þoruȝ*] with DAVH. *ny*] his U. *tunge*] wordes L; talys EA.

79, 80. *Misplaced after* l. 83 in I. 79, 80, 81. *Misplaced after* l. 85 D; omitted LH. 81. *Omitted* I.

79. *gode happis*] godnes EA. *happis*] happ DgWV. *greuide*] greuyth AV; greuen WI. *wel*] *om.* UIA; full EDWV. *sore*] ofte A. 80. *hym—meyne*] man & his meyne I; men & here mēne A; him & his wyf W; men & yair wyffes E. *I haue*] *om.* R; haue I W. *mad wrappe*] wratthe made ofte R; mad ofte wratthe U; made striffe ofte E; maked wreche A. 81. *his—lif*] lymme & life DgW; lyme & lith E; lyfe & leme A; his lyf and his leome V. *tunge*] wikkyd tonge A. 82. *Whanne*] And whan W; but when H. *mette*] mete I. *hym*] *om.* DW. *a*] *om.* RUDDgWLI; þe EAVH. *most*] so muche L. *hatide*] hate I WV. 83. *hailside*] heylid AV; hals W. *hym*] *om.* W. *as hendely*] so hendeliche L; hendely I; als frendly EWA. *Here* H *has a hole* (*roughly an inch in diameter*), *which breaks into four lines.* *as I*] so I L. *as—frend*] his frend as I V. 84. *He is*] He was A; But he was H. *He—þanne I*] Bot he yat is doghty E. *douȝtiere þanne I*] hole in H. *I dar*] durste R; I durste H. *no*] do W. *don hym*] him done L. *non—hym*] bede hym none harm H. 85. *Ac*] But DgWLV; And E; *om.* A; ȝif H. *hadde I*] I hed E; y had had H. *maistrie*] þe maystrie W. *ȝ*] or REdg; opir U. *ȝ miȝt*] *om.* WI. *maistrie & miȝt*] hole in H. *wolde—hym*] wolde him mayne L; wold a dystroyed hym A; Morþerde him V; hadde mayned hym H. 86. *come*] came DgA. *-e to þe chir-]* hole in H. *ȝ*] to WH. *knelide*] knele RUH2WLIVH; suld knele E. *to*] before RAV; afore U. 87. *To*] I LIA; And scholde V. *preye*] preyed A. *techip*] me techys RU; vs techep V; prechip H.

- Aftir þanne I criȝe on my knes þat crist gyue hym sorewe
 þat bar a wey my bolle & my broken shete
 Fro þe auter myn eiȝe I turne & beholde
 91, 92 How heyne haþ a newe cote I wysshe it were myn howne
 And of his lesinges I lauȝe þerof in myn herte
 Ac of his wynnynȝ I wepe and weile þe tyme
 95 I deme men þere þei don ille & ȝet I do wers
 I wolde þat iche wiȝt were my knaue
 And who so haþ more þanne I þat angriþ myn herte
 þus I lyue loueles as a lyþer dogge
 And al my brest bolniþ for bittir of my galle

Between ll. 87 and 88 three MSS. insert a line: For pilgrames for palmers for all
 ye peple eftir EW; for all] & for A. 88. Aftir þanne] Aftir þat UW; Than
 ELAVH; After D; & aftir I. I criȝe] crie I L; I prey U; bidde I H. Aftir—
 knes] On my knes þan I cryed A. on] vppon V. on my knes] on mekely Dg; as
 oof W; wiþ my moup H. I—knes] knelyd I vpon my knyȝs & praed E. þat] om.
 RUE. crist] god WA; oure lady RU. hym] hem RWLAVH; yaim E. 89. bar]
 haþ I-bore V. bolle] blake bolle H₂; bolles L. broken] brode RUV. shete] schetes
 L. A reads: That brokyn my bolle & borne away my schete.

90. L omits this line. Fro] Than fro W; And also from E; Also to forne A.
 myn—turne] y turne myn eiȝe UV; myn eyen down than I turne Dg; I turne me
 H; my ene I turned E; ȝit myne eyne I turnyd A; I myn eien cast W. & beholde]
 begins next line in EDgWLA; And beholdith Dg; and byholde heyne H; and
 byhelde REA.

91, 92. Here are two lines in all MSS. but TH₂D. howne] om. D. 91. heyne]
 Hyk Dg; hoge I; haue W; he H; mony E. haþ] hed EA. a newe cote] new cote; E.
 How—howne] And—cote DgEWA; y byholde byholde byhynde me on a newe
 kote haue L; How—cote & his wyf anoyer IVH. 92. RU have: and al þe wele
 þat he haþ greueþ me wel sore. In the eight remaining MSS. the following line, with
 slight variations, occurs: Than I wische it war myn and al the webbe after DgIV.
 Than] Anon W. I wische] wische y HL; I wissyd yat E; I wyschid A. it] yai E.
 and] with E. webbe] webbe; E; his wele H. 93. And of] Of RUDgWLI₂AVH;
 At E; And alwey after D. his] om. H₂; yair E. lauȝe] smyle RU. þerof in] and
 þerof lauȝeth RU; & light was E; it liketh DgIH; hit lightenes LW; a lytil in A;
 hit likeþ me in V. myn] om. E. 94. Ac] And RH; om. EA; But DgWL of
 his] For yair E; for his WIVH. wepe] wepyd EA. weile] weylid A; werys E.
 tyme] while LA. 95. men] om. W. þere þei] þere y U; þey LH; þat he W;
 þat VIDg. ille] euyll EDLH. I do] do y L. wers] wel worse VE. EA have two
 lines here: And I deme in my hert at mony doys euyll, And ȝit I do me wel wers I
 do me on my seluen E; I deme men in myne hert yat yai don ille, But ȝit I do
 werse be dom of my selfe A.

96. DW omit. I] For I EVH. þat] om. L. iche] euerlike E; alle H. wiȝt]
 wyȝe L; a wythe A; a wiht V; wiȝtes H. wolde—wiȝt] couet yat eueryman I. were]
 wer becomon EI; in þis world were V; in world were H. knaue] knaues H. L
 reads: weore my knaue in þis world wonyng. 97. And who so] And whas þat L;
 And qwo yat I; Who þat W. haþ] haue A. þat] he L; it WAH; gretly E. angriþ]
 greuyth A. 98. þus] Bot yus E; And þus WA. loueles] lawles E. as] lyk
 RUEDDgWLI₂AVH. lyþer] luper V; lethir EH; leather L; ledur A. 99. And]
 þat RUEDgLIVH; Than W. al] om. I. bolniþ] Bolleþ VH. my—bolniþ] bolnyth
 my breste U. bitter] bitterness E.

Between ll. 99 and 100 W inserts two B lines: I might not ete many ȝere as a man
 sholde, For enuie & euel will is ill to defie.

- 100 May no sugre ne swet þing swage it an vnche
 Ne no dyapendyon dryue it fro myn herte
 3if þat shrift shulde it shop a gret wondire
 3is redily quap repentaunce & redde hym to goode
 Sorewe for synne sauip wel manye
- 105 I am sory quap enuye I am but selde opere
 And þat makip me so mad for I ne may me venge

100, 101. *The second halves of these lines have been transposed in VH, spoiling the metre; thus:* May—swete, dryue &c.: Ne no Diopendion aswagen &c.
 100. *May*] yer may I; Ther is W. *ne*] ne no DA; no L. *ne—þing*] so swete WV. *swage*] may swage W; asswage DgIVH; swete R. *it*] me E. *an vnche*] on ynche E; vnneþe VH. 101. *dyapendyon*] diapendion REDgLI; dyapendron A; Diopendion V; diapenydion UW; dyapenidioun H₂; diapenydyon D. *dryue*] drawe A. 102. *3if þat*] And 3if þat W; 3if RDIVH; And if EDgA; And þanne 3ef any L. *shrift*] schrit V. *it*] me I. *shop*] schepe D; stoppe EH₂A; saue LI; þenne swopen out V; aswage H. *it shop*] om. RUW; aswage it H. *a—wondir*] hit were gret wonder REA; it were a gret wondir U; a gret wonder hit were V; nowe a wonder it were W; semed hit a gret wondur L; me thingith it were wondere I; wonder me þinkeþ H. 103. *3is*] A 3is A. *redily*] rede I E. *redde*] rede H₂. *him*] hem W. *to goode*] to þe best H; ye best EA. 104. *Sorewe*] Oft sorwe W; And saide sorwe L. *for*] of her I; for his D; for heore VH. *synne*] synnes EDgIAV; synneþ H. *sauip*] saue D. *wel*] ofte wel L; full EH; men ful V; om. A. *many*] many on A. 105. *I*] And I Dg. *am but*] am Dg; nam but WH; ne am but V. *selde*] seldom UEWA; seldom Dg; seilden L; seldyn I; seldene V. *opere*] yer E. *Between ll. 105 and 106 A inserts:* Also wilde in hert & pensyue in hert & thouth. 106. *And*] om. U. *þat*] om. L. *so*] om. EW. *mad*] mate DgI. *for*] om. W; þat LA. *ne may me*] no may me L; may me not W; may not A. *venge*] avengyn I.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

THE SEPULCHRES AT POLA REFERRED TO BY DANTE.

IN the ninth canto of the *Inferno* Dante compares the tombs in which the heretics are confined in the sixth circle of Hell to the sepulchres at Arles and Pola.

Sì come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna,
Sì com' a Pola presso del Quarnaro,
Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna,
Fanno i sepolcri tutto il loco varo:
Così facevan quivi d' ogni parte,
Salvo che il modo v' era più amaro.

Inferno ix, 112—117.

Dante, no doubt, heard of the sepulchres at Pola from pilgrims to the Holy Land, the 'Palmieri' of whom he speaks in the *Vita Nuova* (§ 41, ll. 35 ff.). These sepulchres, and the remains of the great Roman amphitheatre, were objects of interest many years after Dante's time to those who were on their way to the Holy Land. Pola, at the southern extremity of the Istrian Peninsula, was the first stage on the voyage to Jerusalem from Venice, the port of departure, from which it was a day's sail.

Several contemporary accounts of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land have been preserved, of which the best known are the *Viaggio al Monte Sinai*, in 1384, of Simone Sigoli of Florence; the *Saint Voyage de Jherusalem*, in 1395, of the Seigneur d'Anglure; and the *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, in 1431, of Ser Mariano of Siena.

Simone Sigoli does not mention Pola, as he and his party did not touch there. Apparently they met with contrary winds, for when they were four days out from Venice they had got no further than the mouth of the Gulf of Quarnero. Here they were caught in a violent storm, such as is often encountered off that gulf, which as Simone

remarks, well deserves its name of *Carnaro*¹, 'charnel-house' (as though from *Carnarium*).

Both the author of the *Saint Voyage de Jherusalem* and Ser Mariano give detailed accounts of Pola and of the objects of interest in the neighbourhood. The former, under the heading *Paula*, says:

'Le lundi matin nous partismes du port de Venise; sy arrivasmes a Paula, qui est a cent M. oultre Venise, le mardi ensuivant, le darrien jour d'aoust.

Paula est cité assés bonne; mais elle fut jadis meilleur, car elle fut destruite pour le temps de la guerre des Genevois et des Veniciens². Et dehors la cité, devers la terre, a une tresbelle fontaine d'eau doulce devant laquelle a ung tournoyement, par lequel appert bien qu'il fut jadis moult bel et fait de grant richesses et seignorie. Et le fist faire Rolant, si comme l'en dit, et encore l'appellent aujourd'uy le palais Rolant³. Et dehors ledit palais vers la marine, a moult grant quantité le monumens de pierre entaillée couvers, et sont sur terre: et y en peut bien avoir environ iiij⁶; et dedens les aucuns voit l'en les os des chrestiens qui illec furent mis après une grande desconfiture que mescreans y firent. Plusieurs y a desdits monumens que l'en ne peut veoir dedans, car ilz sont trop couvers.'

(Ed. Bonnardot et Longnon, *S. A. T. F.*, 1878, pp. 6—7.)

Ser Mariano of Siena, who made the voyage thirty-six years later, left Venice on St Mark's day (April 25), and reached Pola the following day:

'A dì venticinque el dì di Santo Marco...in su la nona la Galea fece vela pigliando el camino verso Terra Santa...A dì xxvi, fumo in Istria nella città di Pola, nella quale trovammo uno edificio quasi simile al Coliseo di Roma, e molti altri nobili edificii. Anco vi trovammo sì grande quantità di sepulcri tutti d' uno pezzo ritratti come

¹ This is doubtless the *Carrenare* mentioned by Chaucer in the *Book of the Duchess*. In a note upon the passage in his edition of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, Brae quotes the following from a Paduan writer, Palladio Negro, in illustration of the proverbial dangers of those waters: 'E regione Istriae, sinu Polatico, quem nautae *carnarium* vocitant.' He gives a still more striking passage from Vergier, Bishop of Capo d' Istria, which is quoted by Sebastian Munster in his *Cosmographie*: 'Par deça le gouffre enragé le quel on appelle vulgairement *Carnarie* d'autantque le plus souvent on le voit agité de tempestes horribles; et là s'engloutissent beaucoup de navires et se perdent plusieurs hommes.' Brae compares the name *Shambles* applied to a dangerous shoal off the Bill of Portland by English sailors.

² The Genoese had destroyed the Venetian fleet at Pola, and captured the town sixteen years before (1379).

³ This is the Roman amphitheatre, which as late as the end of the seventeenth century still bore the name of 'Orlandino,' according to Spon, the antiquary, who visited Pola in 1675, and described the remains in his *Voyages d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyon, 1677).

arche, che sarebbe incredibile a dire el numero d' essi con molte ossa dentro. Sono da Venegia a qui centovinti miglia. Stemmo due dì.
(Ed. Moreni, Firenze, 1822, pp. 6—7.)

The great Roman amphitheatre at Pola stands to this day, but nothing is now to be seen of the numerous sepulchres referred to by Dante and later writers. In his work on *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, published in 1887, T. G. Jackson, after mentioning the tradition that Dante once sojourned within the walls of the Convent of San Michele in Monte at Pola, writes as follows:

‘Between the convent and the town is supposed to have been the ancient cemetery, to which Dante likens the rows of arks or sarcophagi in which at a white heat the heresiarchs expiate their theological difficulties:

Si come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna, &c.

At Arles twenty years ago one could still walk between avenues of sarcophagi as in the days of Dante.... At Pola all traces of the cemetery have disappeared; but Signor Rizzi (the conservator of ancient monuments at Pola) tells me that fragments of ancient tombs with Pagan inscriptions abound in the rough walls that divide the fields of the neighbourhood.’ (Vol. III, p. 300.)

PAGET TOYNBEE.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.

A FORGOTTEN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF BARCLAY’S ‘ARGENIS.’

Not long ago I was attracted by the mention, I think in a book-seller’s catalogue which I have unfortunately mislaid, of what appeared to be an English translation of the *Argenis* by John Jacob, published at Dublin in 1734. Such a version was quite unknown to me and seemed generally to have escaped the notice of students of Barclay. No reference is made to it under Barclay’s life in the *D.N.B.* nor is it included in the long list of translations given in the second chapter of K. F. Schmid’s *John Barclays Argenis* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1904)¹. It is not to be found in the British Museum, and, as I am informed, it is not in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. At the suggestion of

¹ Mr Schmid’s useful monograph requires to be corrected and supplemented in several particulars. For example he is sceptical on p. 139 as to the existence of the 1643 (Rouen) edition of de Mouchemberg’s continuation of the *Argenis* mentioned by Mr Albert Collignon (p. 179 of the latter’s *Notes sur L’Argenis de Jean Barclay*, Paris and Nancy, 1902). I can vouch for this being no ghost-book as I have a copy in my own collection.

Mr Alfred de Burgh I applied for information to that authority on Irish bibliography, Mr E. R. M^cC. Dix, who most courteously lent me a copy of the book in his own possession. This has enabled me to give the following account.

The title runs: The | Adventures | Of | Poliarchus | And | Argenis. |
Translated from the Latin of John | Barclay. | By the Revd. Mr. John
Jacob. | Dublin: | Printed by James Hoey, at the Sign of *Mercury* | in
Skinner-Row, opposite to the Tholsel, 1734.

The collation is Title 1 p., 1 p. blank, Dedication ('To Her Grace, the Dutchess of Dorset') 3 pp., 1 p. blank, preface pp. i—xiii, 1 p. blank, pp. 1—274. The recipient of the dedication was apparently chosen as being the wife of the Lord Lieutenant.

On p. i of the preface the reader is informed that 'the Original of this Translation was written by the learn'd *John Barclay*, on purpose, (as most suppose,) to amuse King *Henry* the III^d. of *France*, a Prince unfit for the Reins of Government, into his Duty under a diverting Relation of the Adventures of two chaste and constant Lovers.' The translator has plainly troubled himself but little about the chronology of his author's life. Barclay was seven years old at the time of Henry the third's assassination! We are told that James I 'not only settled a yearly Pension of some Thousands of Crowns on him, but also made him one of his Privy Council; Honours, which enroll him among the great Heroes of the learn'd World.' On the same page Virgil and Homer, who 'have only one principal Design in their poems' are contrasted with 'the soaring genius of Barclay.' As regards the details of the story Mr Jacob is anxious that his readers' faith should not be too severely strained. One thing he apprehends 'may perhaps be thought on first sight to exceed the bounds of what Criticks call the Marvelous' and that is—the mention of artificial ice. But having heard that the 'Virtuoso's of *France*' have produced artificial snow 'for the Entertainment of *Louis XIV*' he is 'humbly of Opinion it may be as possible to make artificial Ice too.' Jacob is aware that the *Argenis* has been translated already. 'Before I undertook this Performance, I found there was extant an old *English* literal Translation of *Barclay* of almost an Hundred Years standing' (it would seem, if this is to be taken literally, that the second edition of Kingsmill Long (1636) had come under the translator's eye). 'The original,' he continues, 'is pursu'd in so close and servile a Manner by the Translator, that, as Mr *Dryden* says of *Holiday's* Version of *Juvenal*, he loses the Spirit of the Author when he thinks to take his Body....His *English* besides is...obsolete

and his Translation in many places false' (Long's accuracy can certainly be impugned).

But it is not merely the style of his previous translator but much of the substance of Barclay's book that the Rev. John Jacob feels would be distasteful to the audience whom he has in view. 'I question,' he writes, 'whether the best Hand in being could Translate *Barclay* verbally into *English*, so as to satisfy meer *English* Readers,' the reason being that 'Allusions to antient Poets as well as to the Customs of the Heathen World, tho' they are beautiful to the highest Degree in the Original *Latin*, yet would make an uncouth Figure in *English*.'

Mr Jacob certainly had the courage of his literary convictions. He laid violent hands on *Argenis*, retrenched the 'Allusions to antient Poets,' under which he seems to have included Barclay's own verses which are so freely interspersed in the original, and, in order to bring the tone still more into harmony with his readers' taste, Christianized the characters, changing the time of action from the days before the world had owned the rule of Rome to 'about the Declension of the fourth Century.' Thus when Poliarchus disguised as a girl displays unexpected heroism in defence of the king and his daughter, he is mistaken, not for the goddess Minerva, but for an angel.

It need hardly be said that the long discussions that break Barclay's narrative receive little mercy from Mr Jacob, although on the night before the attack on *Argenis* and himself Meleander edifies the company by relating a conference he has had with an Epicurean Atheist.

The style is such as might be expected. We read 'how king Poliarchus when in the Capacity of a private Man in Sicily had fall'n a Victim to the Princess' exact Harmony of Features, and her many endearing Charms of Virtue,' and, when all obstacles to the lovers' union have been finally overcome, 'Description can give but a faint Image of their Happiness: Sweet Blessings, soft Transports, and Downy Exstasys attended their Lives from the Hour of their Marriage.'

Though the performance here described is scarcely a translation in the stricter sense, but only an English rendering of the bare story of Barclay's book, yet it undoubtedly possesses a certain interest. It must have a place in the literary history of *Argenis*, as an attempt to offer this romance in an English dress, coming between the versions of Kingsmill Long (1625 and 1636) and Le Grys (1629) on the one hand, and Clara Reeve's *The Phoenix; or the History of Polyarchus and Argenis* (1772) on the other. The tastelessness of the adaptation fairly

illustrates the attitude of the day towards the literature of this earlier period.

More than a century before Jacob, indeed only three years after the appearance of the original, Bishop Coeffeteau had produced a French abridgement of the *Argenis*. This differs in detail from the present work.

EDWARD BENSLEY.

ABERYSTWYTH.

NATHANIEL FIELD AND JOSEPH TAYLOR.

The dating of the plays in the collection ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher depends to some extent on the succession of actors in the King's company. In particular, the actor-list attached to *The Laws of Candy* in the Folio of 1679 includes the name of Joseph Taylor, but not that either of Richard Burbage or of Nathaniel Field. It is therefore of interest to know when Taylor joined and Field left the company. Burbage and Field are in the license of March 27, 1619 (Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, 50), but Burbage had died on the previous March 13, presumably while the document was in preparation. On the following May 20, Lord Chamberlain Pembroke wrote to Lord Hay of a play 'which I being tender-hearted could not endure to see so soone after the loss of my old acquaintance Burbadge' (*Athenaeum*, 1882, I, 103). It is known from the actor-list of Webster's *Duchess of Malfy* (1623) that Taylor succeeded to Burbage's part of Ferdinand, and Mr Fleay conjectures (*Biographical Chronicle*, I, 173) that Field 'was disappointed at Taylor's being imported as Burbage's successor, and retired disgusted' in 1619. Conjectures are all the better when there is some evidence to support them, and it is therefore worth while to call attention to two documents calendared amongst Lord De La Warr's manuscripts (*Hist. MSS.* IV, 299) and doubtless belonging to the papers of Sir Lionel Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex, the Master of the Wardrobe. They are warrants by the Lord Chamberlain for the allowances due to the players for liveries, and are dated May 19, 1619 and April 7, 1621. In the 1619 warrant the names are the same as those in the license of that year, with the exception that Joseph Taylor replaces Richard Burbage. But by 1621 there is a further change in the substitution for Nathan Field of John Rice. Field, therefore, had left the company between May, 1619 and April, 1621. It is probable

that he had left it by August, 1619, since his successor, John Rice, was amongst the players in *Sir John van Olden Barneveld* (Bullen, *Old Plays*, II, 201), which is known to have been produced in that month (*Athenaeum*, Jan. 19, 1884). It is true that he only played a Captain, and that all the players were not necessarily full members of the company, but, as he was already a member of the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1611 (Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, 18, 111), it is not particularly likely that he joined the King's men in any other capacity. Whether Field's retirement was due to disgust at the introduction of Taylor, I cannot say.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

ENGLISH 'MULLION,' FRENCH 'MENEAU.'

The *N.E.D.* regards *monial*, *mullion*, *munnon* as of identical origin, all from the O.F. forms of *meneau*, of unknown origin. Scheler, s.v. *meneau*, conjectured derivation from O.F. '**meienel*, dér. de *medianus*...l'anglais a *mullion*, *munnon* = *meneau*; ils me font l'effet d'être gâtés de *moielon*, *moienon*.' This conjecture is quite right, as is shown by the O.F. variants *moynel*, *moinel*, *monial*, *meigneaul*, *mayneau*, *méneau*, etc. (v. *N.E.D.*, s.v. *monial*, and Godef. s.v. *manel*). The form *moynel* occurs in E. 14th—16th cent. (*N.E.D.*) and is obviously a derivative of *moyen* (de fenestre), the 'crosse-barre of a window' (Cotgrave). Both *moyen* and *moyenne* are common in O.F. in the sense of 'middle' (v. Godef.). Cf. *moyenner*, 'partager en deux,' and It. *tramezzo*, G. *Mittelpfosten*, *Mittelstück*, 'mullion.' The Mod. F. *meneau* represents O.F. *meienel*, the diphthong in the protonic syllable being reduced as in *menotte* (to *main*); cf. O.F. (cor) *meienel*, cor de *moyenne* grandeur (Godef. s.v. *moienel*). *Mullion* and *munnon* are, I think, of cognate, but not identical, origin. The *N.E.D.* regards *mullion* as probably a metathetic form of *munial*, and *munnon* as a corruption of *mullion*. The old derivation (Wedgwood, Century, Skeat), from *mognon*, 'stump,' is clearly wrong, while the dialect word *munтин*, *munton*, etc., given by the *Century Dictionary* under *munnon*, is obviously F. *montant* (v. *N.E.D.*, s.v. *munтин*). *Mullion* (1567, *N.E.D.*) is, I suggest, O.F. *moilon* (var. *moillon*, *meilon*, *molon*, *moulon*, *melon*, *moion*), milieu, centre (Godef.), which is a derivative of *medius*. It occurs as an architectural term, though not in the precise sense required, e.g. 'Ou *moilon* desdis fouyer

ou combe' (Godef. 1403). It has probably been confused with *moellon*, 'ashlar,' 'facing stone,' O.F. *moulon*, *moilon*, *moillon*, *moiron* (Godef. Comp.), as in the second example in the *N.E.D.*, s.v. *mullion*, 'Item for mending the *mullenis* in the sylling, 16d.' (Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, 1590, S.H.S.). This is the smallest item in a long account (pp. 63—4), while the repairing of *mullions* would be rather skilled work. *Munnion* (1593, *N.E.D.*) is probably either, as Scheler suggests, **moienon* (cf. *moyen* in Cotgrave), or *moyennant* from *moyenner*, to halve; cf. *montant*. It may, however, be a by-form of *mullion* due to the influence of *munton* (v.s.), which is used in a very similar sense. The correct equations are, I suggest, *meneau*, *monial* = **medianale*, *mullion* = **medilionem*, *munnon* = **medianonem*.

E. WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

REVIEWS.

Dante e la Francia dall' età media al Secolo di Voltaire. Da ARTURO FARINELLI. Milan: Hoepli, 1908. 2 vols. 8vo. xxvi + 560 and xiv + 381 pp.

Signor Farinelli, who agrees with Baretti that for three centuries Dante was no better known in France than Confucius, has undertaken and has executed with great skill a task of considerable difficulty, the erection of an imposing edifice with very scanty materials. His erudition is as great as his industry is untiring. He has apparently not only examined the whole of French literature, but has also read most of what has been written about it in the determination to allow no trace of the direct or indirect knowledge of Dante in France or of his influence on French poetry and thought to escape notice.

When the reader opens the book the number of proper names, the wealth of references and quotations may remind him of the avalanche of slips described by M. Anatole France as descending upon and overwhelming the too diligent student. But he need not fear this fate for our author, who bears all the weight of his learning lightly. His dithyrambic appreciations of 'il sommo,' his often acute and invariably interesting criticism of French authors, from Jean de Meun to Voltaire, his speculations as to how far they would have been capable of appreciating and understanding the great poet, whose name they often had never heard, are rarely wanting in vivacity and insight.

Signor Farinelli never yields to the temptation of exaggerating the fame and influence outside Italy of him whom he regards as the greatest as well as the most sublime of poets. The same determination to believe nothing for which there is not good evidence, makes him reject the stories of Dante's travels north of the Alps. He shows how little weight ought to be allowed to Villani's vague assertion that Dante visited Paris and many other parts of the world, and to the amplification of this statement by the fertile fancy of Boccaccio. Not only, according to him, did the poet never seek wisdom in her chosen abode, the Rue de Fouarre, but he never even trod the rough road between Lerici and Turbia or marvelled at the tombs which crowd the Elysian Fields of Arles where the Rhone first begins to linger.

Signor Farinelli shows that though the name of Dante is occasionally mentioned by French writers before Charles VIII crossed the Alps, there

is little to suggest that he was to them more than a name, except in the case of one popular author of the fourteenth century, Christine de Pisan, the daughter of the Italian astrologer and physician of Charles V, who was left a widow with a young family and an aged mother dependent on her, and who was probably the first woman to make her living by literature as a profession.

It is remarkable that the two French authors who before the end of the eighteenth century were the most appreciative students of the Divine Poet and whose works show the most abundant traces of his influence should both have been women—Christine de Pisan and Margaret d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre. In the lives of both of these women, versed in all the learning and culture of their age, in the character and bent of their genius we may find the explanation of the attraction exercised on them by the great Tuscan. The loss of her husband overshadowed Christine's life, while Margaret of Anjou lavished the treasures of her devotion on an ungrateful husband and an unfeeling brother. The ardent and mystically expressed, the quintessential passion of Dante for his dead mistress must have touched a kindred cord in the hearts of these women, in both of whom moreover a strong tendency to religious mysticism was combined with much shrewd and even prosaic common sense.

Signor Farinelli fully explains why although the intercourse between France and Italy during the eighteenth century was close and continuous Dante still continued to be little more than a name to French authors. We are inclined to think that, if anything, he rather minimises the knowledge in France of the *Divine Comedy* during this period. The translation by Grangier was not published before 1596, but there must have been a public to buy the editions published at Lyons in the first half of the century. Yet he is doubtless right in refusing to accept two quotations by Montaigne as any proof that the author of the *Essays* had read the *Divine Comedy*. One, the simile of the Ants (*Purgatorio*, XXVI, 13), is to be found in the *Ercolano* of Varchi, a book known to Montaigne, the other 'che non men che saver, dubbiar m' aggrata' (*Inf.*, XI, 93) is a line which Montaigne is likely to have met elsewhere and which certainly would dwell in the memory of the sceptic.

It is remarkable that Aubigné, a poet, a theologian and an historian, should not have known Dante with whom his friend Duplessis Mornay was at least sufficiently acquainted for controversial purposes; but Signor Farinelli does not agree with those who hold that the Huguenot Satirist must have read the *Divine Comedy* because he sometimes is inspired by its very spirit: as when he says 'Que nous sommes vestus de splendeur éternelle' or speaks of 'l'éternelle soif de l'impossible mort' as the chief torment of the damned. Certainly the deep religious feeling which runs through the verse of the Protestant soldier, the fierce indignation, the pregnant and picturesque compression, not unfrequently remind us of the Florentine poet, but so kindred a genius had it borrowed at all would have borrowed more. If Aubigné had

known Dante we should find traces of his influence on every page of *Les Tragiques*.

It was, as our author points out, the hesitating appreciation and scarcely less emphatic denunciation of Dante by Voltaire which first spread the fame of the great Florentine in France. Boileau had formulated the final, immutable laws of art. Everything must approve itself to 'le Goût,' to that taste which was the outcome of the traditions of classical antiquity, of the Renaissance, of Cartesian rationalism and of the dislike of all that is complicated, heterogeneous and obscure, which is, or was, the characteristic of the French genius. Voltaire was a faithful follower of Boileau and had a profound contempt for the Middle Ages, their religion, their philosophy, their art, their social and political organisation. When all this is taken into consideration we are pleasantly surprised to read in the *Essai sur les Mœurs*, 'that the contemplation of such works of human genius (as the *Divine Comedy*) is a relief after our mind has been directed to the misfortunes of mankind.' It is true that he soon altered his tone into one of violent and contemptuous depreciation, but his abuse was as efficacious as his praise in familiarising the public with the name, if not with the works, of the sublime poet.

Is not Signor Farinelli a little unjust to Voltaire when he pronounces him incapable of appreciating the highest poetry? Through all the mist of his prejudices, in spite of his education and of the canons of literary orthodoxy in which he was a fervent believer, he recognised in his saner moods the greatness of Shakespeare and Dante. Indeed may we not ask whether it is not the test of really great, of perfect poetry that its value should be recognisable, though perhaps not fully valued, 'semper, ubique, ab omnibus'? If a poem can only be appreciated after a course of study, if we have to transport ourselves by an effort of erudite imagination into the past before we can understand and enjoy it, it so far falls short of perfection. Torelli, a champion of Dante against Voltaire, says that a reader who takes up the *Divine Comedy* qualified by a sound knowledge of Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy, by some acquaintance with physics, geography, astronomy and contemporary history, will find no difficulty in understanding what is before him. Mr Butler advises those who would read the *Paradiso* to study Aristotle *De Coelo*, books I and II, the *Metaphysics*, the poet's *Convito* and *De Monarchia*. If they are spared the whole of Aquinas, it is only because they will find the passages necessary to the comprehension of the text in the notes of Commentators. From which we may infer that when the critics of the age of Voltaire complain that many parts of the sublime poem are crabbed and obscure they are not so benighted as Signor Farinelli would have us believe. So much preparation is not needed for the enjoyment of the *Iliad* or of the book of *Job*, of the *Aeneid* or the odes of Horace, of *Le Misanthrope* or of *Hamlet*. These masterpieces must delight all mankind, the learned and unlearned. So also, no doubt, do large parts of the *Divine Comedy* and some passages of the *De Rerum Naturâ*, but as a whole these poems,

although their authors were men of the loftiest genius, do not reach perfection, because Lucretius and Dante have attempted to force into metrical form much that is essentially unpoetic, obscure and abstruse.

Has not the nineteenth century been somewhat blind to those defects in the *Divine Comedy*, considered as a work of art, which the eighteenth century so greatly exaggerated? It could hardly have been otherwise. The Italians in the fervour of aspirations for national unity so happily realised could scarcely be impartial judges of a man who, besides being the creator of their language and one of the glories of their literature, was one of the first and most fervid of patriots. In France and England the reaction in favour of a Catholicism which was not at first altogether that of Rome, the renewed interest in mediæval life and mediæval theology, led many to study with enthusiasm a writer so learned, so religious, so orthodox and yet so unsparing in his denunciation of the corruptions of the church. Historians who wished to understand the Middle Ages or to trace the growth of modern society allowed their delight in the works of Dante as an historical document to blind them to his deficiencies as a poet. To German and other scholars the *Divine Comedy* offered a boundless field for the exercise of painstaking erudition and ingenuity of interpretation, and was therefore regarded with affectionate partiality. But when we judge a poem as a work of art we ought to be unbiassed by the interest it may awaken in us as metaphysicians, theologians, historians, archæologists or interpreters of ænigmas.

If we approach the great poem of Dante in the spirit of pure æsthetic criticism—which was the spirit, however narrow their rules of taste, of the eighteenth century critics—we shall perhaps be forced to allow that, although what there is in it of prosaic has been fused by the fiery vigour and glowing enthusiasm of the author into the outward semblance of poetry, it contains so much that is tedious and obscure that it cannot claim as high a place among those poems which are the most precious treasure of mankind as we should assign to Dante among poets. We may illustrate what we mean by again referring to Lucretius: who as a whole would place the *De Rerum Naturâ* on a level with the *Æneid*? and yet its author possessed a deeper, a richer vein of poetry than that which inspired the consummate art of Virgil.

P. F. WILLERT.

OXFORD.

Les sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne. Par PIERRE VILLEY.

Paris: Hachette et C^{ie}, 1908. 2 vols. 8vo. x + 422 and 576 pp.

At the opening of his great essay, *On Repentance*, Montaigne warns us that in the portraiture of himself he is 'not painting the whole being but a passing state,' that the portrait 'is a copy of diverse and changeable accidents and of wavering and sometimes contradictory imaginations,' and that 'his soul is always in a state of apprenticeship and probation.'

In spite of this warning many attempts have been made to construct out of Montaigne's *Essays* a well-rounded system of philosophy, and their author has been variously represented as a Sceptic, an Epicurean, and even as a Stoic. The reprint of the edition of 1580 by Dezeimeris and Barckhausen and of that of 1588 by Motheau and Jouaust has made it possible to study, with the expenditure of some trouble, the development of Montaigne's thought, and recently the task has been considerably lightened by the publication of vol. I of the Municipal edition of the famous copy of the 1588 text, with Montaigne's manuscript additions and corrections, which is preserved in the municipal library of Bordeaux. In this edition, admirably edited by M. Strowsky, the successive strata of the essays are conveniently shewn by differences in type and other methods. For the fourth volume a study of the Sources of the Essays by M. Pierre Villey is announced. Meanwhile M. Villey, who has been working at the subject for the last six years, gives us the result of his labours in a complete form, that is to say with ample discussion and with full references to his sources. It may be said at once that no such important contribution to the study of Montaigne has been made for many years.

After fifty pages of introductory matter on the general question of Montaigne's relations to the ethics of the sixteenth century we come to the First Part (I, pp. 51—280) which deals with the books read by Montaigne and the period at which he read them. A comparison with Miss Grace Norton's admirable essay, *Montaigne as a reader*, in her *Studies in Montaigne*, 1904, and with her list of authors read by him will shew how great an advance M. Villey has made. I will only note that his method is thoroughly sound, and that he carefully distinguishes between fact and hypothesis. Authors are arranged in alphabetical order, so that reference is easy. Among the less known is López de Gómara, from whose popular *Historia general de las Indias*, published in 1553, and translated into French in 1584, Montaigne borrowed largely.

The rest of M. Villey's first volume has for its subject the chronology of the Essays, and is perhaps the most important part of the whole work. The result of his investigations is that the essays of Books I and II may be arranged in four periods of composition as follows:

- (1) 1572. I, 2—22, 26 (part), 31—48, and II, 1;
- (2) 1573—74. II, 2—6;
- (3) 1575—76. II, 12 (part), 14, 15 (this is in some measure conjectural);
- (4) 1578—80. I, 1, 25, 27 (end), 28, 53, and II, 7, 11, 16—37¹.

During the last period M. Villey thinks important additions were made to I, 20, and II, 12, and some other essays. There is no indication of date for the remaining essays of Books I and II, but M. Villey conjectures

¹ I have used the numbering of the 1595 text for the chapters of Book I. In the earlier editions XL was numbered xiv.

that I, 24, *Du pedantisme*, was written between 1572 and 1578, and I, 49—52 soon after 1572. With regard to the essay which stands first of all he suggests that it was written about 1578 (mainly on the ground that the example of the emperor Conrad comes from Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, which he shews Montaigne read about that year), and that Montaigne purposely put it at the beginning of his book on account of its subject, namely, the diversity and inconstancy of man. This is very likely.

I have not space here to discuss all the careful arguments which M. Villey adduces for the chronology of each essay, but one or two points call for especial notice. His theory, which he only presents as conjectural, with regard to the *Apologie de Raimond de Sebonde* is that it consists of three principal fragments, of which the first was written about 1573, the last about 1576, and the middle one, ending with the address to the princess, between 1578 and 1580. Without accepting this view in its entirety one may readily agree with that part of it which assigns the last part, with its numerous borrowings from Sextus Empiricus, to the neighbourhood of the year 1576. For it was in January or February of this year that Montaigne struck his Pyrrhonist medal. With regard to II, 17, *On Presumption*, an essay of great importance, for it is the first one in which he gives us a full-length portrait of himself, I have expressed elsewhere my dissent from M. Bonnefon's view that it was written as early as 1573 or 1574¹, and I agree with M. Villey in assigning it on various grounds to the period 1578–1580. It is closely connected both with the essay which precedes it and the one which follows it, so that they too probably belong to the same period. The chronology of the Third Book presents no difficulty. M. Villey agrees with me that Montaigne did not begin this Book till at least the close of the year 1585, and we know that it was completed by February 1588.

Having established these *data* M. Villey in his second volume deals with the evolution of the Essays, or in other words with the development of Montaigne's art and thought.

In the first half of the sixteenth century there was a class of book which had an immense popularity. It may be said to have begun with Erasmus's *Adagia* (1500) and may be best described in the words applied by Mark Pattison to that work as 'a manual of the art and wisdom of the ancient world for the use of the modern.' The *Adagia* were aphorisms, or as they were then called 'sentences.' When these were put in the mouths of great men they were called 'Apophthegms.' Such were the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus and the *Propos memorables* of the Paris bookseller, Gilles Corrozet. Similar in character as being equally of a moral import were the collections of 'Examples,' or anecdotes, such as the *De dictis et factis memorabilibus* of Battista Fregoso, and the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor, both of which were largely used by Rabelais. Another work from which Rabelais drew was the *Lectionum antiquarum*

¹ Montaigne speaks of himself as *ayant franchi les quarante ans*.

libri xvi of Coelius Rhodiginus, which combined aphorism with anecdote, and amusement with moral instruction. A similar work, written in the vernacular, was the *Silva de varia leccion* of Pedro Mexia (1542), of which a French translation was published in 1552 under the title of *Les diverses leçons*. Of the same character were various books which appeared not long before the *Essays*, such as, the *Anthologie* of Pierre Breslay, the *Académie françoise* of La Primaudaye (a work much read in this country), the *Suite des diverses leçons de Pierre Messie* of Du Verdier, and the highly popular *Théâtre du Monde* of Pierre Boaistuau. Montaigne's earliest essays were, as M. Villey says, mere *Leçons*, or, as I have described them elsewhere, 'an anecdote or two, with a few remarks by way of moral.' M. Villey gives as a typical example I, xv, *De la punition de la couardise*.

Soon we come upon another type of essay, more fully developed, and altogether more interesting, but still preserving the mosaic character and with very little of Montaigne in it. Such are I, 40 (originally 14), 37, 42 and II, 1. The first of these M. Villey takes as a type of the longer essay of the first period. As he points out, its composition is extremely simple and regular. It opens with a saying of Epictetus, which Montaigne found in Stobaeus, that men are tormented by their opinion of things, and not by the things themselves. Then, after two paragraphs which are possibly original, the essay is built up in a perfectly symmetrical fashion. First we have a few aphorisms on the contempt for death, followed by numerous examples. Then we have a few aphorisms on the contempt for pain, followed by more examples. Finally there is a short conclusion, which is almost directly translated from Seneca. In this group of essays M. Villey includes I, 19, *Que philosopher c'est apprendre à mourir*, and he is on the whole right in doing so, for much of the essay is borrowed from ancient sources, especially from Lucretius, and its ideas hardly go beyond the range of the great commonplaces. But from the artistic point of view the essay is significant as being the first (he was writing it on March 15, 1572) in which Montaigne attempts a higher flight, in which he writes as a poet as well as a moralist, in which he introduces at any rate one important personal element, his imagination.

During this period the dominating influence is Stoicism—the mitigated Stoicism of Seneca, whose ideas and even style colour all the early essays. This Stoical phase through which Montaigne passed was due in part to the influence of his friend La Boétie. It was a Stoicism which, as M. Villey well points out, had nothing original in it, and nothing Christian. Montaigne gradually drew clear of it, but there was no violent rupture, no such hard and fast demarcation between the Stoical and the Sceptical phase as M. Strowski seems to imply¹. Throughout his life Montaigne could be roused to enthusiasm by the contemplation of Stoical ideals. It was the influence of Plutarch which helped to wean him from Stoicism. Amyot's translation of the *Moralia*

¹ F. Strowski, *Montaigne*, 1906.

appeared in August 1572, and M. Villey shows that Montaigne must have become acquainted with it towards the close of the year. We know how much he was indebted to Amyot, and even more to the *Œuvres morales* than to the *Lives*. The *Lives*, M. Villey points out, influenced his work in two ways; they put more sap and vitality into the essays, as for instance I, 22 and 47, and they gave a more complex and subtle character to his psychology. He began to realise that life was less simple than the Stoics represented it to be. One of the earliest essays to shew the trace of the *Œuvres morales* is II, 4, *À demain les affaires*, which opens with the well-known tribute to Amyot — *Je donne la palme à Jacques Amyot sur tous noz escrivains François*.

M. Villey's treatment of Montaigne's scepticism, or, as he calls it, his relativism, is excellent (II, pp. 155—235). We have the beginning of it in two essays of the first period I, 31 and 47 (*De l'incertitude de nostre jugement*), and no doubt the religious wars, especially after the massacre of St Bartholomew, contributed greatly to its development. But the crisis was determined by Henri Estienne's Latin translation of Sextus Empiricus (1562). It was from Sextus that he derived most of the inscriptions for his library and it is reasonable to assume that the medal which he struck early in 1576 gives us approximately the date of the crisis. M. Strowski says that the most important source of the *Apologie de Raimond de Sebonde* is the *Examen vanitatis doctrinae gentium* of Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, a nephew of the great humanist (p. 125), but M. Villey can find no direct traces of this work in Montaigne. As regards the well-known treatise of Cornelius Agrippa, *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum*, he points out that Montaigne is indebted to it for puerile paradox rather than for serious argument, and that it is in fact to be regarded as an amusing manual of paradoxes, or at best as 'an ironical pamphlet against stupidity' (Strowski), rather than as a serious contribution to sceptical philosophy¹. Another source, to which M. Villey for the first time calls attention, is *Les Dialogues de Guy de Brués, contre les nouveaux Academiciens* (1557), an obscure and feeble work by a friend of Ronsard. 'The great novelty of the *Apology* and its governing thought is that we have "no communication with Being," and that we only know changing phenomena.' This is one of the best and most informing remarks that has ever been made on the *Apology*. Though the acute sceptical phase which is represented by this essay passed away, 'it left behind it,' notes M. Villey, 'two important traces, a great intellectual prudence and the principle of the imitation of nature.' To Montaigne's philosophy of Nature he devotes a whole chapter (pp. 375—436), but the subject is far too large a one to be discussed here. By 'intellectual prudence' he means that Montaigne henceforth abandoned hasty moral generalisations in favour of the more modest position that morality is to a large extent relative to the age and to the individual.

It will have been noticed that in M. Villey's chronology of the

¹ The French translation of Agrippa is by Louis Turquet, and not by Gueudeville, as M. Strowski says.

Essays all that he assigns, and that conjecturally, to the period from 1574 to the end of 1577 are part of the *Apology*, and two short essays, also of a sceptical character, II, 14 and 15. But he points out (I, 387) that to this period may also belong the essays which were stolen from Montaigne by his secretary, as well as some of those which have no indication of date. He further suggests that during this period his work was interrupted by the fact that he was serving in the army. It seems to me, however, extremely unlikely that after St Bartholomew Montaigne should have served on the Catholic side, and equally unlikely that he should have thrown in his lot, as has also been conjectured, with the Protestants. It is far easier to agree with M. Villey when he makes Montaigne's conception of the relativity of morality the starting-point for his portraiture of himself. Among other influences he notices the growing interest of the age in biography and autobiography, and Montaigne's own predilection for Plutarch, Suetonius, and Horace. On the influence of Horace M. Villey is especially good (pp. 141—145). The resemblance between the two men is indeed remarkable: they belong to the same family, a family of which Sainte-Beuve, who claimed them and Bayle as his masters, was also an illustrious member.

It is in the essays written during the last period of the First Book (1578—80) that Montaigne's design of making himself the subject of his book appears fully matured. In II, 6 *On Practice*, written at the latest in 1574, we already find a premonition of his intention. 'I am not writing as a teacher, but as a student: it is not another man's lesson, it is my own,' are the concluding words of the essay in the 1580 edition. But it is not till I, 25 *On the Education of Children*, II, 8 *On the affection of Fathers for Children*, II, 10 *On Books*, that he begins to put his design into execution, and it is not till II, 17 *On Presumption*, that he gives free play to it. But it is in the Third Book and in the additions made to the earlier books that we get the full benefit of his intention. During the years 1586—88 he finds an inexhaustible theme in his personal experiences, his personal tastes and opinions, and he produces his richest and most original essays. I cannot agree with M. Villey that he tells us too much about his idiosyncrasies. It is interesting to know that he never had his bed warmed, that he did not care for fruit except melons, that he liked all sauces and preferred stinking fish to fresh. Montaigne did not write only for philosophers but for the world in general. That is one of the secrets of his abiding charm.

In the additions which Montaigne made to the *Essays* during the last years of his life, and which were embodied in the posthumous edition of 1595, his confidences are, in truth, sometimes indiscreet, and M. Villey is right in saying that an increasing libertinism is a note of these years. But he is equally right in ascribing this to an excess of frankness, with a spice of affectation, and not to senility or dilettantism. M. Strowski's view that dilettantism is the final word of Montaigne's philosophy is not borne out, as he supposes, by the character of the books which he read during his last years. On the contrary Montaigne

read more assiduously and more methodically than before, and the books that he read were for the most part of an extremely solid character. Aristotle's *Ethics*, Plato, Diogenes Laertius, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Herodotus, Livy, Quintilian, Cicero's *Academica*, *de natura deorum*, and *de divinatione* are not the books of a dilettante. The manuscript additions to the Bordeaux copy of the edition of 1588 bear ample testimony to Montaigne's reading. It is this rather than any fresh intellectual current that colours his writing from 1588 to his death.

There are many other points in M. Villey's book that I should like to have noticed, such as the influence of the *conteurs* and of Seneca on Montaigne's style (II, 299 and 538), his increasing love of brevity (II, 542), and his debt to Amyot for some of his metaphors (II, 302). M. Villey writes with judgment and penetration of his religion, saying of it that its distinctive character is the absence of all religious feeling (II, 323—335), and there is an interesting chapter on *Montaigne honnête homme* (II, 436—490), at the close of which he compares him in this character to La Rochefoucauld. He might have added that he was the favourite author of M^{me} de Sablé, in whose salon La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims* were shaped and polished. Finally, one word by way of general criticism. M. Villey's book is admirable in substance, independent, cautious, thorough; but in point of form it is somewhat diffuse. There is a certain amount of repetition. Had the work been subjected to a more careful condensing and refining process, it would have been more effective as a whole, easier to grasp, more striking in its impression. In these days of many books, a thousand pages make a severe demand on the reader, even when the subject is Montaigne.

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Henslowe's Diary. Edited by WALTER W. GREG. Part I, Text. Part II, Commentary. London: A. H. Bullen. 1904, 1908. Crown 4to. lii + 240 and xvi + 400 pp.

Mr Greg's work upon Henslowe is a most notable contribution towards the redemption of the history of the Elizabethan stage for scholarship from the disrepute into which the tricks of the forger and the impertinence of the sciolist have brought it. He has now furnished a minutely accurate text of the famous diary, a collection, separately issued under the title *Henslowe Papers* (1907), of illustrative documents from the Dulwich archives, and a volume of elaborate commentary, in which are discussed in turn the personality and fortunes of Philip Henslowe himself, the companies of actors and the theatres with which his dramatic speculations were involved, and the individual plays and men, for so many of whom a reference in his business-like pages has secured a somewhat surprising rescue from oblivion. It is not necessary, in the *Modern Language Review*, to

dwelt either upon the first-rate importance of the Dulwich manuscripts to the student of Elizabethan life in general and of the Elizabethan drama in particular, or upon the exceptional merits of their latest editor. Mr Greg's sound judgment and remorseless patience are by this time familiar even to those who have not, like myself, had the privilege of working with him. I shall best discharge my present duty by avoiding all attempt at giving a summary of his book, and confining myself to a few isolated points of controversy, as to which, in the interpretation of admittedly intricate and difficult evidence, I feel bound to interpret otherwise. I am but gleaning where Mr Greg has reaped, and must pass over page after page upon which I have nothing to express but the most complete assent and admiration.

Mr Greg has dealt fully and finally with the forgeries introduced by Collier into the *Diary* itself, and in his general handling of stage history has steered very clear of the pitfalls dug for his successors by that mischievous antiquary. I have only noted one passage where I suspect that he has himself been trapped. This is in a statement (II, 108) that the actor William Kempe 'is found with the Queen's Revels' company in 1605.' There is an *a priori* improbability about this, because the Queen's Revels was a company of boys. I suppose that Mr Greg rests it upon a 'memorandum' quoted by Collier in his *Memoirs of the Actors* as 'derived from the civic archives' for 1605, to the effect that 'Kempe, Arnyyn, and others, plaiers at the Blacke Fryers' had brought certain aldermen of the City upon the stage. There is nothing else to connect either Kempe or Armin with the Blackfriars in 1605. Collier does not, of course, give an exact reference. I like not the security, and my suspicions are confirmed by turning up Mr Sidney Lee's account of Kempe in the *D.N.B.*, and finding that 'the town clerk of London denies the existence of such a document.'

On the other hand the recent German theory that the mysterious *ne*'s attached to certain records of play-performances in the diary are to be ascribed to Collier is reprobated on palaeographical grounds by Mr Greg. There can hardly be a doubt that, whatever the exact significance of these letters may be—'ne[w],' or 'n[ew] e[n]terlude,' or what-not—they indicate what we should now call a 'first night,' either of a wholly new play, or perhaps in some instances of a 'revival.' But I part company from Mr Greg when he assigns (II, 167, 174) the same meaning to the sign 'j,' which appears against the performance of *Tamberlaine* on 30 August 1594, and that of *Long Meg of Westminster* on 14 February 1595. The alternative explanation, which indeed Mr Greg himself suggests, that it indicated the First Part of a play written in two parts, seems to me far more plausible. There was a *ne* on 27 August 1594 and there was a *ne* on 11 February 1595, and Mr Greg's theory would make these two occasions the only ones on which two new plays in the same week are recorded in the diary. Moreover, on 10 March 1595, Henslowe notes '17 p frome hence lycensed.' Now, if *Tamberlaine* and *Long Meg of Westminster* are left out of account, the Admiral's men had produced exactly 17 new plays,

since they began with *Bellendon* on 8 June 1594. Mr Greg (II, 115) explains this note rather differently, as referring to 'exactly the number of the plays in the repertory at the moment, that is, of the plays entered as performed by the Admiral's men both before and after the date in question'; but I think that my interpretation is the more simple and natural one.

Mr Greg has devoted great pains and ingenuity to the disentangling of Henslowe's bookkeeping, and I think that his conclusions are sometimes right. I am not sure, however, that he has solved the financial *crux* presented by the accounts of 1597, in which Henslowe makes not a single but a double money entry against each performance. I agree with him that the first two money columns represent pounds and shillings, and the last three pounds, shillings and pence, and that the pounds and shillings continue the series of gallery takings recorded in other parts of the book. But it seems to me very doubtful whether the pounds, shillings and pence can, as Mr Greg suggests (II, 131), 'represent the sums which Henslowe was able every now and then to squeeze out of the company towards the repayment of the moneys advanced' by him on the company's behalf. There are several difficulties in this explanation. One is that such repayments, when they do occur in the diary, are stated, as one would expect, in round sums of pounds and shillings without pence. Another is that repayments squeezed out from day to day would naturally fluctuate with the success of the theatre and therefore with the amounts taken in gallery-money. There is no such relation here. The entries in question do fluctuate, but quite independently of the gallery-money. Moreover, it is noticeable that nearly half the total amounts which they represent falls within the first 24 of the 127 days for which this particular account runs. Both this unequal distribution and the inclusion of pence suggest outgoings rather than repayments, and on the whole it seems to me probable that Henslowe is entering side by side with his gallery-receipts, not the repayments of his advances for the company, but the advances themselves as he made them day by day. But I admit that, if so, there are duplicate and differing entries of payments on another page for two of the days in question which I have no means of explaining. When Mr Greg comes (II, 135) to summarize the total outcome of Henslowe's financial transactions with the Admiral's men from 1597 to 1604, I feel sure that he goes wrong at more than one point. For example, Henslowe did not, as he suggests, credit the company on 28 July 1598 with receipts up to date of £125 as against payments of £167. 2s. 7d. and carry forward a balance in his own favour of £42. 2s. 7d. Probably the £125 went to an old debt. In any case Henslowe carried forward the whole of the £167. 2s. 7d. against the company. This correction makes the entry of £233. 17s. 7d. as due to Henslowe on 24 February 1599, which puzzles Mr Greg, intelligible enough. Henslowe has corrected an error of 5s. in his previous statement of his advances for 1597-8, making it £166. 17s. 7d. He has added his further advances of £314. 3s. 0d. up to 16 February 1599, and has deducted

his actual receipts during 1598-9 up to 24 February, amounting to £247. 3s. 0d. The balance in his favour is in fact £233. 17s. 7d. These are not the only misunderstandings in Mr Greg's paragraph, which really requires a complete reconsideration.

It is a pleasure to turn from finance to the personalities of famous men. Edward Alleyn, the Roscius of the Elizabethan stage, is recorded in the diary to have 'leaftē playnge' some time before 29 December 1597. Mr Greg regards this as a very temporary retirement, and thinks that Alleyn was back on the boards in 1598. I think, on the other hand, that he did not return until 1600. Mr Greg relies on the appearance of Alleyn's name in the plot of *The Battle of Alcazar*, which he dates in 1598. To this I reply that the plot may belong to December 1597, and may be as late as 1601 or thereabouts. I think it is in favour of my view that on 26 September 1598 Alleyn was at The Brill in Sussex, and that Henslowe, writing to him there (*Henslowe Papers*, 48), talks of 'my company,' as if Alleyn were not directly concerned with it. But my strongest argument rests on the terms of a letter written by the Privy Council to the Middlesex Justices on 8 April 1600, to favour the building of the Fortune (*Henslowe Papers*, 51). This letter recites that 'her Ma^{tie} (haveinge been well pleased heeretofere at tymes of recreacōn wth the services of Edward Allen and his Companie; Servantē to me the Earle of Nottingham wheareof, of late he hath made discontinuance) Hath sondrye tymes signified her pleasuer, that he should revive the same agayne.' Mr Greg finds the phrasing odd, because there had been no cessation of activity at the Rose, and the Admiral's men had duly appeared at court during the Christmas of 1599-1600. But surely the point is that Alleyn was not with them in person.

Collier interpolated in the diary three forged entries concerning the unfortunate play of *The Isle of Dogs*, which led to the closing of the theatres in 1597. Mr Greg clears these away and leaves a single genuine mention of the play. This occurs in a note of an agreement between Henslowe and the actor William Borne on 10 August 1597, under which Borne binds himself to begin playing at the Rose 'Imediatly after this Restraynt is Recaled by the lordes of the counsell wth Restraynt is by the meanes of playinge the Ieylle of dooges.' Mr Greg suggests that possibly the performance of *The Isle of Dogs* took place on 20 July. This date is entered by Henslowe in the diary, but no play-name or receipt is entered against it. Having eliminated the forgeries, however, Mr Greg leaves himself with no proof that the play was produced by the Admiral's men at all. Collier's well-known extract from the Privy Council register, which records the imprisonment of some of the players, 'whereof one of them was not only an actor, but a maker of parte of the said plaie,' only describes it as 'plaied in one of the plaichowes on the Bancke side'; and this might have been the Swan. That Nash had a share in the composition may be regarded as established, but there is no trace of any other connection between Nash and Henslowe. I am fortunate enough to be able to produce some

further evidence on the matter which, as far as I know, has never been used. On 8 October, 1597, the Privy Council (*Acts*, xxviii. 33) issued two warrants to the keeper of the Marshalsea, one 'to release Gabriell Spencer and Robert Shaa, stage-players, out of prison, who were of late committed to his custodie,' and the other 'a like warrant for the releasing of Benjamin Johnson.' The important new fact here is, of course, the inference to be drawn from the two entries in the register taken together, that Ben Jonson and not, as Mr Greg guesses, Samuel Rowley or Thomas Heywood, was Nash's collaborator in *The Isle of Dogs*. Of this there is no hint either in Prof. Herford's *D. N. B.* article, or in the quite recent and gargantuan biography by M. Maurice Castelain. But I think that doubt is also thrown upon the responsibility of Henslowe and the Admiral's men for the offending performance. The warrants were issued three days before Shaw and Spencer began to play for Henslowe in a reconstructed Admiral's company, to which recruits from Pembroke's men had been added. This is the earliest appearance of Spencer in the diary. The earliest appearance of Shaw is on the previous 6 August, when Richard Jones became security to a covenant by him to play for Henslowe. The procedure is, no doubt, explained by his imprisonment. Mr Greg has an ingenious argument to prove that Spencer, at least, was one of the importations from Pembroke's men; and if so, it would seem at least possible that Pembroke's, rather than the Admiral's, were the producers of *The Isle of Dogs*, and thereby caused the general restraint of all theatres on 28 July, 1597. On the other hand, Ben Jonson was in financial relationship with Henslowe as early as 28 July, for on that very day he borrowed £5 of him, perhaps to meet the expenses of his arrest; and it is conceivable that the Pembroke's men came into the Admiral's company a few months earlier than could be inferred from the account-heading of 11 October.

Shakespeare, like Nash, is not mentioned in the diary. Mr Greg's argument to prove that Gabriel Spencer and Humphrey Jeffes joined the Admiral's men from Pembroke's in 1597 is based upon the occurrence of the names 'Humfrey' and 'Gabriel,' probably as those of actors, in 3 *Henry VI* as printed in the Folio of 1623, and upon the publication of an earlier version of 3 *Henry VI* with the name of Pembroke's men on its title-page in 1595. But the inference that Shakespeare had once been with Pembroke's company, which he regards as 'quite groundless,' seems to me, on the other hand, rather plausible. The only reasonable explanation of the appearance of 3 *Henry VI* in the Folio is that Shakespeare, if he did not write it, at any rate revised it, and if Pembroke's men played in the revised version, there is at least a fair probability that it was revised for them. Now there is no trace of the existence of Pembroke's men until 1592, in the winter of which year they appeared at court. It is true that Mr Fleay has narrated a whole history of the company between 1589 and 1592, but it rests upon nothing. In 1593 they travelled, and by August they were back in London and had had to sell their apparel. My conjecture is that they may have originated in 1592, out of

a division for travelling purposes of the rather inflated London company which had been formed by the combination of Strange's and the Admiral's. If so, they probably took over the York and Lancaster series of plays, including 1 *Henry VI* as written or revised by Shakespeare for Strange's and produced at the Rose on 3 March 1592, and also the two parts of *The Contention of York and Lancaster*. These Shakespeare may have revised for them and may also have completed by the addition of *Richard III*, during their London winter of 1592-3. I see no reason why he should not also have continued to write for Strange's, and in fact I suspect that 'the gelyous comodey,' which is entered in the diary as a new play on 5 January 1593, was *The Comedy of Errors*. I do not know that Shakespeare travelled with any company during 1593; he may have been in Italy. But if he did, it is more likely to have been with Pembroke's than with Strange's. The names of nine of Strange's men during this tour are upon record, and his is not one of them. In August Pembroke's were in difficulties and, as Mr Greg suggests, probably sold their books as well as their apparel. Title-pages show that, in addition to the York and Lancaster plays, they held *Titus Andronicus*, probably in the version produced for the first time as *Titus and Vespasian* by Strange's on 11 April 1592, and *The Taming of A Shrew*. If so, they must have taken over the former play from Strange's, not in 1592 but in 1593, as Strange's were playing it up to 25 January 1593. Mr Greg (II, 85) supposes that in the autumn of 1593 their stock was acquired by Strange's and so passed to the Chamberlain's men. But it is also possible that it was taken over by Sussex's and passed from them to the Chamberlain's in the summer of 1594. This I infer from the fact that on 23 January 1594 Sussex's produced *Titus Andronicus*, which I take to be Shakespeare's extant revision of *Titus and Vespasian*, as a new play for Henslowe. A few days later, on 6 February 1594, plays were stopped by the plague, and on the very same day *Titus Andronicus* was entered in the Stationers' Register. It was published in the course of the year, and its title-page bore the names of the three companies, Derby's (i.e. Strange's), Pembroke's and Sussex's, in the precise order in which, according to my view but not according to Mr Greg's, who does not accept *Titus and Vespasian* as an early version of *Titus Andronicus*, they had been connected with it. I have been prolix in expounding this conjecture as to the outline of Shakespeare's career from 1592 to 1594, because it differs so sharply from the traditional conjecture adopted by Mr Greg, according to which Shakespeare's relations were confined, at any rate from 1592 onwards, to a single company, known up to 1594 as Strange's, and afterwards as the Chamberlain's. While I am conjecturing, I may as well go the whole hog, and add that I have sometimes wondered whether the *Buckingham*, which Sussex's were playing in the winter of 1593-4, was not an early version of *Henry VIII*. The Shakespeare and Fletcher play of 1613 reads to me like a rehandling of a piece belonging to the days of the chronicle history.

I could go on raising minor controversies with Mr Greg for some

time yet. I am not satisfied with the distinction he draws between the sharers in the Admiral's company and Henslowe's covenant servants; or with his theory that the diary must not be looked upon as showing all the payments made by or on behalf of the Admiral's men for plays during the period to which it relates. But the evidence on both these points is too long for analysis in a review, and I would rather end, as I began, on a note of gratitude to Mr Greg for a book which few scholars would have had the energy to undertake or to carry through with so much thoroughness and minuteness.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

The New Inn or The Light Heart. By BEN JONSON. Edited by G. B. TENNANT. (Yale Studies in English, XXXIV.) New York: Henry Holt, 1908. 8vo. lxxiii + 340 pp.

After alluding to the fact that this play is not found in the additional Jonson folio of 1640, Dr Tennant continues: 'That the reason for its omission lay in its peculiarity of form [8vo.] is very evident; for whereas his other plays could be reprinted from their original type, and then bound together, this comedy would have needed to be entirely reset.' It is difficult at first to grasp the state of mind in which an editor makes a remark of this sort, and yet when one comes to look into the case it is pretty clear how the mistake arose. The *New Inn* was printed in octavo in 1631, and it will be remembered that the same date occurs on the title-pages of the first three plays in 1640 folio. Dr Tennant has obviously jumped at the conclusion that these plays were published in folio in 1631, that the type was kept standing for nine or ten years and was then used for printing the first section of the collected edition. Had this been the case it is pretty certain that the printer of that edition would have altered the date before reprinting from the old type. But the supposition of type standing for ten years is utterly inadmissible. The three plays in question were of course printed in 1631 and the type distributed. They were not intended for separate issue, for the signatures are connected. It is now usual to assume that Jonson began to collect his later works for an additional folio about 1631, and that these three plays were printed before he again dropt the scheme. Whether any copies were issued is not known, but the bulk of the edition certainly came into the hands of the publisher of the second volume of 1640 (Richard Meighen). There was no question of including in the volume editions of plays which had been put on the market singly at an earlier date; while the fact that the *New Inn* had been already printed in octavo cannot have stood in the way of its being reprinted, since several masques are included of which individual quartos had previously appeared. Probably the play was simply overlooked; unless, indeed, we are to suppose that Sir Kenelm Digby, the editor, preferred to ignore Ben's failure and the splenetic outpourings that followed it.

A few pages later we find Dr Tennant in difficulties over the date 1629 given on the title-page as that of performance. The difficulty appears to be that the date is correct. The play was acted on January 19, 1629. Dr Tennant seems to think that, being before March 25, this should have been given in the original as 1628. He ought, however, to have known that the practice varied greatly at the time, and if he will turn to Prof. Thorndike's useful study of the *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare* (p. 17) he will find conclusive evidence that Jonson began the year on January 1.

After this there is very little to find fault with in what is throughout an altogether solid and able piece of work. I am afraid that the editor is only too right when he says that Jonson had nobody but himself to blame for the failure of a play which deserved no better, and, moreover, that though the work may not be comparable with the author's great pieces, it by no means stands apart from the rest of his production, but merely shows in an aggravated form defects which may be traced throughout. A minor point is the curious assertion that the play was hissed 'Because the Chambermaid was named Cis.' When we consider that in revising the play Jonson not only altered the name to Pru, but picked out this single incident as the subject for an epilogue for the court, I think it will be admitted that the name must have borne some suggestion to a contemporary audience which is lost to us. While, however, disagreeing with the editor on this point, I have no explanation to offer. Throughout his criticism of the play, and also his remarks upon the atrabilious writings with which the author followed it up, Dr Tennant has ample opportunity of exposing the utter perversion of evidence of which Gifford was guilty in his not ungenerous defence of Jonson, and of the meekness with which he has been followed by writers who should have known better. Among other things Dr Tennant shows, I think, that the version of the *Ode* containing the ill-natured sneer at Brome is the original. On this point the late F. G. Fleay evinced more sense than other critics though he proved himself erratic enough elsewhere.

One episode in the *New Inn* is also found in the *Widow*, from which the editor assumes that it was borrowed. He is probably right, for the incident forms an integral part of both plays, but it is worth while observing (which Dr Tennant does not) that the *Widow* though probably written somewhere about 1625 was first printed (as by Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton) in 1652, twenty-one years after the *New Inn*. Apparently we must regard it as one of those cases in which at the end of his life Jonson wove into his plays fragments of earlier work done in collaboration with other writers. Such patching has already been pointed out by Dr De Winter and Mr Crawford in the *Staple of News*. Then again there is the noteworthy fact that the *New Inn* contains two passages of considerable length which recur almost verbatim in *Love's Pilgrimage* first printed in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647. Here, however, it seems impossible to decide for certain whether (i) Jonson was concerned in the original composition

of *Love's Pilgrimage* and reclaimed his own work, whether (ii) Jonson in the *New Inn* borrowed work of Fletcher's, or whether (iii) the passage from the *New Inn* was inserted in *Love's Pilgrimage* between 1631 and 1647. Dr Tennant favours the last alternative.

The text aims at being an exact reprint in all but typographical arrangement of the accurately though not very well printed original. Even obvious misprints are retained, the readings of later editions being recorded at the foot of the page. So far as it has been possible to check it the text seems quite correct. I only remark that whereas the editor began by printing 'i' the' &c. where the original has 'i'the' &c., he altered his practice during the course of his work and towards the end follows the original in this detail. Great pains have evidently been taken to make the text thoroughly trustworthy, while at the same time much learning has been collected in the introduction and notes.

W. W. GREG.

CAMBRIDGE.

The Knight of the Burning Pestle. By BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.
Edited by H. S. MURCH. (Yale Studies in English, XXXIII.)
New York: Henry Holt, 1908. 8vo. cxiv + 310 pp.

Dr Murch's edition of the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* is a thoroughly unsatisfactory piece of work. This does not mean that a great deal of labour and a considerable amount of erudition has not gone to its production, but that it is marked by a lack of editorial competency, a want of critical temper, and grave lapses of attention which deprive it of a large part of the value it ought to have possessed.

The character of the work becomes obvious on the very first page. 'Owing, no doubt, to the unsettled condition of orthography at the time, inconsistencies in spelling, also, are to be found in the quarto.' Was there ever a more fatuous remark? 'All things considered,' again, the editor has actually decided to adopt for his edition the only authoritative text. There are three quartos, one of 1613, and two dated 1635. These are numbered 1, 2, 3; but no identification marks are given to distinguish those bearing the same date, so that the student is forced to rummage among the collations to discover which quarto is called 2 and which 3. Neither are we definitely told whether Q2 is printed from Q1 and Q3 from Q2, though both these facts follow from the collations quoted. Of the folio it is said that 'An examination of its readings...will show that the quartos of 1635, rather than the quarto of 1613, are depended upon.' This is culpable vagueness. The folio, as the collations show, was printed from Q3. Now the quarto which has the readings here (correctly) ascribed to Q2 is distinguished by having on the title-page the name 'Beaumont' in the usual spelling, while in that with the Q3 readings the name is spelt 'Beamount'; and I may incidentally remark that this third quarto though dated, like the second, 1635, was quite likely not printed till fifteen or twenty years later. It may seem

hypercritical to insist upon Dr Murch's failure properly to distinguish these two quartos; but it so happens that it has led him into a curious and rather bad error. At the end of the text, namely, he has reprinted the preliminary matter peculiar to the later editions. He states definitely that the reprint is made from 'the Second Quarto, 1635,' but as a matter of fact it is from the 'Beaumont' quarto which he has in his collations quite correctly called Q3. There are, moreover, several inaccuracies in this reprint, the chief being the omission of the imprint 'Printed by N. O. for I. S. 1635.' from the title-page.

To resume. Utterly misleading are such statements as that 'rich and influential tradesmen and their aggressive wives...more and more under James I assumed a sort of dictatorship over the theatre.' The contrary is true, for the merchant class was becoming more and more pronouncedly puritan and the puritans more and more opposed to all theatrical activity. Throughout James' and Charles' reigns the drama became continuously less bourgeois and more aristocratic. Again, speaking of the revival Dr Murch says: 'It is probable that, as given at the Cockpit, it was acted before aristocratic spectators, since that theatre was a "private house."' But so was the Blackfriars, at which the original performance in all probability took place. The change was in the character of the audience, not of the house, and shows that the civic was a diminishing, not an increasing element. The editor quotes Langbaine for a revival with a prologue spoken by Nell Gwyn, and Genest for one in 1682. 'So far as I am aware,' he adds, 'it has been only recently revived, and, moreover, only in America.' The statement will not pass unnoticed by those who remember Mr Nigel Playfair's admirable impersonation of Ralph. Nor was that the first modern revival in this country.

A list of plays 'which have a more or less evident relation to the romances,' i.e. the chivalric romances, includes the *Trial of Chivalry*. This is in no way chivalric: the editor has presumably not read it. In the same list *Uter Pendragon* is dated 1589. It was a new play on April 29, 1597. *Sir Clyomon* is said to be 'evidently based directly upon some lost romance.' This is guess work of the worst sort; for my own part I do not believe it. Worse than this by far is the omission of all mention of the *Old Wives Tale*, that remarkable predecessor of the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* in the field of chivalric burlesque, though the editor goes as far afield and as wide of the mark as *Thersytes* in his search for parallels.

The question of authorship has always been a difficult one, though critics are agreed in assigning a predominant share to Beaumont. The present editor gives him all but the Luce-Jasper scenes (he is unfortunately vague in the exact delimitation). This means ascribing III 1—150, with a proportion of double endings as low as 33 per cent., to Fletcher on the strength of a low proportion of run-on lines. This seems a very doubtful proceeding, in view of the fact that Fletcher's usual percentage is about 70. Unless, moreover, these various tests give approximately consonant results, what weight can they carry?

As regards the production of the play Dr Murch concludes that it was performed by a children's company in 1610. But there is very little doubt that we must assign it to the Blackfriars house, and the editor has come no nearer than his predecessors to explaining the passage which seems to imply that the house where the play was acted had then been open seven years. The Blackfriars was open before the end of the sixteenth century. It does not in the least help matters to suggest that the performance may 'have been at another theatre than Blackfriars,' for no known house was opened in 1603. After Mr Chambers' arguments in the *Modern Language Review* for last January (p. 161) there can be little doubt that the true date is 1607.

The question of the dependence of the play on *Don Quixote* is treated at length and a pretty conclusive case seems to be made out for referring all cases of alleged similarity either to natural coincidence arising out of the common situation or to dependence on the romances of chivalry themselves. The chief sources seem to be *Amadis*, *Palmerin de Oliva*, *Palmerin of England* and the *Mirror of Knighthood*. The subject is well treated and forms much the best section of the Introduction. The least commendable section, on the other hand, is perhaps that headed 'Objects of the Satire.' This includes miscellaneous observations on chivalric romances and their dramatic offspring, the civic drama with its glorification of bourgeois prowess, the tastes of the city and the behaviour of Jacobean audiences. The discussion is loaded with a painful amount of pretentious and superficial writing, attempts at local and historical colour which only result in the misuse of technical terms ('the Worshipful Company of Aldermen') and the general substitution of rhetoric for reason. The continental romances, we are told, never had 'wide vogue among the English aristocracy' owing to the appeal of the Arthurian legends 'with their organic religious principle and their fine consecrations, together with their distinctly national aroma'—whatever all this may mean. Commoners on the other hand fed on the popular chap-books and romances which went abroad to town and village 'in their attractive bindings.' One would be curious to know the source of Dr Murch's information concerning the binding of these books—most popular prints had none at all. In the same uncritical and hasty spirit he quotes passages from a seventeenth century writer, and refers not to the original but to M. Jusserand—misquotes, moreover, and gives a wrong reference. He seldom gives chapter and verse for any allusion and is quite content to call a play by its sub-title.

It is a relief to turn to the text of the play, which is distinctly above the average. The first quarto has been reprinted verbatim with all its errors. How far this is a judicious proceeding may, indeed, be questioned. It is one thing so to reproduce a play from the 1616 folio of Ben Jonson, quite another to follow the same method in such a case as this. However, it is a safeguard against undue tampering with the text. The title-page is inaccurately given. Not only has the line arrangement been altered, but the reading '*natos*' has been altered to '*natum*.' With

this exception, and the appendix of 1635 already mentioned, the text appears, so far as it has been possible to test it, very reasonably accurate. Something, however, has gone wrong with 1, 165 where 'became' should be 'beame.' The text of an edition is an important feature, and a trustworthy reprint is always welcome.

W. W. GREG.

CAMBRIDGE.

The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works. By JOHN S. P. TATLOCK. (Chaucer Society.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1907. 8vo. xiv + 233 pp.

We have here a valuable contribution to Chaucer scholarship, and a further indication of the healthy activity which characterises the pursuit of English studies in America. Owing to the superior organisation of research in the universities of the United States, we in this country are in danger of being altogether outstripped; and it is a pleasure to note how keenly the minutest details relating to Chaucer and his works are discussed by transatlantic scholars. Dr Tatlock is well known as a Chaucer scholar, and he here contributes to the publications of the Chaucer Society a discussion on the development and chronology of the principal works, omitting the minor poems for want of space. The author deserves credit for fully exposing the baselessness of some of the assumptions which have been made or accepted by scholars without any real support of evidence; though it must be admitted that he spins a few cobwebs of his own, which others who come after him will have to sweep away. If in the remarks which follow doubt is cast upon some of his conclusions, it must not be inferred that the value of the work as a whole is denied. Even when the author is arguing for a probably baseless theory, he usually gives us a valuable collection of materials for forming an opinion, which are presented with as much fairness and impartiality as can be expected from an eager disputant.

Dr Tatlock's study begins with a discussion of the supposed two versions of *Troilus and Criseyde*, with regard to which he has had the advantage of using Dr McCormick's unpublished work; and here he seems to have fairly established his case. On the vexed question of the date of the original text of the poem he supports with further argument the view which he has formerly advocated, namely that Gower's mention in the *Mirour de l'Omme* of

la geste
De Troylus et de la belle
Creseide

is a reference to Chaucer's poem, and consequently that this latter must be as early as 1377, a conclusion for which he thinks other cogent

reasons may be urged. His arguments, however, are by no means convincing. It is extremely unlikely that Gower was referring here to a particular poem, and especially to such a long and elaborate piece of work as Chaucer's, which, we may add, could not possibly be 'sung,' whatever Chaucer himself may say when in straits for a rhyme. The reference to Troilus as a lover by Froissart is enough to show that the love-story, as told by Benoît, was well known, and whether the change of name (Briseida to Criseida), on which so much stress is laid, was first made by Boccaccio or not (the difference between Griseida and Criseida is not really important), the occurrence of the new form Criseida in at least one 14th century MS. of Guido is significant. Incidentally it may be remarked that it is very unsafe to assert positively that Gower knew no Italian. Italian was not a very out-of-the-way language, and it must have been familiar to many in the mercantile world of London in the 14th century. Why again must the reference in the *Confessio Amantis* (IV, 2794) be to Chaucer's *Troilus*? Why not (for example) to Benoît? But these questions, of the popularity of the Troilus love-story and the use of the name Criseida, will doubtless be determined eventually by further evidence. As to the suggested revision of Chaucer's *Troilus* before 1387, the supposed date of the *Testament of Love*, there is nothing here which is inconsistent with the date 1382-3 for the original production. Indeed it is more likely that the revision took place early, than that Chaucer should have returned to the poem after an interval of many years.

Dr Tatlock has dealt fully and faithfully with the now utterly discredited theory of a *Palamon and Arcite* in stanzas. It is perhaps worth while even now to have the arguments effectively stated, and the metrical examination of the *Knight's Tale* which Dr Tatlock gives us is really convincing. There is no difficulty in supposing that a *Palamon and Arcite* in couplets, practically identical with the *Knight's Tale*, came between *Troilus* and the *Legend of Good Women*; but there is no need to suggest that the phrase 'though the story is knowen lyte' means anything more than that it was not told in Classical authors:

Tanto negli anni riposta e nascosa,
Che Latino autor non par ne dica,
Per quel ch' io senta, in libro alcuna cosa.

With regard to the two Prologues to the *Legend of Good Women* Dr Tatlock is on the side of Professor Lowes, though he thinks that the intricacy of the question has hardly been fully appreciated. He offers further argument for the idea that the poem was at first written in honour of the Queen, and that the revision was undertaken after her death in 1394, out of consideration for the feelings of King Richard, who could endure no reference to her after her death.

In dealing with the *Canterbury Tales* Dr Tatlock accepts the suggestion of a direct reference to Katherine Swinford in the *Doctor's Tale*,

an idea which is almost excluded by Chaucer's personal connexion with her. On p. 187 he refers to a mention in Gower's *Vox Clamantis* of the crusade of the Bp of Norwich, as evidence that the third book of that poem was written later than 1382. He should have observed that this mention is made only in a marginal note, which was certainly added after the first composition of the work, as is shown by the fact that it appears only in the MSS. which represent the later recension. The suggestions with regard to the relations of the *Shipman's Tale* with the *Prologue of the Wife of Bath*, and of both with the *Merchant's Tale*, are interesting but rather speculative. More detailed discussion on the *Canterbury Tales* is reserved for a future volume, to which we look forward with interest, and also with the hope that it may contain what is unfortunately lacking in the present book, namely an index. Dr Tatlock admits that his conclusions are not all equally valuable. 'They are presented for what they are worth, because the publication of plausible conjecture, founded on investigation and recognised as conjecture, leads in the long run to the most fruitful and reliable results.' The keenness of modern controversy on subjects relating to Chaucer justifies this attitude. There is no longer any danger that plausible conjecture will impose itself upon scholars or upon the public without due examination.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

Chaucer's Prologue and Knight's Tale. Edited by M. BENTINCK SMITH.
Cambridge: University Press. 1908. 8vo. lxxxvii + 229 pp.

Of the making of editions of the *Prologue* and (to a less degree) of the *Knight's Tale* there is no end, and any new edition must be thoroughly good to justify itself. The present edition does so chiefly by the excellence of the introduction. The first four sections deal with Chaucer's life and works and are models of clearness and conciseness. The editor has avoided dogmatism on points still under discussion and has thus escaped the mistake so often made in elementary text-books of treating the subject as if there were no such things as moot-points of scholarship. The fifth section deals with Chaucer's language and is a useful summary of the chief points of importance. In dealing with the *e*-sounds it might have been as well to differentiate the open and close sounds by some parallel other than that of the French *é* and *è*, sounds with which the young student is not of necessity accurately familiar. The statement that *ai*, *ay* or *ei*, *ey* are to be pronounced as in Modern English *array*, *way* must be a slip. The statement that *ch* is pronounced as *tch*, *even* (the italics are mine) in words of French

origin, is slightly misleading as all early loan-words from French kept what was then the regular French pronunciation of *ch*. In the account of Chaucer's metre something is lost by the failure to discuss his use of secondarily stressed syllables in place of fully stressed ones. The average student has an extremely wooden idea of the structure of Chaucer's verse unless he realises this point. The last three sections of the Introduction deal with the general plan of the *Tales*, the literary characteristics of the *Prologue* and the evolution of the *Knight's Tale*.

The notes are less satisfactory. In classics of a later age one has generally to complain of an excess of notes. In editing Middle English texts, at least for junior students, the case is different. The subtle distinctions of idiom, whether of word or sentence, are only too readily left unnoticed by the student, and timely hints on these points might have been given more freely. Then, too, apt illustrations of medieval life and manners, such as are given in Mr Pollard's excellent editions, are of the highest importance, as they arouse literary and historical interest in Chaucer's work and prevent its study from becoming a mere philological exercise. Notes of this kind are not as full as they might be.

In the note on l. 8 should not 'palatalisation' be 'vocalisation'? In l. 33 the O.N. form is not needed as O.E. *foreweard* is well established. A note should have been given on the difficulties of construction in ll. 173—6. The explanation of 'sho' in l. 253 as the name of a coin seems unnecessary and does not make the passage easier. In the note on l. 710 'alder' is spoken of as a corrupt form of O.E. *ealra*. The use of this epithet in the case of a form which is capable of regular phonetic explanation is misleading, and belongs rather to the pre-scientific days of language-study. In l. 800 if 'this post' refers to the 'sign-post' of the inn (whatever that may be precisely), it is very difficult to explain the previous expression 'sitting by.' In the note on l. 1118 there is a misprint, 'she' for 'sle.' In l. 2534 the form 'cracchen' cannot be Old English, in the sense in which the editor uses that term. These are a few points of criticism on notes which, so far as they go, are excellent.

In conclusion, a word of protest must be raised against the way in which quoted words in the notes are not distinguished either by type or by the use of inverted commas from other words in the sentence. It is not conducive to clearness and is at times positively misleading.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE.

Orígenes de la Novela. Tomo II. Novelas de los Siglos XV y XVI, con un estudio preliminar de D. M. MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO. (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.) Madrid: Bailly-Bailliére e Hijos, 1907. 8vo. cxi + 587 pp.

Primera Crónica General. Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289. Publicada por RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Tomo I. Texto. (Same Series.) 1906. iv + 774 pp.

Libros de Caballerías. Primera Parte. Ciclo arturico. Ciclo carolingio. Por ADOLFO BONILLA Y SAN MARTÍN. (Same Series.) 1907. 556 pp.

Comedias de Tirso de Molina. Tomo II. Colección ordenada e ilustrada por D. EMILIO COTARELO Y MORI. (Same Series.) 1907. xli + 742 pp.

Crónicas del Gran Capitán. Por ANTONIO RODRÍGUEZ VILLA. (Same Series.) 1908. xvii + 612 pp.

The volumes of the new *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* follow each other with most commendable promptness. The second volume of the *Origins of the Novel* does not yield in interest or importance to the first, which appeared in 1905. It consists of an Introduction covering 140 pages, and the following texts: *Cárcel de Amor* of Diego de San Pedro; *Question de Amor*; Villalon, *Diálogo de las Transformaciones* (inedited), *El Crotalon*; the *Diana* of Montemayor; *Diana Enamorada* of Gil Polo; *Pastor de Filida* of Montalvo and the *Coloquios satíricos* of Antonio de Torquemada. Among the subjects discussed by Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo in the introduction are the Italian novelists in Spain; the widely known *Silva de Varia Lección* of Mexia; the *Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes* and the *Patrañuelo* of Timoneda, and lastly the *Noches de Invierno* of Antonio de Eslava.

This preliminary essay shows all the qualities which were so conspicuous in the first volume of this work and for which the author is noted: vast erudition and a brilliancy of exposition in which he is unequalled. The English reader will be especially interested in the detailed discussion of Antonio de Eslava's *Noches de Invierno* (which appeared at Pamplona in 1609) 'gran curiosidad bibliográfica, ya por el remoto origen de algunas de sus fábulas, ya por la extraordinaria fortuna que alguna de ellas, original al parecer, ha tenido en el orbe literario, prestando elementos á una de las creaciones de Shakespeare' (p. cxxii). It is in the fourth chapter of the *Primera Noche* that Richard Garnett and other modern English scholars, as Sr. Menéndez says, believed they saw the germ of Shakespeare's fantastic drama *The Tempest*. He concludes: 'Las semejanzas de este argumento con el de *The Tempest* son tan obvias que parece difícil dejar de admitir una imitación directa.' But, he says: 'Este es sin duda el esquema de la obra shakespiriana, pero ¡cuán lejos está de la obra misma! Todo lo que tiene de profundo y simbólico, todo lo que tiene de musical y etéreo, es creación propia del

genio de Shakespeare, que nunca se mostró tan admirablemente lírico como en esta prodigiosa fantasía, la cual, por su misma vaguedad, sumerge el espíritu en inefable arrobamiento.' The type in which the texts are printed unfortunately lacks the clearness of some of the other volumes.

One of the most important books in Spanish literature is unquestionably the *General Chronicle of Spain* by Alfonso the Learned (died 1284). It was first published at Zamora in 1541 and again at Valladolid in 1604; both these editions have become exceedingly rare. Of this *Chronicle* Ticknor says: 'Everywhere it breathes the spirit of its age, and, when taken together, is not only the most interesting of the Spanish chronicles, but the most interesting of all that in any country mark the transition from its poetical and romantic traditions to the grave exactness of historical truth.' The *Crónica General* was a storehouse that was freely used by the writers of ballads and the dramatists, Lope de Vega especially having founded a number of his dramas on incidents related in it.

No living scholar was as well equipped for the extremely difficult task of editing the new edition of the *Crónica General* as Sr. Menéndez Pidal, author of the *Leyenda de los Siete Infantas de Lara*. His account of the various unsuccessful attempts to renew the edition of Florian de Ocampo are interesting. It was finally decided to include it in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* when the first series was originally projected, but Cayetano Rosell, who was charged with it, shrank from the stupendous task of editing a work which, as he said, the Academy of History would never attempt, though the labour of providing a new edition had been imposed upon them as long ago as 1798. 'What disheartens anyone who studies this chronicle,' Sr. Menéndez Pidal says, 'is the great divergence which is revealed on comparing the many codices which are preserved of this long text.' The editor further says: 'Having devoted myself for many years to the study of the manuscripts of the *Crónicas*, I believe that I have succeeded in making a classification of them, fixing the various compilations and reworkings which they represent and the periods to which they belong. The MSS. which were formerly confounded under the title of *Crónica General del Rey Sabio* are the fruit of almost centuries of historiographic activity, beginning with the *Primera Crónica General*, commanded to be written by Alfonso X., and following with the "*Crónica General* of 1344," that of the "Twenty Kings," the Third and Fourth *Chronicle General*, that of 1404, and others of less importance...I hope in the present publication to have succeeded in offering the *Primera Crónica General* free from the many interpolations and rearrangements of every kind which it has suffered in the course of time.' The edition now published is a delight to the eye; it is presented in new clear type which renders it easy and pleasant reading. Sr. Menéndez Pidal has conferred a boon upon all interested in the early history and literature of Spain for which they cannot fail to be grateful.

The Spanish Romances of Chivalry had been treated with considerable fulness by Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo in the first volume of his

Orígenes de la Novela. The well known scholar Sr. Bonilla y San Martín has now published a volume of the Romances of Chivalry of the Arthurian and Carolingian cycles. Only the texts are here presented, without any introductory matter, which is to follow in a second volume. This one contains (1) *El Baladro del Sabio Merlin, Primera Parte de la Demanda del Sancto Grial*. This is, apparently (for it is nowhere stated), a reprint of the volume that was issued at Burgos in 1498, and of which only a single copy is in existence, so far as is known. The other *Baladro del Sabio Merlin*, different from the first, at least in part, and which contains besides a series of prophecies, which was several times printed with the *Demanda del Sancto Grial*, is contained in the British Museum in the earliest edition known, Toledo, 1515. This was evidently inaccessible to Sr. Bonilla, who has reprinted the edition of Seville, 1535: (2) *La Demanda del Sancto Grial con los maravillosos fechos de Lācarote y de Galas su hijo. Segunda Parte de la Demanda del Sancto Grial*. (3) *Libro del Esforzado Caballero don Tristan de Leonis y de sus grandes hechos en Armas*, printed at Seville in 1528, a Spanish translation of the French prose version. There is an edition published at Valladolid in 1501 by Juan de Burgos, a copy of which was in the Salvá-Heredia collection. (4) *Crónica de los muy notables Caualleros Tablante de Ricamonte y de Jofre hijo del Conde Don Anson*, printed at Estella in 1564. In the Carolingian Cycle: (5) *Cuento del Enperador Carlos Maynes e de la Enperatris Seuilla*, published according to the MS. h-j-13, of the Escorial library, with a facsimile of a page of the manuscript. The second volume of Sr. Bonilla's publication will contain, beside the introductory matter, among other texts, the fragment of the Spanish *Tristan* in prose, the MS. of which is in the Vatican library. It will be awaited with eagerness by all who are interested in these romances, which have played such an important part in the literature of Spain.

With the second volume of the *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, Sr. Cotarelo y Mori concludes the publication of those plays of the great 'Mercenario,' the greater part of which have been inaccessible to the general student of the Spanish drama. It comprises twenty-eight plays, including *El Burlador de Sevilla*, previously printed by Hartzenbusch, and *Tan largo me lo fiais*, attributed to Calderon, and which was published, together with two comedias by Guillen de Castro in 1878 in the *Libros raros*. The volume contains, besides, an excellent *Catálogo razonado del Teatro de Tirso de Molina*, occupying forty-six pages, and which shows that out of about four hundred plays which Tirso wrote, just eighty-six are still extant. The plays are evidently printed with great care, in clean, clear type, agreeable to the eye and should gain many readers for the great dramatist. Sr. Cotarelo, to whose important publications the student of the Spanish drama owes so much, is to be congratulated on the excellent manner in which he has fulfilled this difficult and very exacting task.

In the *Crónicas del Gran Capitán*, Sr. Antonio Rodríguez Villa, well known for his edition of the *Diálogo de los Pajes* and other works,

publishes a number of chronicles relating to Don Gonçalo de Córdoba. The first of these, called *Las dos Conquistas del Reino de Nápoles*, appeared originally at Zaragoza in 1554. Other editions appeared at Zaragoza 1559, Seville 1580 (also 1582, not mentioned by the editor), and Alcalá de Henares 1584. The latter, which seemed the most correct to the editor, is the one here reprinted. A comparison of this reprint with a copy of the original in the writer's possession, shows that the new edition is done with great care. It may be mentioned in passing that this is the book which Ticknor calls 'the poor and dull chronicle of the life of Gonzalvo.' In the preface this chronicle is falsely ascribed to Hernando Pérez del Pulgar, Señor de Salar. Sr. Rodríguez Villa also publishes (2) the anonymous *Crónica manuscrita*, from the MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional, (3) the *Vita di Consalvo Fernando di Cordova, detto il Gran Capitano* by Paolo Giovio, Firenze, 1550, translated into Spanish and published at Zaragoza in 1554, and (4)—by far the most interesting of all—the *Breve Parte de las Hazañas del excelente nombrado Gran Capitán* por Hernán Pérez del Pulgar, first published at Seville in 1527, and better known in the excellent little edition of Martínez de la Rosa.

These volumes of the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* have well fulfilled their promise and we wish them the success which they so richly deserve.

HUGO A. RENNERT.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. U.S.A.

The Life and Works of Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa. By J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania; Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, No. 1.) Philadelphia, Pa. 1907. 8vo. 159 pp.

Suárez de Figueroa is remembered chiefly as the translator of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, a version highly praised in *Don Quixote*; but till recently little was known of him beyond the fact that he returned thanks by sharply criticizing Cervantes, and other prominent contemporaries, in *El Passagero*. Mr Crawford's researches confirm the impression that Suárez de Figueroa was an ill-conditioned, querulous person, and they supply much welcome information concerning the writer. Born at Valladolid about the year 1571, Suárez de Figueroa never attained the popularity to which he thought himself entitled. This is not altogether surprising. He began life by quarrelling with his family, went to seek his fortune in Italy, and, in the intervals of leisure left him by his legal business, cultivated literature. On the death of his parents he returned to Spain in 1604, fell into difficulties, started on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, quarrelled with a muleteer near Cuéllar, and was arrested on suspicion of having murdered a man at Valladolid. The charge was unfounded, but the incident illustrates Suárez de Figueroa's facility for getting into hot

water, and henceforward he was constantly at warfare with his neighbours. His attitude to the rest of the world is visible in his works. *La Constante Amarilis* is, indeed, in a eulogistic vein, for it commemorates the love-match between Juan Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza (afterwards Marqués de Cañete) and Doña María de Cárdenas. But here again Suárez de Figueroa invented a grievance. He joined Cañete's household in 1609 (the year in which *La Constante Amarilis* was published), but retired in 1616, complaining that his patron had not rewarded him sufficiently. He duly recorded his disappointment in *El Passagero*, and, when the second edition of *La España defendida* was issued in 1644, it appeared without the laudatory stanza in honour of Cañete which had embellished the first edition of 1612. Few were fortunate enough to obtain Suárez de Figueroa's approval; Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Ruiz de Alarcón came under his displeasure, and he seems to have succeeded at last in uniting all the literary cliques against him. In 1622 he returned to Italy, became *Auditor* of Lecce, was dismissed next year, and was appointed later *Auditor* of Catanzaro. Here, as might be expected, he again got in trouble, and—unfortunately for himself—was marked down by the Inquisition: on this curious incident, rather creditable than otherwise to the victim, Mr Crawford's investigations throw much light. Suárez de Figueroa appears for the last time on October 10, 1633, when he signed the *aprobación* to Gonzalo de Saavedra's *Los Pastores del Betis*; but there is reason to think that he survived till 1644, or a little later.

Mr Crawford is careful to say that Suárez de Figueroa was not a great writer, but is inclined to 'honour him as a man of high moral principles, and as a steadfast champion of the highest literary and political ideals.' It may be so; Suárez de Figueroa had the desperate courage of his opinions, and a concentrated bitterness of expression that is often telling; yet it is by no means obvious what his ideals were. But, apart from his literary importance, the present excellent monograph is welcome: it places the author in his exact relation to his contemporaries, establishes the chief events in his troubled life, and supplies a bibliography of his works—several of which have vanished.

J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

LONDON.

Les Troubadours: leurs vies, leurs œuvres, leur influence. Par JOSEPH ANGLADE. Paris. 1908. viii + 323 pp.

M. Anglade, who is already known as the author of an excellent study of Giraut Riquier, the last of the troubadours, has produced an attractive introduction to Provençal lyric poetry in this book. A certain superficiality of treatment is explained by the fact that the book is the outcome of a course of lectures addressed to an audience which possessed no special knowledge of the subject. The book is thus intended to appeal to a wider circle of readers than *provençalistes* pure and simple, and this

purpose it seems well adapted to perform. Four introductory chapters deal with preliminary matters, the difference between 'troubadour' and 'jongleur,' the technique of their art and its environment: here, also, M. Anglade refers to that hoary fiction 'the courts of love.' The several periods of troubadour poetry are then dealt with and chapters are devoted to the troubadours in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Germany. An excellent feature of the book is the full bibliography to each chapter, which should prove useful to any who wish to begin the study of Provençal. We note one or two omissions. As to the *trobar clus* (p. 54) reference might have been made to P. Andraud's thesis, *Quae iudicia de litteris fecerint Provinciales*, Paris, 1902, and more space should have been given to the subject in view of its influence upon Dante's theory of style: the troubadour Gavaudan (A. Jeanroy in *Romania*, XXXIV, p. 497) provides excellent examples of intentional obscurity. Pratsch's thesis on Folquet de Marselha supports the impossible view that the troubadour and the bishop were different persons: reference should have been made to Zingarelli's *La personalità storica di Folchetto di Marsiglia*, Bologna, 1899. In reference to religious poetry, room might have been found for a mention of Peire de Corbiac's hymn to the Virgin, while Dante da Majano's sonnet in Provençal does not appear in the chapter upon Italy. These, however, are trivialities and the book can be heartily recommended to anyone who requires a general introduction to Provençal lyric poetry.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

PLYMOUTH.

Ovid und die Troubadours. Von WILIBALD SCHRÖTTER. Halle: Niemeyer. 1908. 8vo. 111 pp.

This book or brochure, within the limits imposed by the title, attempts to do for Ovid what Comparetti did for Virgil in his *Virgil in the Middle Ages*. Ovid's influence upon medieval literature is well-known and Herr Schrötter rightly devotes his early pages to an estimate of its extent. He shows that, so far as the troubadours were concerned, Ovidian influence reached them indirectly through the schoolmen, who adopted ideas from Ovid for literary purposes of their own and thus made them common property. Thus, though it be granted that the artificial troubadour poetry was developed from a popular poetry, we must not forget that the course of this development was influenced by the learned poetry and literary culture of the middle ages, and to this culture Ovid had materially contributed. Ovid's influence was also immediate: some troubadours were doubtless able to read his works in the original: others learned his mythology and his similes at second hand and a considerable number of passages can be quoted which are direct imitations of Ovid's language.

The difficulty which besets literary criticism of this kind is to decide whether resemblances are apparent or real, whether they belong to that

group of ideas which will naturally occur to any body of writers who devote attention to emotional pathology, or whether they are something more than coincidences. The present question is further complicated by the fact that ideas derived from Ovid certainly formed part of the literary capital of the middle ages, before troubadour poetry had been developed; and to decide whether such ideas, as they appear in troubadour poetry, were borrowed mediately or immediately from Ovid or whether they occurred independently to the troubadour mind, seems often an insuperable difficulty. Herr Schrötter conscientiously goes through the psychology and pathology of love, displaying a wide erudition in the performance of his task and gives a large number of passages which may undoubtedly be regarded as 'parallel.' He also quotes a considerable number which the unprejudiced observer would prefer to ascribe to coincidence: one instance will serve as an example. Ovid, *Her.*, vii, 26 'Aenean animo noxque diesque refert' is placed opposite to Bernart de Ventadorn, 'domna, cui sopley nueyt e dia': to call this 'eine direkte Entlehnung' (p. 45), 'eine wörtliche Nachahmung' (p. 67) is sheer exaggeration. The phenomenon of the sleepless lover might be paralleled from many sources in both ancient and modern literature, and an unduly large number of the passages compared are of this character. The obvious differences between Ovid and the Troubadours are well brought out, especially as regards the ennobling character of love in troubadour poetry, an ideal which was alien to Ovid. Herr Schrötter misses a point when he quotes 'militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido' (p. 86). Ovid was not merely using a military metaphor, but was expressing the antimilitarist sentiments of the decadent aristocracy for whom he wrote: antimilitarism is not necessarily a troubadour characteristic. There are few misprints in the book (peur for puer, p. 44) but we miss a few footnotes: 'Pelias' lance,' for instance, might have been credited to its discoverer, who must be sought in the bibliography at the beginning of the book.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

PLYMOUTH.

Tables synoptiques de Phonologie de l'ancien français. Par H. E. BERTON et V. G. STARKEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 24 pp.

It was a bold undertaking to offer in some 12 tables and 24 pages a conspectus of Old French phonology and much labour and ingenuity have been required in its execution. The work is offered to the beginner in Romance languages and he will find here a presentment more precise and more tangible than he would discover elsewhere. The large pages (12 inches by 10), neatly divided into compartments, present an artful array of the beautiful types the Clarendon Press has at its disposal. Since the disposition of the matter is geometric, our account of it shall be as orderly as possible.

Table I. (Voyelles toniques, libres.)

The twofold development of Latin $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{i}$ to oi on the one hand, and to ai [ɛ] on the other, is not made sufficiently clear; the earliest trace of [ɛ] is indeed mentioned but the change might seem only to concern the endings of the imperfects of verbs, while the change of Latin e to French i when a long i occurs as the final letter of the form (e.g. *presi* > *pris*) is hidden away among the paroxytona at the end of Table IV. It is impossible to compress the various changes Latin a has undergone into the small space allotted to them and no place, apparently, is found for the special French *ie* < $\acute{a}$ after t, d, r, s (etc. but not labials) when the preceding syllable contains an i ; thus the many Old French infinitives in *-ier*, nfr. *-er* find no mention. This rigid condensation led to the committal of a serious blunder, the remark that *ai* occurs as an ascending diphthong in the *Vie de Saint Alexis*; the editors had doubtless in their notes the assonances, *païs* (< *pacem*): *païast* (strophe 19) and also *païs* (< *pagum* + *ensem*): *venir* (strophe 36) and the desire to be brief caused a confusion of the two. Following each table are a number of 'remarques' which we think should often have been fuller; thus Thomas's theory of *-arius* > *ier* through Germanic influence is accepted without the reservation that the change of quality of the vowel is perhaps older than umlaut in German. There seems to be no reason why umlaut should not be considered as a French phenomenon; it has to be accepted for **illi* > *il*, **sesi* > *sis*; again remarque 2° that Latin a between palatals becomes i seems to us too bald seeing that we possess clear evidence of the change in Popular Latin of initial *ja-* to *je* (*Januarius* > *Jenuarius*; cf. Italian *gennajo* and ofr. *jenvier*). There appears to be no mention of ofr. palatal + $\acute{a}$ + nasal, and in the 'remarques' or elsewhere some mention should have been made of ofr. verb-forms *mui*, *conui*, etc.

Table II. (Voyelles toniques, entravées.)

The casier that contains $\bar{e}$ + nasal should also have included $\bar{e}$ + nasal and also, though examples are rare, a case of $\bar{o}$ + n mouillé + consonant might have been given. We should consider too that in $\bar{o}$ + n mouillé final, it is inadvisable to quote without explanation the two spellings *coin* and *poing*. The phrase 'pendant tout le moyen-âge' should be used sparingly; we are told, for example, that during that period *au* is a descending diphthong, i.e., not yet reduced to o and still spellings like *omosne*, *obe* are to be met with. The most likely explanation of $\bar{e}$ + l + consonant > *eau* seems to be that a glide of undetermined value occurred between the e and l (as in Southern English *milk*) and that the glide only became a when l became u .

Table III. Remarque 5°.

The 'loi de Darmsteter' should not have been made shorter than its originator intended and examples of the persistence of a vowel other than a > e as in *quadri-furcum* > *carrefour* should have been given.

Table IV.

In the development of the type *tepidum* > *tiède*, we think that a more likely explanation is the 'balance theory,' according to which the similarity of force of *i* and *u* retained the penultimate vowel till such time as *e* had become *ie*. This theory is of use in explaining the various forms of verbs in *-icare* etc., such as ofr. *venches* < *vindicas* compared with *venjons* < *vindic-umus*.

Table V.

The statement that *c* [*k*] may be seen in English *carry*, *carpenter*, 'importés en Angleterre par voie de l'Anglo-norman,' would seem to suggest that in agn. initial *ca* remains *ca-*; more French words in English from initial Latin *ca* have *ch-* than *c-*, e.g., *chafe*, *change*, *chamber*, etc.

Table VI.

The Latin *qu* seems inadequately summarised and not very clear: thus we find ofr. *aive* side by side with nfr. *sivre* when ofr. *sivre* would have been more appropriate; it seems also a mistake to include in this same casier *cuisine* < *cocina*; the popular Latin forms *cocina* and *cocus* (i.e., *qu* already simplified to *c*) have ample justification, the latter occurs in the *Appendix Probi*.

Table VIII.

Among the cases of the omission of *f* before *o* and *u* it is a mistake to quote ofr. *reüser*¹ < **refusare*; the correct etymology is doubtless **retusare* from *retundo*.

Table IX B. Casier B.

The Germanic influence might have been accounted for by pointing out that Germanic dialects possessed words corresponding to *gué*, *guépe* and *gâter*², of similar meaning and with initial *w*, viz. ndl. *wadde*, ohg. *wefsa* and *wuosti*; a contamination of like nature might also serve to explain the *h* aspiré of *herse* as there was certainly a Germanic word cognate with English *harrow* (Gothic **harwi*). We heartily recommend students to acquire the work and to keep it in a place of easy access. It seems a pity that no index was added. Those who use Suchier's *Voyelles toniques* know what a great improvement the French indexed edition is on the original German. We hope that a second edition will contain this useful change.

A. T. BAKER.

SHEFFIELD.

¹ Godefroy quotes many examples of *reuser* in the sense of 'drive back' but none in that of 'retire'; the following may interest readers.

Quida fantosme avoir trové
Arriere est auques reusé.

[MS. B. M. Add. 36614 fo 279 vob.]

² Afr. also offers a pair of doublets of this nature; *vimblet* and *guimblet* where the Latin verbs are **vimbrare*, *vimblare* < *vibrare* and Germanic *weifen*.

MINOR NOTICES.

All who are interested in early printing or in the *Roman de la Rose*, will welcome the recent book by F. W. Bourdillon: *The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose* (1906). This splendidly printed volume is issued by the Bibliographical Society, and bears the number XIV among the publications of the society. The author subscribes to the conclusions reached by M. Claudin in his excellent treatise with regard to the first three—and not four—editions. He has been able to date more closely than heretofore several of the undated editions, and does this mainly by means of 'internal, or textual, comparison.' It must be said that the application made of this method offers every appearance of care and skill. The discussion of the first folios (p. 13 *et ss.*) offers a good example of the author's method. One of the most valuable parts of the book is the Description of the Twenty-one Editions (p. 35 *et ss.*). Here will be found in the space of a little more than thirty pages bibliographical information worth far more than the cost of the entire volume. Typographically, too, one can but praise this section of the work. A surprising thing about the fourteen earliest editions is stated on p. 147: they all are derived from one original, though there were scores and scores of manuscripts from which various readings could have been adopted. The volume closes with a large number of exact reproductions of the early cuts (pp. 209–48).

R. W.

This volume of *Select Translations from Old English Prose*, edited by Albert S. Cook and Chauncey B. Tinker (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1908), is a companion one to Cook's *Select Translations from Old English Poetry*. For the student of literature it is not of much value, for unfortunately Old English prose is an almost negligible quantity when considered as literature. The greater number of the extracts are translations from Old English translations of Latin historians or homilists. Their style in Old English is artificial and unnatural and this defect cannot be remedied in a translation yet a stage further removed from the original. Least satisfactory are the selections from Bede's *History* based on Giles' translation. The language is highly Latinised, stilted and unnatural. Happiest are Professor Cook's own translations from Alfred's preface to the *Pastoral Care* and his fellow-editor's translations from Alfred's *Boethius*.

For the student of history and of Early English culture the book should prove most useful as an introduction to many of the original authorities for pre-Conquest days. Here the notes on the extracts from the Chronicle might have been fuller and the extracts from Orosius dealing with the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan should have been given *in extenso* both for their intrinsic merit and also as examples of

genuine native English prose. Fuller comment on the rather difficult geography of the voyages might have been made and Alfred's own account of the Teutonic peoples should have been included in the passages selected.

The translations which read most easily are those from Aelfric, who possesses that gift of colloquial ease which was denied to most of the writers of Old English prose. A word of praise must also be said for the translation of the famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. It is one of the most forceful pieces of prose in Old English literature and it loses little in translation.

A. M.

The sole fault to be found with the edition of *Cinco Novelas Ejemplares* of Cervantes in the *Bibliotheca Romanica* (Nos. 41—44. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz; London, Chatto and Windus, 1907) is that it contains only five of the *Novelas* (*La Gitanilla*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *El Celoso Extremeno*, *El Casamiento Engañoso* and the *Coloquio que pasó entre Cipion y Berganza*). No doubt these are the best stories in the collection, but many readers will regret the omission of *El Licenciado Vidriera*. A complete, handy and corrected reprint of all twelve is a desideratum, and no one is more competent to supply it than Sr. D. Rufino José Cuervo who, though his name does not appear, is evidently responsible for the present issue. The introduction, a model of laconic presentation, embodies the latest results of research, and the text is naturally based on the first edition of 1613: there exists a reprint (containing numerous variants) which purports to have been brought out at Madrid by Juan de la Cuesta in 1614, but this appears to be a pirated edition put on the market by Lisbon publishers, and, as Cervantes cannot be brought into relation with it, Sr. Cuervo is obviously right in disregarding it. Emendations are introduced sparingly, and with excellent judgment: the spelling is moderately modernized, as it very justifiably may be in a popular edition. Some will be less satisfied with respect to the compromise adopted in the matter of graphic accentuation; naturally enough, Sr. Cuervo cannot reconcile himself to such forms as *opinión* or *razón* in a text of the sixteenth or seventeenth century; but perhaps *clavicímbano* (p. 151), *halléme* (p. 188) and *así* (p. 204) look almost as much out of place. This, however, is chicanery. '1909' (p. 6) is obviously a misprint for 1609, but nothing else seems to have escaped correction. This little volume may be most cordially recommended to all students of Spanish literature.

J. F.-K.

THE 'ANCREN RIWLE.'

UNDER the heading, *Die Ancren Riwle—ein aus angelsächsischer Zeit überliefertes Denkmal*, Dr W. Heuser in the *Anglia* xxx, 103 sqq. calls attention to MS. Laud Misc. 201 in the Bodleian, a seventeenth century MS. in the handwriting of W. L'isle, which, besides a copy of *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter* (Trinity College, Cambridge), contains certain prayers from the *Ancren Riwle*, taken, as L'isle tells us, 'out of the Nunnes Rules of St James Order in Bennet College Library' (i.e., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). Heuser prints these prayers from MS. Laud and as a parallel text gives the corresponding passages from the hitherto unprinted early thirteenth century MS. of the *Ancren Riwle* in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 402). The theory which Heuser puts forward is that the prayers in the Laud MS. are copied from a lost *Ancren Riwle* MS. dating from the transition period from Old to Middle English, and that this lost MS., like the other 'modernised' writings of that period, points back to an O.E. original. He says, 'Trotz seiner beschränktheit ist das material des Laud-ms. von der grössten wichtigkeit für die A. R-forschung, da es wenigstens bis in die ags. übergangszeit zurückführt, wahrscheinlich aber, wie alle "modernisierten" denkmäler dieser periode auf das Ags. selber zurückweist.'

It seems to me that the actual facts point in quite a different direction, and I think it admits of direct proof that L'isle's extracts were copied from the existing early thirteenth century MS. C.C.C. 402, and that the archaisms on which Heuser lays such stress were intentionally introduced by him¹.

For convenience of reference I give the two texts, both of which I have myself collated with the MSS.

¹ I do not urge the point—though it might be urged—that it is unlikely that a C.C.C. MS., carefully guarded as these MSS. have always been, should have been lost, or that C.C.C. should have been in possession of two *Ancren Riwle* MSS. which agree so closely (except for the archaisms) in wording and spelling.

MS. LAUD MISC. 201¹ (fol. 264).

To þam halgan þrynnesse.

Ealmihtig god · fæder · suna 7 hælīg
 gast · as ge beoð þreo an god · ealswa
 ge beoð an mihte · an wisdom · 7 an
 5 luue · 7 þeah is mihte iturned to þe
 in halig writ · nomeliche þu deore-
 wurðe fæder · to þe wisdom sælig suna ·
 to þe luue hælīg gast · geof me an æl-
 mihtig god þrile on þreo hades þes ilce
 10 þreo thinges · mihte þe to þeowian ·
 wisdom þe to cwemian · luue 7 wil to
 don hit · mihte ꝥ ic mage don · wisdom
 ꝥ ic cunne don · luue ꝥ ic wulle don
 aa ꝥ þe is leofest · as þu eart fulle of
 15 euch gód · ealswa nis nan gód wonne
 þere as þeos þreo beoð · mihte · wisdom ·
 7 luue gemette togederes · ꝥ þu getti
 me þam halig þrinnesse ic þe wurðscipe
 of þreo *pater nostres*.

20 To þam hælende criste.

La ihesu þin are · ihesu for mine synnas
 ahongen on rode · for þas ylca fif wun-
 das þe þu on hire bleddest · heal mine
 bloody sawle of ealle þa synnas ꝥ heo
 25 is wið gewundod þurh mine fif wittes i
 þe munigunge of ham ꝥ hit swa mote
 beon deorewurðe hlaford fif *pater nos-
 tres* · 7 ct.

An oðer.

30 For þa seofen gyftas þæs halgan gastes
 ꝥ ic ham mote hæbben · 7 for þa seofen
 tidas ꝥ hælīg kirc singaþ · ꝥ ic deale
 in ham slepe ic oð wacige · 7 for þa
 seofen bonen i þe *pater noster* ongean
 35 þa seofen heaued 7 deadlice synnan ·
 ꝥ þu wite me wið þam 7 ealle heora
 broces · and geoue me þa seofene sælig
 ædignysses þe þu hlaford hæfst behaten
 þine gecorene · i þin ædig nome seofen ·
 40 *pater nostres*.

An oðer.

For þa tyn heastes þe ic gebrocen hæbbe
 summe oðer eall · 7 me seoluen towart
 te hwet se beo of oðer hwet untreowe-
 45 lice i teohedæt i bote of þeos brucken²
 for te sahtni me wið þe deorewurðe
 hlaford · tyn *pater · nostres*.

¹ L'isle uses the O.E. *ȝ* both for *ȝ* and *g*. I render it by *g*. MS. C.C.C. distinguishes between *g* and *ȝ*.

² MS. *brucken*, the *k* altered from *h*.

MS. C.C.C. 402 (fol. 6^b bottom).

Almihti godd · feader · sune · hali gast ·
 as ȝe beoð þreo an godd · alswa ȝe beoð
 an mihte · an wisdom · 7 an luue · 7 þah
 is mihte iturnd to þe in hali writ nome-
 liche · þu deorewurðe feader · to þe wis-
 dom seli sune · to þe luue hali gast · ȝef
 me an almihti godd þrile i þreo hades ·
 þes ilke þreo þinges · mihte forte serui þe ·
 wisdom forte cweme þe · luue 7 wil to
 don hit · mihte ꝥ¹ ich mahe don · wis-
 dom ꝥ ich cunne don · luue¹ ꝥ ich wulle
 don aa ꝥ te is leouest · as þu art ful of
 euch god · alswa nis na god² wone þer as
 þeose þreo beoð · mihte 7 wisdom · 7 luue
 iueiet togederes · ꝥ tu getti me ham hali
 þrumnesse i þe wurðscipe of þe þreo *pater
 nostres*.

A ihesu þin are · ihesu for mine sunnen
 ahonget o rode · for þe ilke fif wunden þe
 þu on hire bleddest heal mi blodi sawle
 of alle þe sunnen ꝥ ha is wið iwundet.
 Þurh mine fif wittes i þe munegunge of
 ham ꝥ hit swa mote beon deorewurðe
 lauerd fif *pater nostres*.

For þe seoue ȝiftes of þe hali gast ꝥ ich
 ham mote habben · 7 for þe seoue tiden
 ꝥ hali chirche singeð ꝥ ich deale in ham
 slepe ich oðer wakie · 7 for þe seoue³
 bonen i þe *pater noster* aȝein þe seouen
 heaued 7 deadliche sunnen · ꝥ tu wite
 me wið ham 7 alle hare brokes · 7 ȝeoue
 me þe seouene⁴ selie eadinesses þe þu
 hauest lauerd bihaten þine icorene i þin
 eadi nome seoue *pater nostres*.

For þe ten heastes þe ich ibroken habbe ·
 summe oðer alle · 7 me seoluen towart te
 hwet se beo of oðer hwet untreoweliche
 iteohedæt · ibote of þeose bruchen forte
 sahtni⁵ me wið þe deorewurðe lauerd ten
pater nostres.

¹ ꝥ...luue omitted by H.

² So MS., H. has go[d].

³ So MS. · H. *seouen*.

⁴ So MS. · H. *seoune*.

⁵ So MS., H. has *sahtin*.

An oþer.

For þe wurðegunge ihesu crist of þine
 50 tweolfen apostolas · ꝥ ic mote ofer
 eall folgian heora lare · ꝥ ic mote
 hæbben þurh heora bonen þa tweolfe
 bohes þe bloweþ of çærite · swa seinte
 pawel writeð · blisfull hlaford · tweolf
 55 *pater nostres*.

An oðer.

For ealle þa sawlen þe beoð forðfaren i
 þe bileaue of þa feower godspelles · þe
 healdæþ eall cristendom up o feower
 60 healues · ꝥ þu þa feower marhes geoue
 ham in heouene mihtfulle hlaford feo-
 wer *pater nostres*.

Þe wurðgunge ihesu crist of þine tweof¹
 apostles · ꝥ ich mote ouer al folhin hare
 lare · ꝥ ich mote habben þurh hare bo-
 nen þe tweolf bohes þe bloweþ of hearite
 as seinte pawel writeð blisfule lauerd
 tweolf *pater nostres*.

For alle þe sawlen þe beoð forðfearen i
 þe bileaue of þe fowr goddspelles þe hal-
 deð al cristendom up o fowr halues · ꝥ
 tu þe fowr marhezeuen² zeoue ham in
 heouene · milzfule³ lauerd fowr *pater*
nostres.

¹ So MS., H. has *tweos*.

² MS. *marhezeuen*, but the *zeuen* is crossed through.

³ So MS., H. has *milzfule*.

Heuser bases his conclusion as to the age of the MS. from which L'isle copied the extracts (1) on the forms of the letters and (2) on the language: 'Das alter unserer excerpte wird bewiesen durch die fast ganz ags. schriftzeichen...ferner durch den noch fast altenglischen stand der sprache mit erhaltenem *æ*, *y*, *ea*, *eo*,' etc.

The first point, the forms of the letters chosen by L'isle, proves nothing. He had just finished copying *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter*, using the Anglo-Saxon characters for his transcript, and it was quite natural that, if he then added a few extracts from an early M.E. MS., he should continue to use the same form of letters rather than suddenly change and try to imitate the forms of the early M.E. hand.

As to the second point, the language: the extracts show, it is true, a curious mixture of O.E. and thirteenth century forms—very different from the ordinary twelfth century transcripts of O.E. originals—and the most natural explanation seems to be that the basis was a thirteenth century MS., and that the archaisms were introduced by L'isle, who evidently possessed a knowledge of O.E. considerable for his time. In 1623 he published, with a translation, *Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament*, to which he added *Ælfric's Easter Homily*, etc.¹ From his introduction to this we learn how, after his preliminary studies in O.E., he 'tooke heart to put forth and diue into the deep among the meere Saxon monuments of my worthily respected kinsman Sir H. Spelman, my honorable friend Sir Rob. Cotton, and of our Libraries in Cambridge.' I believe therefore that his knowledge of O.E. was

¹ Cp. Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 11. I may add that this edition was reissued in 1638 with new title-pages as *Divers ancient monuments in the Saxon tongue*.

quite sufficient to enable him to introduce the archaisms (frequently very inaccurate¹) which we find in the extracts and which distinguish them from the corresponding passages in the Corpus Christi College MS. Where the forms are not archaized, the two MSS. agree remarkably even in details of spelling. That L'isle rather liked trying to write O.E. is shown by his providing the prayers with O.E. headings—for these are obviously his additions—as he had already done in the case of the Canticles in *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter*².

In one instance we have direct proof that he did deliberately alter: in l. 45 of the extracts he first wrote *bruchen*, as in the Corpus Christi College MS., and then, apparently remembering that *ch* does not occur in O.E., he altered the *h* to *k*. But the evidence of the two MSS. enables us to go further—they afford us distinct proof that MS. C.C.C. 402 was the very MS. from which L'isle copied. In Morton's edition p. 30¹⁷ MS. Nero A 14 reads: *þet tu þe vour morȝiuen* (MS. Cleopatra C 6 has *mareȝeuen*) *ȝiue ham inne heouene*, i.e., 'that thou give them the four morning-gifts³ in heaven.' MS. C.C.C. 402 has *þ tu þe four marȝeȝeuen ȝeoue ham in heouene*, but the *ȝeuen* has been crossed through. As originally written it was, of course, correct, but the scribe, or some subsequent reader, not understanding it, thought that *ȝeuen*, which is the last word on one leaf, and *ȝeoue*, which is the first word on the next, were accidental repetitions of the same word, so he crossed the first out. L'isle, seeing it crossed out, omitted it in his copy, but judging that *feower* ought to be accompanied by a plural, changed *marȝe* into *marȝes*: hence the reading of MS. Laud, *þ þu þa feower marȝes ȝeoue ham in heouene*.

Further evidence in the same direction is afforded by the fact that in the first prayer the Corpus Christi College MS. has the form *alswa* twice, and *as* three times, and L'isle recognizing *alswa*, changed it each time to the well-known W. Saxon form *ealswa*, but not knowing that *as* is merely a worn-down form of the same word, did not attempt to archaize it, and copied it as *as* in all three instances. I think that this proves that all the available evidence does not take the *Ancren Riwe* back further than the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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¹ The writer who composed the heading *Geleafa þara apostolas* was quite capable of altering of *alle þe sunnen* into of *ealle þa synnas*, l. 24. Cp. next note.

² *Sang Esayes*, *Sang Ezechies kyninges*, *Geleafa þara apostolas*. *Sang gebletsod Marian*, &c. Cp. Wanley, p. 100, and Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 13.

³ The gift given by the bridegroom to the bride on the morning after the wedding. O.E. *morgengifu*.

THE ELIZABETHAN 'TENNE TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.'

THE *Tenne Tragedies of Seneca* were published in quarto by Thomas Marsh in 1581, and were dedicated to 'Sir Thomas Henneage, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber.' The volume included *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, and *Troas*, translated by Jasper Heywood; *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, and *Hercules Œtæus* by John Studley; *Thebais* by Thomas Newton; *Œdipus* by Alexander Neville, and *Octavia* by Thomas Nuce. It was published under the editorship of Thomas Newton, who had himself contributed the *Thebais*. Seven out of the ten plays had appeared previously. Heywood's *Troas* was published in octavo in 1559, and his *Thyestes*, also in octavo, in the next year. *Hercules Furens* appeared in octavo in 1561. Neville's *Œdipus* was written in 1560, and appeared in octavo in 1563, and Nuce's *Octavia* appeared in quarto in 1566. Studley's *Medea* and *Agamemnon* both appeared in octavo in 1566. The collected edition of 1581 was reprinted by the Spenser Society in 1887. The text of the 1581 quarto is, in the main, except for slight differences in spelling and punctuation, the same as that of the separate earlier editions, on which it is evidently based. It has, however, a considerable number of misprints, and when the two texts differ, the reading of the separate editions is generally to be preferred. The text of Neville's *Œdipus* in the 1581 quarto is not, however, a reprint of the octavo of 1563, but is an independent text, revised probably by Neville himself. New lines are inserted, and old ones re-written, so as to remove faults in the metre and rhyme.

Jasper Heywood was the younger son of John Heywood the epigrammatist. He was born in 1535, and sent to Oxford in 1547. In 1554 he was elected a probationer fellow of Merton College, but in 1558 he was obliged to resign, and late in the same year he was elected to a fellowship at All Souls'. It was whilst he was a fellow of All Souls' that he published his Senecan translations, which were the earliest to appear of the *Tenne Tragedies*. He was a Roman Catholic, and afterwards resigned his fellowship on account of his religion and left England.

In later life he returned to England as superior of the Jesuit mission, and was imprisoned for seventeen months. He died at Naples in 1598.

Heywood seems to have possessed more poetic feeling than any of his fellow-translators. I should unhesitatingly pronounce the *Troas* to be the finest piece of work among the *Tenne Tragedies*. Amid all the rant and fury of Hercules, Œdipus, Medea, and their companions, the scene between Andromache, her little son, and Ulysses in Act III of the *Troas* is conspicuous for its tenderness and pathos, and though this may be due in part to the fact that the play itself is one of Seneca's best, credit must be given to Heywood's judgment in selecting it for his first attempt. 'I have,' he says in his preface, 'privately taken the part which pleased me best of so excellent an author, for better is tyme spent in the best then other.'

Heywood's style is much more free from words of a colloquial, dialectal, or archaic character than that of Studley, Nuce, or Newton. His English is on the whole that of the ordinary Elizabethan translator, though he has some striking Latinisms, such as 'freate,' 'frete' = 'sea' (Lat. *fretum*), and 'roge' = 'funeral pyre' (Lat. *rogus*), which in one passage (*Troas*, I, 81 (99 a)) has been misunderstood by the printer and appears as 'rage.'

It is interesting to note the change in Heywood's attitude as a translator towards his original. In the *Troas*, the earliest of his three translations, he dealt with it very freely, adding a chorus of sixty lines of his own invention at the end of Act I, a new scene consisting of a speech of ninety-one lines by the ghost of Achilles at the beginning of Act II, and three additional stanzas at the end of the chorus which concludes Act II. He also substituted a chorus of his own for the Senecan chorus at the close of Act III. In his preface 'To the Reader' in the edition of 1559, Heywood speaks of these alterations in the following terms:

Now as concerninge sondrye places augmented and some altered in this my translation. First forasmuch as this worke seemed unto mee in some places unperfite, whether left so of the Author, or parte of it loste, as tyme deuoureth all things, I wot not, I have (where I thought good) with addition of myne owne Penne supplied the wante of some thynges, as the firste Chorus, after the fyrste acte... Also in the seconde Acte I have added the Speache of Achilles Spright, rysing from Hell to require the Sacrifyce of Polyxena... Agayne the three laste staves of the Chorus after the same Acte: and as for the thyrde Chorus which in Seneca beginneth thus, Que vocat sedes? For as much as nothing is therein but a heaped number of farre and straunge Countreies, considerynge with my selfe, that the names of so manye unknownen Countreyes, Mountaynes, Desertes, and Woodes, shoulde have no grace in the Englishe tounge, but bee a straunge and unpleasant thinge to the Readers (excepte I should expound the Historyes of each one, which would be farre to tedious,) I have in the place thereof made another beginninge in this

manner. O Iove that leadst, etc. Which alteration may be borne withall, seyng that Chorus is no part of the substaunce of the matter. In the rest I have for my slender learninge endeavored to keepe touch with the Latten, not worde for worde or verse for verse, as to expounde it, but neglectynge the placinge of the wordes, observed their sence.

In the *Thyestes* Heywood has only added one original speech, the soliloquy of Thyestes at the close of the play, in which the unhappy father invokes on himself all the torments of hell.

In the *Hercules Furens*, published in 1561, there is no addition of original matter, and it is clear from the character of the translation itself that Heywood no longer 'endeavored to keepe touch with the Latten, not worde for worde or verse for verse, but neglectynge the placinge of the wordes, observed their sence,' but that his aim was to reproduce the Latin much more closely. On the title-page he states, first in Latin, then in English, that the tragedy is 'newly perused and of all faultes whereof it did before abound diligently corrected, and for the profit of young schollers so faithfully translated into English metre, that ye may se verse for verse tourned as farre as the phrase of the English permitteth.'

It may be doubted whether this change in Heywood's method of translation was really beneficial to his work. In striving to keep the Latin order of words, his English becomes clumsy and frequently obscure, e.g., *Herc. Fur.*, II, 43, 44 (5 a)¹:

Nor handes that well durst enterprise his noble travayles all
The filthy labour made to shrynke of foul Augias hall,

where 'labour' is the nominative, and 'handes' the accusative. Or *Herc. Fur.*, III, 251—254 (13 a):

As great as when comes hour of longer night,
And willing quiet sleepest to be extant,
Holds equall Libra Phoebeus Chariots light,
A sorte the secrete Ceres doe frequent,

where the meaning is difficult to grasp without the Latin:

quanta, cum longae redit hora nocti
crescere et somnos cupiens quietos
Libra Phoebeos tenet aequa currus,
turba secretam Cererem frequentat.

The attempt to reproduce exactly Latin constructions is not always very happy, e.g., *Herc. Fur.*, II, 82—84:

...and beaten with thy stroake
The mount, now here, now there fell downe: and rampier rente of stay,
The raging brooke of Thessaly did roon a newe found way

¹ All quotations are taken from the quarto edition of 1581. The references in brackets are to the pages of that edition.

where the last clause is an attempt to follow the Latin :

et rupto aggere
nova cucurrit Thessalus torrens via ;

and *Herc. Fur.*, II, 182, 183 (7 a):

...what should I the mothers speake
Both suffering, and adventring gyltes ?

which represents the Latin :

...quid matres loquar
passas et ausas scelera ?

and *Herc. Fur.*, III, 308, 309 (14 a):

Hee over Foordes of Tartare brought
Returnde appeased beeing Hell,

which represents :

Transvectus vada Tartari
pacatis redit inferis.

This close attention to the construction of the original has influenced Heywood's metre, for the attempt to represent one Latin line by one English, whilst keeping the Latin order of words, has resulted in much enjambement, and in a consequent placing of the caesura earlier in the line than is its normal position. One passage from Megara's speech at the beginning of Act II (II, 3—10 (4 b)) will illustrate this :

...To mee yet never day
Hath careles shin'de: the ende of one affliction past away
Beginning of an other is: an other ennemy
Is forthwith founde, before that hee his joyfull family
Retourne unto, an other fyght hee taketh by behest:
Nor any respite given is to him nor quiet rest:
But whyle that he commaunded is: straight him pursueth shee
The hatefull Iuno.

The extent of the alteration produced in Heywood's rhythm may be gauged from the different proportion of lines with the main pause after the second or third foot to be found in the *Hercules Furens* as compared with the *Troas*. Metrically, the ear requires the caesura after the fourth foot, and there is usually a slight pause at that place, but the main pause (or, as it may be called, the logical caesura as distinct from the metrical) often occurs earlier in the line, and in the *Troas* the proportion of lines in which it is to be found after the second foot is under six per cent of the total number of fourteeners, whilst in the *Hercules Furens* it is over twenty-two per cent. Again, in the *Troas* the number of lines with the logical caesura after the third foot is

under two per cent, whilst in the *Hercules Furens* it is over six per cent. Thus in the latter play, the number of normal lines in which the logical and metrical caesuras coincide in falling after the fourth foot, has enormously decreased.

John Studley, unlike Heywood, but like Neville and Nuce, was a Cambridge scholar. The date of his birth is not certain, but it must have been about 1545. He came up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1561, and took his B.A. in 1566 and M.A. in 1570, being elected to a fellowship in the interval between the two degrees. His *Agamemnon* and *Medea* were published in 1566, the year in which he took his B.A. In the Stationers' Register for 1566-67 there is also an entry 'Recevyd of Henry Denham for his lycense for ye pryntinge of the iiijth parte of Senecas Workes,' and it has been conjectured that this was Studley's translation of the *Hippolytus*—the fourth and 'most ruthful tragedy' as it is called in the 1581 edition—though no copy of this separate edition is extant. The date of Studley's translation of the *Hercules Etaeus* is not known.

Studley's poetical style differs widely from that of Heywood. The diction of his four translations is extremely interesting; there is a homely and popular character about it which is quite foreign to Heywood's, though we find it again in some measure in Newton's *Thebais*, included among the *Tenne Tragedies*. Studley appears to have had very little sense of humour, and he frequently falls into bathos exactly in the passages where he wishes to be impressive, but there is an extraordinary amount of vigour in his style. It seems sometimes as if the mantle of the old alliterative poets had fallen upon him; he has the same love of heaped-up epithets, the same affection for redundancy, the same delight in alliteration.

His metre is worthy of notice on one or two points. He employs the fourteener, the decasyllable rhyming alternately (which cannot be called the heroic or elegiac quatrain in this case, for there is no pause at the end of the quatrain), the alexandrine, and the 'poulter's measure,' being the only one of the translators to attempt the two latter metres. His success, especially with the fourteener and the decasyllable, which are his favourite metres, is not very remarkable, and it may be doubted whether his ear was not sometimes at fault. One or two examples may be given of the effect produced by his curious handling of the caesura in the fourteener:

The ruthfull ruin of our natyve countrey wee behelde.

Ag., III, 270 (152 a).

Nor as it were with Osir hill that cloven were in twayne
 Nor with the sway of all the mountayne falling am I slayne
Herc. Æt., iv, 42, 43 (206 a);

and one or two examples also of his use of extra unstressed syllables:

Among the vulgar sorte, another in private simple bowers.
Ag., ii, 225 (146 a).

My corpulent Carkas is consumde of Hercules every lim.
Herc. Æt. iv, 118 (207 a).

Why dost thou slake thy frying fits? this mallady still survive.
Herc. Æt. ii, 99 (193 b).

Doth heare the noyse whyle Hercules with mettall of yellow hew.
Ag., iv, 74 (155 b).

Studley sometimes employs a feminine ending to the fourteener, with not very striking success, *e.g.*,

I render you to tyrants kings, bugges, beasts, and gryselly divells
 By taking him away that should revenge you of these evilles.
Herc. Æt., iii, 174, 175 (201 b, 202 a).

When of her deare and tender brattes she wholly was bereven
 And did bewayle with strayned sighes her children seven and seven.
Herc. Æt., v, 267, 268 (216 a).

The ten-syllable line did not always fare very well in Studley's hands. I give one example from a Chorus containing many irregularities, but too long to be quoted in full:

Wee stand not in our razed countrey wall,
 Whose ground shall now bee overgrowne (alas)
 With bramble, and bryer, and down the temples fall:
 While mucky sheepecotes are planted in their place.
Herc. Æt., i, 151—154 (190 a).

Studley's dramatic powers and his sense of poetic fitness do not seem to have been of a high order. His translations offer more examples of bathos than any of the others included in the *Tenne Tragedies*. It is difficult to make a selection where the choice is so wide, but the following lines may be quoted from Cassandra's vision of the murder of Agamemnon (*Ag.*, v, 15—26 (156 a)):

The King in gorgyous royall robes on chayre of State doth sit,
 And pranckt with pryde of Pryams pomp of whom he conquerd it.
 Put of this hostile weede, to him (the Queene, his Wyfe gan say,)
 And of thy loving Lady wrought weare rather thys aray.
 This garment knit. It makes mee loth, that shivering heere I stande.
 O shall a King be murdered, by a banisht wretches hande?
 Out, shall th'adulterer destroy the husbnde of the Wyfe?
 The dreadfull destinies approcht, the foode that last in lyfe
 He tasted of before his death, theyr maysters bloud shall see,
 The gubs of bloude downe dropping on the wynde shall powred bee.
 By trayterous tricke of trapping weede his death is brought about,
 Which being put upon his heade his handes coulede not get out.

After an interview with Jason, Medea is made to say :

What is he slyly slypt and gon? falles out the matter so?
 O Iason dost thou sneake away, not having minde of mee,
 Nor of those former great good turnes that I have done for thee?
Medea, III, 273—275 (131 a).

Hercules, when recalling his former prowess, exclaims :

I that returnde from dennes of death, and Stigian streame defyed
 And ferryed over Lethes lake, and dragd up, chaind, and tyde
 The tryple headded mastiffe hownd, when Tytans teeme did start
 So at the ougly sight that he fel almost from his cart.
Herc. Et., IV, 34—37 (206 a).

It seems unkind to dwell on Studley's poetical failings. He is certainly no great poet, but occasionally he has some fine lines. In the last scene of the *Hippolytus* the Chorus says (*Hipp.* v, 116 (74 b)) :

O Theseus to thy plaint eternall tyme is graunted thee,
 and there is pathos in Theseus' cry over the dead body of his son :

Lo I enioy my fathers gift, O solitarinesse.

Such lines however are rare, and the chief attractions of Studley's verse seem to be its quaintness and its exuberance. Both these qualities have been exemplified in the quotations already given, but one quotation more may be adduced, from the description of Medea practising her magic arts :

She mumbling coniures up by names of illls the rable rout,
 In hugger mugger cowched long, kept close, unserched out :
 All pestilent plagues she calles upon, what ever Libie lande,
 In frothy boyling stream doth worke, or muddy belching sande :
 What tearing torrents Taurus breedes, with snowes unthawed still
 Where winter flawes, and hory frost knit hard the craggy hill,
 She layes her crossing hands upon each monstrous coniurde thing,
 And over it her magicke verse with charming doth she sing :
 A mowsie, rowsie, rusty route with cancred Scales Iclad
 From musty, fusty, dusty dens where lurked long they had
 Doe craull...

Medea, IV, 15—25 (133 a).

With regard to Studley's treatment of his original, it may be noted that in no play has he made such extensive alterations as were effected by Heywood in the *Troas*, whilst on the other hand he nowhere follows the Latin as closely as Heywood does in the *Hercules Furens*. His chief additions of original matter are in the *Medea*, I, 97—172 (121—122 a), where he substitutes a Chorus of his own for the Senecan Chorus, the *Agamemnon* (v, 185—256 (159 b—160 b)), where he adds a speech by Eurybates in which the death of Cassandra, the flight of Orestes, and the imprisonment of Electra are narrated, and the

Hippolytus (v, 25—44 (73 b)), where he introduces a curious passage in which Phaedra implores the spirit of Hippolytus to take her living body in exchange for his own mutilated corpse.

In general, Studley follows the meaning of the Latin fairly closely, but does not try to reproduce the Latin order as Heywood does, and he frequently expands, and explains wherever he considers it necessary, *e.g.*, where Seneca makes Medea say of Jason:

merita contempsit mea
qui scelere flammās viderat vinci et mare?

Studley has (*Medea* II, 7—14 (122 a)):

O hath he such a stony heart, that doth no more esteeme,
The great good turnes, and benefits that I imployde on him?
Who knowes that I have lewdly used enchauntments for his sake,
The rigour rough, and stormy rage, of swelling Seas to slake.
The grunting fry foming Bulles, whose smoking guts were stufte,
With smoltring fumes, that from theyr lawes, and Nosthrils out they pufte.
I stopt their gnashing mounching mouths, I quencht their burning breath,
And vapors hot of stewing paunch, that els had wrought his death.

In one or two cases it seems evident that Studley has mistranslated the Latin through haste or carelessness, *e.g.*, in *Ag.*, III, 17, 18 (149 a) he translates Seneca's:

tu pande vivat coniugis frater mei
et pande teneat quas soror sedes mea

by:

Declare if that my brothers wyfe enioy the vytall ayre
And tel me to what kind of Coast my sister doth repayre.

In *Herc. Œt.*, III, 188 (202 a):

Nocens videri qui petit mortem cupit

is represented by:

He doth condemne himselfe to dye that needes wil guilty seeme.

Alexander Neville was born in 1544, and translated the *Œdipus* in his sixteenth year, according to his preface to Dr Wotton. He was acquainted with George Gascoigne, and was one of the five friends whom Gascoigne describes as challenging him to write poems on Latin mottoes proposed by themselves. He became secretary to Archbishop Parker, and remained in the service of Parker's successors, Grindal and Whitgift. In 1575 he published a Latin account of Kett's rebellion of 1549, and in 1587 there appeared *Academiae Cantabrigiensis lacrymae tumulo...P. Sidneii sacratae per A. Nevillum*.

The *Œdipus* is a creditable performance, considering the translator's youth, but it is difficult to agree with Warton's judgment in his description of the *Tenne Tragedies*, quoted at the beginning of the Spenser Society's reprint of 1881, that 'it is by far the most spirited and elegant version in the whole collection, and it is to be regretted that he did not undertake all the rest.' It does not show any striking marks of poetic power, and in places the metre is very faulty. Neville has a tendency to expand his original in the non-choric portions, and to add unnecessary reflections. Thus he enlarges *Œdipus*' last speech (*Œd.*, v, 194—246 (94 a)) from 20 lines to 52 by making such additions as the following:

O *Œdipus* accursed wretch, lament thine owne Calamity,
Lament thy state, thy grieve lament, thou Caitife borne to misery.
Where wilt thou now become (alas?) thy Face where wilt thou hyde:
O myserable Slave, canst thou such shamefull tormentes byde?

After the messenger's description, a little earlier in the same act, of *Œdipus*' despair and plucking out of his eyes, Neville puts these moral lines into the messenger's mouth:

Beware betimes, by him beware, I speake unto you all.
Learne Justice, truth, and feare of God by his unhappy fall.
Œd., v, 99, 100 (92 b).

In the choruses Neville has made considerable alterations. He has expanded the chorus in the first act from ninety-two lines to a hundred and seventeen, whilst he has entirely omitted the chorus of a hundred and six lines in praise of Bacchus at the close of Act II. He has replaced the chorus of fifty-five lines in Act III by a new chorus of twenty-two lines dealing with a different subject, and similarly in Act IV has substituted a short original chorus of fourteen lines for the Senecan one of thirty lines. The chorus in Act V is substantially the same as Seneca's, though Neville, who has a liking for moral maxims, adds four lines quite in the Senecan manner:

And thou that subject art to death. Regard thy latter day.
Thinke no man blest before his ende. Advise thee well and stay.
Be sure his lyfe, and death, and all, be quight exempt from mysery:
Ere thou do once presume to say: this man is blest and happy.
Œd., v, 118—121 (92 b).

Thomas Nuce or Newce, as his name is sometimes spelt, was in 1562 a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. He was afterwards rector of Cley in Norfolk, and held several other livings before his death in 1617. The hundred and seventy lines of English verse prefixed to the 1566 edition of Studley's *Agamemnon* were written by

Nuce, whose *Octavia* appeared in the same year. The *Octavia* is an interesting play, both for its metre and language. Unlike the rest of the *Tenne Tragedies*, it does not employ the fourteener at all. Nuce apparently perceived that the fourteener was by no means an ideal metre for tragedy, and he had the courage to discard it, and to use in its place the five-foot or decasyllabic line rhyming in couplets, occasionally in triplets, and the octosyllable rhyming alternately. In Nuce's hands, as in those of other Elizabethans, the decasyllabic couplet produces a totally different effect from the 'heroic couplet' of Dryden and Pope, though it is identically the same in structure, except that it has no regular pause at the close of the couplet. A passage from *Oct.*, I, 55—67 (162 b) will illustrate Nuce's use of this metre:

Lo see of late the great and mighty stocke,
By lurking Fortunes sodayne forced knocke,
Of Claudius quite subvert and cleane extinct;
Tofore, who held the world in his precinct;
The Brittain Ocean coast that long was free,
He ruld at wil, and made it to agree,
Their Romaine Gallies great for to embrace.
Lo, he that Tanais people first did chase,
And Seas unknown to any Romaine wight
With lusty sheering shippes did overdight,
And safe amid the savage freakes did fight,
And ruffling surging seas hath nothing dread,
By cruel spouses gilt doth lye all dead.

The following passage illustrates Nuce's use of the octosyllable (*Oct.*, I, 574—581 (171 a)):

The flasching flawes do flappe her face,
And on her speaking mouth do beate,
Anone shee sinke a certayne space,
Depressed downe with surges great:
Anone shee fletes on weltring brim,
And pattes them of with tender handes
Through faynting feare then taught to swim
Approaching death, and fates withstandes.

Nuce's language, as will be seen from these extracts, differs somewhat both from Heywood's and from Studley's. It has fewer Latinisms than Heywood's, and is slightly less colloquial and more archaic than Studley's. Nuce has a partiality for archaic words like 'freake,' and 'make' (meaning 'spouse'), which the other translators neglect, and he employs very largely the prefix *y-* before the past participle and sometimes before other parts of the verb.

Nuce follows the Latin fairly closely, though he makes no attempt to reproduce the Latin order, as Heywood does in the *Hercules Furens*. He has no additions of original matter of any length, and he does not

abridge or alter the choruses, as Neville does. The opening lines of the play may be taken as an example of his method of translation:

Now that Aurore with glitteryng streames,
The glading starres from skye doth chase,
Syr Phœbus pert, with spouting beames,
From dewy neast doth mount apace:
And with his cheerefull lookes doth yeeld,
Unto the world a gladsome day.

Oct., I, 1—6 (161 b).

The Latin is:

Iam vaga caelo sidera fulgens
Aurora fugat,
surgit Titan radiante coma
mundoque diem reddit clarum.

Occasionally, however, Nuce deals with his original much more freely, *e.g.*, *Oct.*, II, 137—139 (174 a):

Ner. If that I were a meacocke or a slouch
Each stubbornne, clubbish daw would make mee couch.
Sen. And whom they hate, with force they overquell,

which represents the Latin:

Ner. Calcat iacentem vulgus. *Sen.* Invisum opprimet.

Thomas Newton, the editor of the 1581 edition of the *Tenne Tragedies*, and the translator of the *Thebais*, was born about 1542, and went to Trinity College, Oxford, which he left for a time to study at Queens' College, Cambridge, though he afterwards returned to his old college at Oxford. About 1583 he became rector of Little Ilford, Essex. He wrote books on historical, medical, and theological subjects, and made several translations from Latin. He translated the *Thebais* in order to make the 1581 volume complete. It is somewhat difficult to judge of his poetical powers from this play, since he undertook it from necessity and not from choice. It is no wonder that the other translators of Seneca had let it alone, for it is not a single complete play, but consists, apparently, of two fragments of plays on the Œdipus legend—the first fragment being an intolerably wearisome dialogue between Œdipus and Antigone, in which Œdipus expresses his determination to die and Antigone dissuades him, whilst the second deals with the strife between the two sons of Œdipus, and Jocasta's efforts to reconcile them. The dialogue between Œdipus and Antigone occupies in Seneca about 320 lines, which Newton expands into 500, all in the fourteenner measure. The weary reader can only wish that Œdipus, who is continually announcing that he means to kill himself by some

horrible death, would really put his intentions into practice instead of describing so minutely the tortures he wishes to inflict on himself, or dwelling with such insistence on the crimes he has unwittingly committed, which render him worthy of death in his own eyes.

It was impossible for Newton to make much of such dramatically unpromising material without cutting it down mercilessly, but he does not seem to have felt that his original needed compression. On the contrary, he has a tendency to expand the Latin considerably, and to insert explanatory remarks which, though useful doubtless to the reader unlearned in classical story, scarcely add to the dramatic effect. He is not a slavish translator by any means; his rendering is often very free, but unfortunately he never seems to have noticed that his original needed not expansion but compression. Two examples will illustrate this. Seneca makes *Œdipus* say:

quantulum hac egi manu?
non video noxae conscium nostrae diem
sed videor.

Newton expands this to the following (*Theb.*, I, 11—16 (41 a)):

Alas, what little trifling tricke hath hitherto bene wrought
By these my hands? what feate of worth or maistry have I sought?
Indeede, they have me helpt to pull myne eyes out of my head:
So that ne Sunne, ne Moone I see, but life in darknesse lead.
And though that I can nothing see, yet is my guilt and cryme
Both seene and knowne, and poynted at, (woe worth the cursed tyme).

Again Seneca has (ll. 40—43):

sequor, sequor, iam parce. sanguineum gerens
insigne regni Laius rapti furit;
en ecce, inanes manibus infestis petit
foditque vultus. nata, genitorem vides?

which Newton expands thus (*Theb.*, I, 63—72 (41 b, 42 a)):

O Father myne I come, I come, now father cease thy rage:
I know (alas) how I abus'd my Fathers hoary age:
Who had to name King Laius: how hee doth fret and frye
To see such lewd disparagement: and none to blame but I.
Whereby the Crowne usurped is, and he by murther slayne
And Bastardly incestuous broode in Kingly throne remayne.
And loe, dost thou not playnly see, how he my panting Ghost
With raking pawes doth hale and pull, which grieves my conscience most?
Dost thou not see how he my face bescratcheth tyrant wyse?
Tel mee (my Daughter) hast thou seene Ghostes in such griesly guyse!

Newton's language has considerable affinity with that used by Studley. It has a distinctly colloquial character in many places, is less dignified than Heywood's, and prefers native words to Latinisms.

A striking example of Newton's employment of colloquialisms may be found in Polynices' speech in Act IV, ll. 243—256 (53 a):

But tell mee whyther shall I goe? Assigne mee to some place:
Bylike, you would that brother myne should still with shamelesse face
Possesse my stately Pallaces, and revell in his ruffe,
And I thereat to holde my peace, and not a whit to snuffe,
But like a Countrey Mome to dwell in some poore thatched Cot:
Allow mee poore Exyle such one: I rest content, God wot.
You know, such Noddies as I am, are woont to make exchaung
Of Kingdomes, for poore thatched Cots, beelike this is not straung.
Yea more: I, matcht now to a Wyfe of noble ligne and race
Shall like a seely Dottipoll live there in servile case,
At becke and checke of queenely Wyfe, and like a kitchen drudge
Shall at Adrastus lordly heeles, (my Wyves owne Father) trudge.
From Princely Port to tumble downe into poore servile state,
Is greatest griefe that may betyde by doome of frquencing fate.

In metre, Newton has followed Heywood's example rather than Studley's. He uses enjambement freely, places the logical caesura very frequently at the end of the second foot, and has a higher percentage of lines with the logical caesura after the fifth syllable (*i.e.*, a caesura of the lyric kind) than Heywood himself—the proportion being under three per cent in all Heywood's plays, whilst it is over three per cent in the *Thebais*. As an example of Newton's use of enjambement, *Theb.*, I, 385—390 (45 b and 46 a) may be taken:

Apollo by his Oracle pronounced sentence dyre
Upon mee being yet unborne, that I unto my Syre
Should beastly parricide commit: and thereupon was I
Condemmed straight by Fathers doome. My Feete were by and by
Launced through and through with yron Pins: hangde was I by y^e Heeles
Upon a Tree: my swelling plants the printe thereof yet feeles.

ACCIDENCE.

As regards the accidence of the *Tenne Tragedies*, the verbal forms are the most noteworthy.

Present indicative, 2nd pers. sg.

The usual form is the normal one in -est, -st, but there are several examples of the form in -es, -s, *e.g.*:

Thou beares as big and boystrous brawnes as Hercules.

Hipp., II, 502 (67 a).

See also *Hipp.*, III, 99 (69 a), *Herc. Æt.*, II, 261 (195 b), III, 241 (202 b), *Ed.*, II, 62 (82 b), *Theb.*, I, 221 (43 b), *Oct.*, IV, 240 (184 b).

3rd pers. pl.

The usual form is the uninflected one, but all the translators have examples of the form in -s, *e.g.*:

The Thracian Daughters wayls Eurydicen
(Latin: deflent Eurydicen Threiciae nurus).

Herc. Fur., II, 376 (9 b).

A kindred in whose cancred heartes olde privy grudges springes.

Ag., III, 403 (154 a).

See also *Medea*, IV, 259 (136 a), *Herc. Œt.*, I, 225 (191 a), IV, 254 (208 b), *Ag.*, II, 49 (143 b), III, 433 (154 a), *Troas*, I, 20 (98 b), *Œd.*, I, 209 (80 b), IV, 152 (91 a), *Oct.*, IV, 3 (180 b), *Theb.*, I, 16 (50 a).

The form in -eth, -th is also used by all the translators, *e.g.*:

But loe two shining Sunnes at once in heaven appeareth bryght.

Ag., III, 398 (154 a).

The misteries whereof the hearers understandeth not.

Theb., I, 216 (43 b).

See *Troas*, I, 187 (101 a), *Herc. Fur.*, III, 57 (10 b), *Hipp.*, I, 221 (59 a), *Medea*, IV, 256 (136 a), *Œd.*, IV, 97 (92 b), *Oct.*, II, 190 (175 a), etc.

The form in -n is also found, though rarely, *e.g.*:

By al my Countrey Gods that bene in Temples closely kept.

Œd., II, 91 (82 b).

Except they shed her blood before they gone.

Troas, Arg., 68 (97 b).

See *Œd.*, v, 115 (92 b), v, 245 (94 b).

Past participle.

The prefix y- (O.E. ge-) is used very frequently by Nuce, who has a love of archaic forms, and occasionally by the other translators.

See *Troas*, v, 24 (117 b), *Medea*, II, 38 (123 b), *Oct.*, I, 273 (166 a).

Weak past participles often omit final -ed, especially if the stem of the verb ends in t or d, *e.g.*: 'Thy fall hath lift thee higher up.' *Troas*, IV, 29 (114 b).

Strong past participles sometimes omit final -n, *e.g.*: 'This wayward agony hath take his perfit wits away.' *Herc. Œt.*, IV, 299 (209 b).

Preterite forms are sometimes found in the past participle, *e.g.*: 'I have shooke the seas.' *Herc. Œt.*, II, 271 (195 b).

Preterite.

Among the archaic or irregular forms used in the preterite are the following: 'Flang' = 'flung' (*Hipp.*, IV, 103 (71 b)), 'hard' = 'heard' (*Troas*, II, 101 (103 b)), 'molt' = 'melted' (*Herc. Œt.*, II, 533 (199 a)),

'mought' = 'might' (*Thy.*, III, 39 (28 a)), 'shakte' = 'shook' (*Oct.*, IV, 61 (181 b)), 'stack' = 'stuck' (*Medea*, IV, 156 (135 a)), 'yode' = 'went' (*Oct.*, I, 587 (171 a)).

METRE.

The metre used, as a rule, throughout the non-choric portions of the *Tenne Tragedies* (with the exception of Nuce's *Octavia*) is the fourteen syllable line or fourteener, with the normal structure:

x ˘ x ˘ x ˘ x ˘ || x ˘ x ˘ x ˘

(x representing an unstressed syllable, and ˘ a stressed).

There are many deviations from this normal structure, and the most important may be grouped under the following heads:

- (a) Shifting of the caesura.
- (b) Inversion of the stress.
- (c) Addition of extra unstressed syllables.
- (d) Deficiency of unstressed syllables.
- (e) Use of feminine, instead of masculine, rhyme.

With regard to (a) it may be observed that there is usually a pause, though sometimes one of the very slightest kind, after the fourth foot, even when the main pause is elsewhere. This explains the fact that the main pause is much more often to be found after the second foot than after the third, as when it occurs in the earlier position it is easy to effect a slight secondary pause after the fourth foot, as a sufficient interval has then elapsed.

There are, however, some examples in which it is impossible to make any pause after the fourth foot, *e.g.*:

Why stay I wreche? Why doth this dreary deede make mee afright.
Herc. Æt., III, 135 (201 b).

The certayne succour of a trusty friende I have espide.
Ag., v, 62 (157 a).

The caesura, whilst continuing to be of the masculine type, may be shifted to a position after the first, second, third, fifth or sixth foot¹. The position after the second foot is especially favoured by Heywood (in the *Thyestes* and *Hercules Furens*) and by Newton. In the *Thyestes* the proportion of lines with the logical caesura in this position is as

¹ Since writing the above, I have discussed the metre of the *Tenne Tragedies* with Dr W. W. Greg, and have come to the conclusion that it would probably be better to treat the caesura of the fourteener as occupying a fixed position after the fourth foot, and to consider lines in which it is impossible to make a break there as lacking in caesura rather than as shewing shifting of caesura.

high as twenty-nine per cent. The position after the first foot is rare, and after the sixth foot very rare.

The caesura may also be of the feminine lyric type, *i.e.*, it may fall after an unaccented syllable which is reckoned in the scansion, *e.g.*:

And easde his shoulder from the burthen of his quiver light.
Herc. Æt., III, 78 (200 b).

This caesura is found after the third, fifth, seventh, ninth, or eleventh syllable.

Finally the caesura may be of the feminine epic type, *i.e.*, it may fall after an unaccented syllable which is not reckoned in the scansion, *e.g.*:

Death is not sawst with soppes of Sorrow if some man els I have.
Ag., II, 141 (145 a).

There are a few exceptions to the statement that the fourteener is used throughout the non-choric portions (except in Nuce's *Octavia*). The most important of these passages are the scene between Hecuba and the Chorus in *Trous*, I, 71—170 (99 a—100 b), the speech of Andromache to Astyanax in *Troas*, III, 301—337 (111 b—112 a), and the soliloquy of Thyestes in *Thy.*, v, 35—84 (36 a and b)—all in the ten-syllable line rhyming alternately; the speech of Achilles in *Troas*, II, 1—91 (101 b—103 a) in rhyme royal; and the soliloquy of Iole in *Herc. Æt.*, I, 222—277 (191 a—192 a) in the mixed fourteeners and alexandrines known as poulter's measure or common measure. In Nuce's *Octavia* the decasyllabic couplet, and the octosyllable rhyming alternately are used in the non-choric portions.

In the Chorus of the various translations the following metres are used: the fourteener; the poulter's measure; the alexandrine; the ten-syllable line, rhyming alternately, or arranged in stanzas of six lines rhyming a b a b c c, or in stanzas of seven lines rhyming a b a b b c c (rhyme royal); the octosyllable rhyming alternately.

The ten-syllable line rhyming alternately is the favourite metre for the Chorus. Its structure and arrangement of rhyme are the same as those of the heroic or elegiac quatrain (used in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* and Gray's *Elegy*), but there is no definite pause at the close of the quatrain.

VOCABULARY.

The question of language or vocabulary has already been touched upon in the discussion of the styles of the different translators. It will be seen from those references that the language used by each translator differs somewhat from that of the others. Heywood's language is

marked by occasional Latinisms, Studley's by colloquialisms, Nuce's by archaisms.

There are a very large number of interesting words employed in the *Tenne Tragedies*, and it will only be possible to give a few specimens.

Latinisms.

'Frete' or 'freate,' meaning 'sea' or 'flood' (Lat. 'fretum'), *e.g.*:

And freate that twyse with ebbe away doth slip,
And twyse upflowe. *Herc. Fur.*, II, 117, 118 (6 a).

And hardned top of frosen freate hee troade,
And sylent Sea with bankes full dumme about.
Herc. Fur., II, 331, 332 (9 a).

Thou fearefull freate of fyre...
O Phlegethon. *Thy.*, v, 270, 271 (39 b).

The *New Eng. Dict.* gives only 'strait' as the meaning of 'fret' or 'frete,' and gives one sixteenth century example of its use in that sense, but the meaning in the *Tenne Tragedies* seems to be wider and to correspond to the use of 'fretum' in Latin poetry to mean not merely 'strait' but 'sea.'

'Roge,' meaning 'funeral pile' (Lat. 'rogus'), *e.g.*:

And roges for kings, that high on piles we reare.
Troas, I, 145 (100 a).

What brethernys double tentes? or what as many roages also?
(Latin: quid totidem rogos?) *Herc. Fur.*, II, 185 (7 a).

'Impery,' meaning 'dominion' (Lat. 'imperium'), *e.g.*:

...the auncient note and sygne of impery. *Thy.*, II, 48 (24 b).

and also meaning a 'command,' *e.g.*, 'at ease he doth myne imperies fulfyl' (Lat. 'laetus imperia excipit') (*Herc. Fur.*, I, 40 (1 b)).

'Stadie,' meaning 'a race-course,' 'stadium,' *e.g.* 'Renowned stadies to my youth' (Lat. 'celebrata inveni stadia') (*Thy.*, III, 6 (27 b)).

Rare or difficult words.

'Marble' is used repeatedly by Studley as an epithet to be applied to the sea or sky, *e.g.*, *Hipp.*, I, 25 (56 a) 'Whereas the marble Sea doth fleete,' *Herc. Et.*, II, 8 (192 a) '...when marble skies no filthy fog doth dim.' Readers of Milton will recall in this connection the 'pure marble air' of *Paradise Lost*, III, 564. The *New Eng. Dict.* explains 'marble' in the line just quoted from Milton, and in a line from Phaer 'marble-facyd seas,' as meaning 'smooth as marble,' and takes no notice of the use of the word in the *Tenne Tragedies*. A study of the passages in which the word is used by Studley and Heywood leads, however, to a somewhat different conclusion. In *Hipp.*, IV, 46 (71 a) we find 'A

boasting Bull his marble necke advaunced hye that bare' as the rendering of the Latin 'Caerulea taurus colla sublimis gerens,' where 'marble' represents the Latin 'caerulea.'

In *Hipp.*, v, 5 (73 a) 'the Monstrous hags of Marble Seas' represent the 'monstra caerulei maris' of Seneca.

Herc. Æt., II, 64 (193 a) has 'The northern beare to Marble seas shall stoupe to quench his thyrst' as the rendering of 'Ursa pontum sicca caeruleum bibet.' In Heywood's *Herc. Fur.*, I, 131 (3 a) we find 'With marble horse now drawne' representing Seneca's 'iam caeruleis evectus equis.' Apparently the translator associated the idea of blueness with marble, for in *Hipp.*, II, 491 (66 b) 'lucebit Pario marmore clarius' is rendered by:

The Marble blue in quarry pittes of Parius that doth lie,
Beares not so brave a glimsyng glosse as pleasant seemes thy face.

If marble be taken as the equivalent of 'caeruleus' = 'azure,' 'dark blue,' the force of the epithet when applied to sea or sky becomes clear, and Studley's predilection for it (he uses it frequently when there is no corresponding Latin adjective at all) becomes easy to understand.

'Aleare.'

O well was I, when as I lived a leare,
Not in the barren balkes of fallow land.

Herc. Æt., I, 165, 166 (190 b).

I spoylde thy father Hercules, this hand, this hand aleare
Hath murr'd him.

Herc. Æt., III, 291, 292 (203 a).

The only example of the word in the *New Eng. Dict.* is the latter one just quoted from *Herc. Æt.* The *New Eng. Dict.* explains: '? Fated. ? chance-directed,' and suggests as a derivation: '? ad Lat. *āleāris*, meaning "belonging to dice."' This explanation does not hold good for the former passage, of which no notice is taken in the *New Eng. Dict.* There is no corresponding Latin word in either passage—'felix incolui non steriles focos,' 'Herculem eripuit tibi haec, haec peremit dextra.' Both the meaning and the origin of the word are obscure. The *Eng. Dialect Dict.* gives 'aleare' as a provincial word used of waggons to mean 'empty, unladen.'

'Cloyne' = 'steal.'

...for feare least thou alone

Should cloyne his Scepter from his hand. *Herc. Æt.*, v, 310 (216 b).

'Feltred' = 'matted,' 'tangled.'

And griesly Plutoes filthy feltred denne.

Oct., I, 368 (167 a).

'Frounced' = 'wrinkled,' 'perverse.'

And settest out a forhead fayre where frounced mynd doth rest.
Hipp., III, 100 (69 a).

Thus starting still with frounced mynde she walters to and froe.
Medea, III, 9 (127 b).

The *New Eng. Dict.* gives no example of the figurative use of 'frounced,' except a nineteenth-century one from Saintsbury in quite a different sense, though it mentions that 'frounce' is used to mean 'to look angry,' which is not quite the same sense as here.

'Gnoffe' = 'churl.'

The covetous charle, the greedy gnoffe in deede.
Herc. Æt., II, 441 (198 a).

'Linne' = 'cease.'

...proceede, and never linne
To gash and cut my wezand pype. *Theb.*, I, 264, 265 (44 a).

'Meacock' = 'coward.'

Not lyke a Meycocke, cowardly at eche alarme to flee.
Theb., I, 312 (45 a).

If that I were a meacocke or a slouch
Each stubborne, clubbish daw would make mee couch.
Oct., II, 137, 138 (174 a).

'Overheel' = 'cover over.'

...the fieldes
That all to spatterd lay with bloud, and bones quight overheelde.
Æd., I, 124 (79 b).

The *New Eng. Dict.* gives no example of the use of the word as late as the sixteenth century except by Scotch writers.

'Plaunch.'

Alas, each part of me with guilt is plaunch and overgrowne.
Theb., I, 260 (44 a).

The *New Eng. Dict.* gives no example of the use of 'plaunch' as an adjective. It explains the verb 'plaunch' as 'to cover with planks.'

'Royle.'

As a verb, = 'dance,' 'be merry.'

Let them in solempne Flockes goe royle. *Herc. Fur.*, III, 298 (14 a).

As a noun, = 'monster' (?).

That ugly Royle heere heates him selfe. *Hipp.*, IV, 71 (71 b).

These royles, that preasse to worrey mee. *Medea*, V, 124 (138 b).

'Royst' = 'swagger.'

Huff, royst it out courageously.

Hipp., II, 102 (63 a).

'Yetling.'

...and all the wood that range with yetling noyse.

Herc. Et., IV, 376 (210 b).

THE VALUE OF THE 'TENNE TRAGEDIES.'

In considering the value of these Elizabethan translations from Seneca, it is necessary to take into account both their intrinsic worth and also their influence on contemporary literature. As regards their intrinsic worth, that consists rather in the testimony they afford as to the grammar, metre, and vocabulary used by men of classical learning at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, than in any dramatic power displayed in them. From the dramatic point of view, these translations are almost worthless intrinsically. Seneca's plays are hardly drama at all in the true sense of the word. They show rhetoric, eloquence, and a facility for epigrams, but, in the main, have little action and less development of character. How utterly inferior Seneca shows himself to the Greek dramatists, when handling the same themes, is abundantly illustrated by the *Medea*. In certain other plays, *e.g.*, in the *Hippolytus*, Seneca has altered the story in such a way as to ruin completely its tragic beauty, but in the *Medea* he has followed Euripides almost exactly in the construction of the plot, and yet has contrived to vulgarise and degrade the whole conception. In the first scene Medea appears as almost a raving maniac, calling down vengeance on her husband, and her language is as wild and extravagant at the beginning of the play as at the end. There is none of the subtle development of character which we find in Euripides, who has shown us Medea as a woman whose latent barbaric instincts gradually assert themselves under the injuries heaped on her, till at last the loving wife and mother becomes the furious savage. In Euripides' play, she is by no means wholly horrible; at first we sympathize with her against her foes, and though at last we shudder at her crime, we feel that the guilt is Jason's as much, nay perhaps more, than hers. But in Seneca's play she awakens no sympathy, for she is nothing but a savage throughout, except perhaps in one interview with Jason. In the very first scene she announces her intention to murder her children, and thus the sense of gradually growing horror with which Euripides leads up to that

resolve, is entirely lost. The beautiful scene in which she suddenly bursts into tears before Jason over her children, is wanting in Seneca, and finally she kills the children on the stage before their father's eyes—a gratuitous piece of theatrical horror carefully avoided by Euripides. It can hardly be said that the Elizabethan translators show any greater sense of dramatic fitness than does Seneca himself; in fact they often accentuate his faults and obscure his merits. Seneca's speeches, though not well adapted to the characters in whose mouths they are put, are generally effective from a rhetorical point of view, containing much eloquence and many striking epigrams. Unfortunately Studley and his companions exaggerated Seneca's eloquence till it became mere rant, and elaborated and explained his epigrams till they lost all their point. Two examples will show the translators' tendency to exaggerate the violence of the original.

In the *Ædipus*, II, 935, 936, 945—948, Seneca writes:

Haec fatus aptat impiam capulo manum
ensemque ducit. 'itane?...
...Iterum vivere atque iterum mori
liceat, renasci semper ut totiens nova
supplicia pendas—utere ingenio, miser.'

The corresponding lines in Neville's translation are (*Æd.*, v, 35, 36 55—62 (91 b, 92 a)):

With that his bloody fatall Blade, from out his sheath he drawes.
And lowd he rores, with thundring voice. Thou beast why dost thou pawse?
...O that I might a thousand times, my wretched lyfe renewe.
O that I might revyve and dye by course in order dewe.
Ten hundred thousand times and more: than should I vengeance take
Upon this wretched head. Than I perhaps in part should make
A meete amends in deede, for this my fowle and lothsomē Sin.
Than should the prooffe of payne reprove the life that I live in.
The choyse is in thy hand thou wretch, than use thine owne discretion.
And finde a meanes, whereby thou maist come to extreame confusion.

Again, Seneca puts into Medea's mouth the words:

pelle femineos metus
et inhospitalem Caucasum mente indue.
quodcumque vidit Pontus aut Phasis nefas,
videbit Isthmos. effera ignota horrida,
tremenda caelo pariter ac terris mala
mens intus agitat.

This is rant enough surely, but Studley is determined to improve on his original. His version (*Medea*, I, 69—80 (120 b) is:

Exile an foolysh Female feare, and pity from thy mynde,
And as th' untamed Tygers use to rage and rave unkynde,
That haunt the croking combrous Caves, and clumped frozen clives,
And craggy Rockes of Caucasus, whose bitter colde depryves

The soyle of all Inhabitours, permit to lodge and rest,
 Such salvage brutish tyranny within thy brasen brest.
 What ever hurly burly wrought doth Phasis understand,
 What mighty monstrous bloudy feate I wrought by Sea or Land:
 The like in Corynth shal be seene in most outrageous guise,
 Most hyddious, hatefull, horrible, to heare, or see wyth eyes,
 Most diuylsh, desperate, dreadfull deede, yet never knowne before,
 Whose rage shall force heaven, earth, and hell to quake and tremble sore.

Two examples will illustrate how much some of Seneca's concise and pointed lines lose in the translation. Seneca makes Creon say to Medea 'i, querere Colchis' (l. 197). Studley translates this by 'Avaunt, and yell out thy complaynts at Colchis, get thee hence' (*Medea*, II, 140 (124a)). In *Herc. Æt.*, 641—642, where the Latin has two short lines:

quos felices Cynthia vidit,
 vidit miseros enata dies,

the English has six long ones:

Whom Moone at morne on top of Fortunes wheele
 High swayed hath seene, at fulnesse of renowe,
 The glading sunne hath seene his Scepter reele,
 And him from high fall topsey turvey downe.
 At morne full merry, blith, in happy plight,
 But whelmde in woes and brought to bale ere nyght.

Herc. Æt., II, 459—464 (198a).

It is hardly necessary to multiply examples in order to prove how little share the *Tenne Tragedies* can claim of true dramatic quality. Their value lies elsewhere—in the interest of their language and style, in their metrical and grammatical forms, and in their influence on the development of the Elizabethan drama. I have dwelt already on their metre, grammar, and style, and on the extremely interesting character of their vocabulary. On all these points they are worthy, I believe, of careful study. With regard to their influence on the Elizabethan drama, the question is a wide one, and can only be touched on here very slightly.

Nash's well-known passage in his preface 'To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities' prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon* (published 1589) is worth quoting in this connection:

It is a common practise now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through every arte and thrive by none, to leave the trade of Noverint, whereto they were borne, and busie themselves with the indevors of Art, that could scarcely latinize their necke-verse if they should have neede; yet English Seneca read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as Bloud is a begger, and so foorth; and, if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches. But O grieffe! tempus edax rerum, what's that will last alwaies? The sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance be drie, and

Seneca let bloud line by line and page by page at length must needes die to our stage: which makes his famisht followers to imitate the Kidde in Æsop, who, enamored with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a new occupation, and these men, renouncing all possibilities of credit or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian translations.

William Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586) mentions 'the laudable Authors of Seneca in English,' and Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) says 'these versifiers for their learned translations are of good note among us, Phaer for Virgils *Æneads*, Golding for Ovid's *Metamorphosis*..., the translators of Senecaes Tragedies.'

The influence of Seneca on the Elizabethan drama was undoubtedly great (see J. W. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*; R. Fischer, *Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragödie*). It affected both the form and the substance of the drama. Among the different points relating to external form on which Elizabethan tragedy was influenced by Seneca may be noticed the division into five acts, and the introduction of the Chorus, as in *Gorboduc*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, *Catiline*, etc.

With regard to matter and treatment, Senecan influence was much more important. It was seen in the treatment of the supernatural, in the selection of horrible and sensational themes, in the tendency to long rhetorical and descriptive passages, in the use of stichomythia, in the introduction of moralising commonplaces, in the spirit of philosophic fatalism. All these points are strikingly exemplified in the *Tenne Tragedies*, and on all of them the debt of the Elizabethan drama to Seneca is a large one. Take but one example, the use of the supernatural. Seneca had neglected the Greek Olympic gods and had shown a great partiality for the infernal deities, for ghosts and witchcraft, and his translators seized on this with eagerness and even sought to improve on him, for whereas in the *Troas*, Seneca only narrates by a messenger that Achilles' ghost has risen to demand the slaughter of Polyxena, Heywood introduces a fresh scene in which Achilles' ghost rises on the stage and declaims a speech of ninety-one lines. Seneca's use of the ghost in the *Agamemnon* is specially noteworthy by reason of its resemblance to that of the ghost in *Hamlet*. At the beginning of the play the ghost of Thyestes rises and incites his son Ægisthus to revenge on Agamemnon, who is the son of Thyestes' brother Atreus, the foul wrongs inflicted on Thyestes by his brother. No further use is made of this motive in the play, but it was a suggestion full of possibilities, and it is worthy of note that the passage quoted above from Nash on the subject of the use made by playwrights of translations from Seneca

contains the earliest known reference to the pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet*, 'whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls, of tragically speaches.'

Seneca's use of witchcraft and necromancy is very noticeable, *e.g.*, in the *Medea*, *Ædipus*, and *Hercules Ætaeus*. One hundred lines in Studley's translation are devoted to a description of Medea preparing her charms, and amongst them occur the following:

Then having brought above the ground of Serpents all the rout,
Of filthy weedes the rankest bane shee pyckes, and gathers out,
...Shee chops the deadly hearbes, and wrings the squesed clottered bloud
Of Serpentes out: and filthy byrdes of irkesome miry mud
She tempers with the same and eake she brayes the heart of Owle
Foreshewing death with glaring Eyes, and moaping Vysage foule.

Medea, IV, 55, 56, 91—94 (133 b, 134 a).

It is difficult to distinguish how much of this debt of the Elizabethan dramatists to Seneca is due to the plays in the original, and how much to the translations. As Cunliffe observes, the more learned dramatists would not need the help of translations, whilst the less learned, who were glad of the aid afforded by Heywood and Studley, would prefer to disguise their obligations by not quoting verbatim. Undoubtedly the *Tenne Tragedies* must have done much to spread a general knowledge of Seneca, and to inspire interest in his treatment of the drama, and probably their influence was much greater than any examination merely of parallel passages in them and in Elizabethan plays would lead us to suspect. The contact with a form of drama so different from that of the native mysteries, moralities, and interludes was an inspiration and a help to the Elizabethan drama. It led to more regular construction, and opened up new possibilities of subject and treatment, whilst at the same time the very imperfections of the Senecan tragedy did good service by preventing an unduly close imitation. Had the masterpieces of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides become the models of Elizabethan playwrights, we might have lost our national drama, for the English genius is far removed from the Greek in character. As it was, when the Elizabethans had learnt what they could from Seneca, they realised the dramatic weakness of his tragedies and struck out a new line for themselves. It is curious to remember that only thirty years elapsed between the publication of even the earliest of these translations and that of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus*, and that within fifteen years of the appearance of the collected edition, Shakespeare had written *Romeo and Juliet*. It throws a light on the extraordinarily rapid development of the English drama in those thirty or forty years. It seems a far cry from the broken-backed lines, bombastic rhetoric, and

puppet figures of these Senecan translations to the perfect harmony of thought and expression, to the ageless and deathless creations of Shakespeare's plays, but great poets can never be isolated from their predecessors, and every one of the forces which had been at work in English literature had its part in the perfecting of the Elizabethan drama. Even Shakespeare might not have been quite himself as we know him, had it not been for the work of the obscure translators of Seneca.

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NOTE. The Spenser Society's edition of the *Tenne Tragedies* is now out of print. A new edition, by H. de Vocht, of Heywood's *Troas*, *Thyestes* and *Hercules Furens* is announced in Professor Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, and a similar edition, in the same series, of Studley's *Agamemnon*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus* and *Hercules Etæus* has been undertaken by the present writer.

‘EL DÓMINE LUCAS’ OF LOPE DE VEGA AND SOME RELATED PLAYS.

I.

IN his prologue to this play, Lope offers a hint as to its origin. After having retouched late in life this product of his youthful genius, he dedicated it to his ‘best friend,’ Juan de Piña, with these words: ‘While in the service of that most excellent gentleman, Don Antonio de Toledo y Beamonte, Duke of Alba, in the age which may be described as “the green springtime of my flowery years,” I heard related a part of this story, to the beginnings of which I had been a witness, the sponsor for its truth, if truth it has, being a Valencian gentleman, Borja by name, in soul an Alexander and in valour of person a second Spanish Alcides. I took a liking to the incident for I already had one for the gentleman whom I mention, and I wrote it down in the style then in vogue. I found it on the present occasion begging alms like the rest, as broken and friendless as are wont to be those who set forth from their land as soldiers, with the fuss and feathers of young blood and return after many years with wooden legs, stumps of arms, lacking eyes, and with regimentals of uncertain hue. I endeavoured to correct it, and, for better or for worse, it goes into the world, bearing the name of my best friend. Many know that such your grace is, and it would be tiresome to make excuses for not offering you greater things, more worthy of your talent; but often men do not give those they love things of most price, but rather what they most esteem.’

The Valencian gentleman in question is, without much doubt, Lope’s friend, Don Francisco de Borja, Prince of Esquilache, a native of Valencia, well-known as poet and viceroy of Peru. From Lope’s words, we may conclude that the plot of *El Dómine Lucas* is based upon an actual occurrence, probably some student adventure in which the hero proved

¹ *Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol. I, Madrid, 1859, p. 43.

his valour in the bull-ring and his resourcefulness in love¹. The story had doubtless lost nothing in the telling, for, as we see, Lope shrewdly refused to vouch for its truth. Lope himself, in adapting his material to meet the requirements of the stage, probably still further embellished and complicated the argument, until that which perhaps was originally a very slender plot developed into the involved intrigue of *El Dómine Lucas*.

It is not strange that in later years Lope should have cherished a peculiar affection for this early work. The play evoked in his memory youthful love and youthful friendships, happy days spent with his young wife, Isabel de Urbina, in the Duke of Alba's seat of Alba de Tormes. This was a period of his early manhood to which Lope frequently referred as the happiest in his life. Only five leagues distant was the great university town of Salamanca whose students were frequent visitors in Alba de Tormes—rich students like Floriano to take part in *fiestas*, and poor *capigorriones* like Decio in threadbare cloaks begging an alms of the passer-by. Lope's own student days were only a few years behind him. Evidently he enjoyed to the full the life of Salamanca and Alba de Tormes. *El Dómine Lucas* reflects this enjoyment. It is one of the freshest and most spontaneous of Lope's early plays.

But Lope had more substantial reasons for showing in his old age an especial fondness for this play. *El Dómine Lucas* was one of his first conspicuous successes. It is true that he had already been writing for the stage for several years; it is true that he had already won the position of foremost Spanish dramatist. But it was only about this time that he began to acquire that sureness of touch found in his later work. Very few of Lope's plays written prior to *El Dómine Lucas* have come down to us. The plays which he afterwards deemed worthy of publication began to be written about this time.

Lope himself, in the preface from which I have already quoted,

¹ The Conde de las Navas, in his work on bull-fighting entitled *El espectáculo más nacional*, Madrid, 1900, pp. 58 ff., gives much curious information on the subject of 'tauromachia' in Salamanca. There existed an unwritten law demanding that each candidate for the doctorate provide six 'toros de muerte' to be despatched by the student body. The university maintained a house on the Plaza Mayor from the windows of which the members of the different faculties looked down upon the sport. La Fuente, *Historia de las universidades*, Vol. III, Madrid, 1887, p. 104, fixes the number of bulls required at three. The requirement was apparently not made of poor students. We are told that the usage did not utterly cease until 1843. Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo, *Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento*, Barcelona, 1605, fol. 15 verso, declares humorously that the doctors of theology provided cocks rather than bulls—'porque no aya cuernos que dizen muy mal con la borla blanca de honestidad.' Such exploits as that of Floriano were every day incidents in the life of the Salamanca student; indeed, similar feats of daring can still be witnessed in Spain at any village *capea*.

testifies to the success which this play had on the occasion of its first production, generously giving much credit to the actor Melchor de Villalba. The vogue initiated by Villalba lasted many years. The piece was imitated and reworked like most successful plays. It was even burlesqued. This popularity is doubtless attributable to the freshness and novelty of the plot rather than to the excellence of Villalba's acting. Lope had at last 'found himself.' In this play and in *El Maestro de Danzar*, published about the same time, Lope gives the Spanish stage a new type—that of the resourceful lover who assumes a disguise, or acts a part, in the furtherance of his love intrigue. Henceforth the boards will be crowded with the master masquerading as man, the pretended pedagogue, the feigned astrologer, the dancing-master who does not know a step, the gardener with uncalled hands, the *médecin malgré lui*, the lawyer innocent of the pandects, but who, like Portia, contrives to deliver Solomonic decisions. All these and many more are Dómine Lucas's own flesh and blood. I do not, of course, mean to imply that all or many of these types are immediate copies of Dómine Lucas. Some, it is true, are his descendants; others bear a more distant kinship. Disregarding the plays which show a remote resemblance, in the present article I propose to consider only a few, closely connected with the one we are studying.

II.

The first play to consider is another of Lope's, *El Caballero de Olmedo*¹. What is the connection between the merry comedy of *Dómine Lucas* and the tragic story of Olmedo's knight? At first blush it seems strange that plays so diverse should have much in common. Yet in the popular ballads, from one of which Lope is supposed to have derived the main idea for this play, the knight's treacherous murder follows a love intrigue and an adventure in the bull-ring². The similarity between this part of the plot and that of *El Dómine Lucas* is obvious. There is also to be noted another fact, which, while it may be nothing more than a coincidence, may possibly help to explain why Lope in the later play drew so largely from his earlier production. We have seen that the *Dómine Lucas* story was probably associated in the poet's mind with the Prince of Esquilache. Now, it is this same Prince of

¹ *Obras de Lope de Vega, publicadas por la Real Academia*, Vol. x, Madrid, 1899.

² Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*, p. lxxviii, says that the only ballad on this subject that has come to his notice is that by the Prince of Esquilache. But cf. the *romance* preserved in the third act of the old version of *El Caballero de Olmedo*, of uncertain authorship: *Ocho comedias desconocidas*, ed. Schaeffer, Leipzig, 1887, Vol. 1, p. 335.

Esquilache who has given to the *Caballero de Olmedo* legend its most poetic form¹. The Prince of Esquilache's ballad can hardly be considered as Lope's source. He certainly does not follow it closely; and yet the love element and the bull-fight episode are therein alluded to. Menéndez y Pelayo thinks that the play and the ballad had some remote connection². It is true that the Prince of Esquilache's shorter poems were not published until 1648, after Lope's death; but it was the custom of the time for men of letters to circulate their verse in manuscript³. Lope and the Prince were on terms of some intimacy. They exchanged verse⁴. Lope dedicated a play to Esquilache⁵. The two were united in their opposition to *culturismo*. Both were intimate with the Duke of Alba. Lope may, then, have seen the Prince of Esquilache's ballad on the Knight of Olmedo, and associating him with this subject, just as he had previously connected him with the very similar *Dómine Lucas* story, it would have been natural for him to have worked the two plots into one. This he did in his version of *El Caballero de Olmedo*.

Menéndez y Pelayo finds in this play three elements⁶: one portion of the plot is derived from *El Dómine Lucas*, another from the *Celestina*, and the rest from the popular legend concerning *El Caballero de Olmedo*. I would call attention to the fact that the germ of the *Celestina* element may be found in *El Dómine Lucas*. The ruse by which Floriano conveys to Lucrecia a love-letter, while pretending to give her a charm against the toothache, causes the latter to exclaim:

Quizá el dómine tocó
Un paso de Celestina,
En que da esta medicina
A otra Lucrecia cual yo⁷.

But with this slight incident, the connection between the *Celestina* and *El Dómine Lucas* stops. In *El Caballero de Olmedo*, on the other hand,

¹ *Obras*, Lope de Vega, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxviii—lxxx.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.

³ In fact, one of the sonnets in Esquilache's collected works was inspired by Lope's death. To the modern reader it is conspicuous for its bad taste. Addressing the nymphs of the Tagus, he urges them as follows:

No remitáis el llanto á Mançanares;
Porque el comun dolor tendrá burlado,
De poco rio, sentimiento poco.

Príncipe de Esquilache, *Obras*, Amberes, 1673, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 392.

⁵ Lope de Vega, *Comedias*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol. iv, Madrid, 1869, pp. 139 f.

⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo merely mentions the fact that *El Dómine Lucas*, *El Caballero de Olmedo*, and *Marta la piadosa* are related, but does not study in detail the interrelation of these three plays (*op. cit.*, p. xc). Nor, strangely enough, is it mentioned by Schack, Klein, nor Schaeffer.

⁷ Lope de Vega, *Comedias*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol. i, Madrid, 1859, p. 48.

the *Celestina* element is very prominent. We have in Fabia a character who is almost a replica of Celestina, or of Lope's own Gerarda in the *Dorotea*. The stratagem by which Fabia conveys to Inés the news of Alonso's love is very similar to Floriano's ruse. But all other incidents having any connection with the *Celestina* appear to have been taken directly out of Rojas's work.

Two other important motives common to *El Caballero de Olmedo* and *El Dómine Lucas* are the bull-fight incident and the episode of the feigned teacher. We must, however, note these differences. In the earlier play, much less is made of the bull-fight. It merely provides an opportunity for the hero to display his prowess and win the favour of the heroine. In the latter play, on the other hand, the skill which the hero displays in the ring, and the favour there shown him by his lady, arouse his rival's envy. The latter then and there plans the murder which he afterwards executes. The bull-fight contributes directly to the tragic *dénouement*. As for the device of introducing into the lady's house a pretended teacher, in *El Dómine Lucas*, it is the lover himself who enacts the rôle; in *El Caballero de Olmedo*, it is the servant. In the former play, we have a writing lesson scene; in the latter, there is a Latin lesson.

III.

Leaving aside for the moment the consideration of *El Caballero de Olmedo*, let us next turn to another play inspired in part by *El Dómine Lucas*, Tirso de Molina's *Marta la piadosa*. That *El Dómine Lucas* is one of the sources of the last named play cannot be doubted. Tirso himself all but admits the fact. Instead of *Dómine Lucas*, we have in this play an equally entertaining *Dómine Berrío*, who, as we shall see, plays much the same rôle. In another of Tirso's best known plays, *Desde Toledo á Madrid*, there is a curious reference. The hero, Don Baltasar, in order to be near his lady, assumes the disguise of a muleteer. When asked his name he replies:

Lucas
Berrío soy en mi casa,
Gracias á taita y al cura, etc.¹

Is it too bold an assumption to say that '*taita*,' i.e., 'father,' 'papa,' refers to Lope de Vega, and that the '*cura*,' 'priest,' is no other than Fray Gabriel Téllez himself? Does not the author clearly mean to imply that this strange compound name came from two sources, part

¹ Tirso de Molina, *Comedias*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Madrid, 1903, p. 489.

from Lope, part from Tirso? Tirso was fond of inserting in his plays more or less veiled allusions to himself and his friends¹. Several lines following those I have quoted appear to contain personal allusions. However this may be, the uniting of the names Lucas and Berrío shows two very interesting things. First of all, it is tantamount to a confession on Tirso's part that Dómine Lucas is the original of his Dómine Berrío. Furthermore, *Desde Toledo á Madrid* was written in 1625², eleven years after *Marta la piadosa*³, and approximately thirty years after the first production of *El Dómine Lucas*⁴. Tirso's evident expectation that his audience would understand the double allusion contained in the name so long after the first production of these plays speaks volumes for their popularity and continued success. Dómine Lucas and Dómine Berrío had doubtless become household words.

Let us now see what elements in *Marta la piadosa* were unmistakably derived from *El Dómine Lucas*. First, we have two sisters, Marta who is quick of wit (*discreta*), and Lucía who is dull (*boba*). They correspond exactly to Lucrecia and Leonarda of *El Dómine Lucas*, and like the latter, both love the same man. Lucía, like Leonarda, easily allows herself to be outwitted. The ruse by which she is induced publicly to proclaim her love for a man she does not love, and even to marry him, is nearly identical in both plays. Lucía, like Leonarda, at one time penetrates the pretended teacher's disguise, and is filled with envy on seeing the two lovers embrace, but like Leonarda allows herself to be deceived. These incidents Tirso certainly took from *El Dómine Lucas*. They are not to be found in *El Caballero de Olmedo*, which I shall now attempt to prove was another source of *Marta la piadosa*.

IV.

The most important character in *Marta la piadosa*, the character who gives the play its name, has no counterpart in *El Dómine Lucas*, but is to be found in *El Caballero de Olmedo*. It is the character of the female hypocrite who affects devotion in order to avoid a distasteful marriage. This ruse, resorted to by Marta in Tirso's play and by Inés in *El Caballero de Olmedo*, is not attempted by Lucrecia in *El Dómine Lucas*. The latter, although a hypocrite, does not express a desire to

¹ Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1893, pp. 129 ff., where similar personal allusions may be noted.

² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁴ *El Dómine Lucas* must have been written between 1590 and 1595. Cf. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, Glasgow, 1904, pp. 98 ff.

take the veil. We have seen that the instruction received by the last-named heroine is in the art of writing. The other two plays agree in having each a Latin lesson scene. The heroines' desire to learn Latin is, of course, in keeping with their professed eagerness to become nuns. Other minor resemblances might be noted. It is obvious after the most casual perusal that *El Caballero de Olmedo* and *Marta la piadosa* have a close and intimate connection independent of *El Dómine Lucas*.

The real problem to be solved is this: did Lope borrow from Tirso or Tirso from Lope? Is Tirso's fascinating Marta (who, according to Martinenche, may have suggested to Molière certain ideas embodied in his *Tartuffe*) an original creation, or can the character be traced still farther back¹?

The question of dates is first to be considered. The date of *Marta la piadosa* is firmly fixed. Cotarelo y Mori by internal evidence has shown it to have been written in 1614². Unfortunately there is more uncertainty respecting the date of *El Caballero de Olmedo*. Menéndez y Pelayo has been unable definitely to determine it, but thinks the play must have been written *subsequently* to 1614, as it is not mentioned in the list of comedies in the preface to Lope's *Peregrino en su patria*³. The date 1614 given by Señor Menéndez must be a mistake. The first edition of the *Peregrino* was printed in 1604, while the second, containing the revised list of *comedias*, appeared in 1618. In neither is *El Caballero de Olmedo* mentioned. Señor Menéndez also thinks that the play is written in the style of Lope's maturer years. But all this is very slender evidence. We are not bound to believe that the *Peregrino* list was absolutely complete and that it is impossible for a play not included in the list to have been written previous to 1618. We have Lope's own assurance that the list is incomplete⁴. In a matter so delicate as the judging of Lope's style, a foreigner hesitates to set up a judgment contrary to that of Lope's learned editor. But *El Caballero de Olmedo* was not published till 1641. Is it not possible that Lope in his later years revised this play for the press just as he did others,

¹ Cf. Martinenche, *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1906, p. 167.

² Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

³ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.* If the supposition of Mesonero Romanos, who thinks Montseser's burlesque is based upon Lope's *Caballero de Olmedo*, be correct, we should have no occasion to discuss this point; but Restori, *Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, xxix, p. 359, denies that the burlesque was based on the version of the play we are discussing and also shows that Montseser's play was probably written in 1651, instead of 1621 as supposed.

⁴ For a discussion of this matter, cf. Rennert, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

including *El Dómine Lucas*? In the absence of a manuscript fixing the date, it seems to me that the question of priority can only be determined by a comparative study of the two plays in question.

It is stating the veriest commonplace to remark that, of the two, Lope is much the more original in invention. Where we find Lope and Tirso utilizing the same material, it is the natural presumption that Tirso plagiarized from Lope, not Lope from Tirso. Although Lope took many ideas from other authors, he seldom plundered the works of his contemporary rival dramatists. His latest biographer goes so far as to say that he never did¹. It is not necessary to multiply examples of Tirso's plagiarisms from Lope. They are too well-known. But I should like to point out that in *Marta la piadosa* Tirso apparently utilizes still another of Lope's plays, *La discreta enamorada*. The Captain Urbina and his nephew the *alférez* of Tirso's play appear to be copies of the Captain Bernardo and his son the *alférez* Lucindo of *La discreta enamorada*. In both plays, the elderly soldier cherishes a passion for a young woman who avoids an unwelcome marriage by a stratagem. There is this difference, that Captain Urbina Bernardo is the rival of his own son, while Captain Urbina is not the rival of the *alférez* but of another young gallant. Fenisa, the heroine of *La discreta enamorada*, is a worthy sister of Inés and Marta. She is equally rich in expedients. She, too, is hypocritical, but she does not affect a longing for the cloister. I am well aware that the priority of *La discreta enamorada* to *Marta la piadosa* should be proved, not assumed, but it is impossible to determine its exact date. We have no means of dating *La discreta enamorada* beyond the fact that it appeared in the *Peregrino* list of 1618. But even so, the laws of probability would favour its having been published before rather than after 1614, the date of the writing of *Marta la piadosa*. At all events, it has been shown that *Marta la piadosa* bears a close resemblance to at least three of Lope's plays, one of which beyond dispute was written approximately twenty years earlier. The dates of the other two plays are admittedly uncertain. The natural presumption is that the man who certainly plagiarized in the case of the one play (*El Dómine Lucas*) probably did so from the other two.

But there are better reasons for supposing *El Caballero de Olmedo* to have been written before *Marta la piadosa*. Apart from these two plays, the female hypocrite is a very common character in the Spanish drama and novel. Where did she originate? Martinenche considers Celestina to be the arch-hypocrite, the progenitress of the whole race

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 395 note.

of hypocrites in Spanish literature¹. Celestina's hypocrisy is well drawn by Rojas. Parmeno in describing her character says: 'Nunca passaua sin missa ni bisperas ni dexaua monesterios de frailes ni de monjas; esto porque alli fazia ella sus alleluyas é conciertos².' And Celestina herself says: 'Yo te prometo, señora, en yendo de aquí, me vaya por estos monesterios, donde tengo frayles deuotos míos, y les dé el mismo cargo que tú me das. Y demás desto, ante que me desayune, dé quatro bueltas á mis cuentas³.' Clearly no better model of hypocrisy could be desired. We have observed a trace of the *Celestina* influence in *El Dómine Lucas* and a great deal of it in *El Caballero de Olmedo*. Aside from the character of Marta, I see little trace of the *Celestina* influence in *Marta la piadosa*, and nothing of the kind that could not have been derived indirectly through the medium of the other two plays. On the other hand, *El Caballero de Olmedo* shows direct imitation. The character Fabia is a slavish imitation of the hag Celestina. The idea of the nocturnal expedition to the foot of a gallows to extract a tooth from the mouth of a swinging criminal can be traced back to the *Celestina*⁴. Now, I ask, is not the character of the hypocrite more likely to have originated in *El Caballero de Olmedo*, a work strongly and directly influenced by the *Celestina*, than in *Marta la piadosa*, where that influence was slight? The two authors did not develop the character of the female hypocrite from the *Celestina* independently. The similarity of the Latin lesson scene shows one play to have been derived from the other.

But it may be objected that Celestina is a real hypocrite, and that Inés and Marta are hypocrites for the occasion only. True, but the one kind of hypocrite could easily have suggested the other. In *El Caballero de Olmedo* we have both kinds. The temporary hypocrisy of Inés is an invention of the real hypocrite, Fabia. Fabia is the prompter of Inés throughout, and the latter's professed desire to become a nun is only

¹ Martinenche, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Lope himself refers to Celestina as the ancestress of other hypocrites. In the scene referred to in the text, where Floriano gives Lucrecia a love-letter, while pretending to pass her a charm against the toothache, the latter exclaims:

¡Qué santidad que fingía
Hasta ponerla en mi mano!
Basta; que de aqueste oficio
Dejó Celestina nietos,
Y no con menos efetos
Para engañar el juicio.

Obras de Lope de Vega, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol. I, p. 49.

² *Comedia de Calisto é Melibea*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona-Madrid, 1900, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91. 'Siete dientes quitó á vn ahorcado con vn as tenazicas de pelar cejas, mientras yo le descalcé los çapatos.'

part of a very complicated intrigue of Fabia's devising. Tirso's Marta, on the other hand, needs no prompter. Always sufficient unto herself, her nimble wit never plays her false. The colourless *dueña* who helps along her stratagem takes, but does not give, counsel. There is no real hypocrite in the play who could have suggested the fictitious one.

But the hypocritical lover seems to have still another *raison d'être* in *El Caballero de Olmedo* which she lacks in *Marta la piadosa*. We have seen that another source utilized by Lope was the popular romantic legend which had sprung up concerning the Knight of Olmedo. The popular ballads, without much doubt, make Don Alonso's sweetheart enter a nunnery after the murder of her lover. The earlier play on this same subject, published in 1606, and based on a *romance*, has this *dénouement*¹. Now, what more natural than that Lope, working toward this ending, should make the woman whose final destiny was to be the cloister profess in the days of her happiness an insincere desire to become a nun? What an opportunity for dramatic irony! In the whole Spanish drama, there is nothing more tragic than Inés's sudden change from feigned to real piety after hearing the news of her lover's death. The jest had become grim earnest. What a wealth of emotion is condensed in her simple utterance:

¡ Lo que de burlas te dije,
Señor, de veras te ruego !

To a bigoted seventeenth century audience, there may have been something of sacrilege in Inés's trifling with piety. Her lover's death may have seemed a well-deserved visitation of divine wrath. Whether or not this was present in Lope's mind, he has here achieved one of his strongest tragic effects. The comedy of the first two acts makes the tragedy of the last stand forth in startling relief. To cause the hypocritically pious lover to embrace in sad earnest a religious life was a master-stroke of genius.

In *Marta la piadosa* I can find nothing which would account for the invention of the character. The intrigue is less important than Marta herself. The play is almost Molièresque in its subordination of plot to the portrayal of a type; and it must be admitted that Tirso's portrayal of the hypocritical lover is the more successful of the two. His Latin lesson scene is much more spirited and entertaining than Lope's. One is reminded of Dame Quickly's Latin lesson in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Marta is infinitely more interesting than Inés. Not but that

¹ Schaeffer, *Ocho comedias desconocidas*, Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1887.

Lope could have drawn the hypocritical lover fully as well had he cared to do so, but his interest was centred in Fabia rather than in Inés. If Tirso borrowed from Lope, he improved upon his model. If Lope plagiarized Tirso, he cannot be excused on the ground that he surpassed his model in those few things that he could have taken.

But all this leads me to think that Tirso was the borrower this time as in most other cases; that *El Dómine Lucas* and *El Caballero de Olmedo*, and probably *La discreta enamorada* as well, are sources of *Marta la piadosa*; that, therefore, Menéndez y Pelayo has fixed the date of *El Caballero de Olmedo* too late. I should date the play previous to the year 1614, the date of *Marta la piadosa*.

Some may object that, if Lope admittedly rewrote *El Dómine Lucas*, Tirso may have utilized an earlier version of the play than that known to us, and the earlier version may have contained the female hypocrite and the Latin lesson episode, lacking in the play as we now have it. This is of course a possibility, but scarcely a probability. Lope tells us that he corrected the play, but nothing he says would indicate that the changes made were far-reaching. Chorley considers that the play has no *figura de donaire*. Decio is far from being the conventional *gracioso*. Now, had Lope late in life radically altered the plot, he could hardly have failed to supply the comic part which his audiences had come to expect. Lope's humorous allusions to the condition of the play as he found it in his old age seem to refer merely to the sins of copyists.

V.

The seventeenth century saw at least two other plays named *Dómine Lucas*. The first of these was *El Dómine Lucas y la fiesta en el aire*, described as a 'comedia jocosa en castellano y latín macarrónico.' It was written by Padre Pedro de Salas and was dated at Valladolid, the fourth of January, 1618¹. The manuscript of this play is probably no longer in existence; but it appears from the title that *Dómine Lucas* had become accepted as a type of pedant who mingled Latin with the vernacular. Lope had made little use of this idea. Decio and Floriano introduce a few scraps of Latin into their conversation, but that is all. Tirso, too, had the good taste not to introduce an undue amount of Latin into the dialogue, although an occasional bilingual pun is not wanting.

¹ Barrera, *Catálogo*, Madrid, 1860, p. 352.

Another burlesque *Dómine Lucas* was written by Francisco Manuel de Melo¹. Barrera states vaguely that it still existed in manuscript in the year 1747.

The *Dómine Lucas* of Jose Cañizares, produced with a most elaborate ballet in the presence of the royal family in the Buen Retiro gardens on the occasion of the marriage of the Infanta María Luisa to the Archduke Leopold in 1765, has no connection, other than that of name, with Lope's comedy. This fact was long ago pointed out by Don Vicente García de la Huerta, and later by Ticknor and Schaeffer². Durán and Paz y Melia are wrong in considering Cañizares's play a reworking of Lope's³. It appears to be a composite of several others. The influence of Lope's *Dama boba* is plain. Calderón's *La desdicha de la vez* furnished another motive. The *montañés* was such a stock character in the *comedia* that perhaps the resemblance which Cañizares's play bears to Calderón's *Guardarse del agua mansa* is only accidental. However, there can be little doubt that Cañizares borrowed from a play variously styled *La boba y el Vizcaino* and *Encontrarse dos arroyuelos*. This play was published in the *Comedias nuevas escritas por los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1665). It is attributed in the index to Don Juan Velaz de Guevara, but a manuscript version of the same play, preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, names Maestro Antonio Fajardo Azeredo as the author. In either case, it was written before the *Dómine Lucas* of Cañizares. In both plays, the two stock characters of *boba* and *montañés* are introduced. Other characters are incidental. Cañizares's *Dómine Lucas* is almost certainly a reworking of this play. Cañizares doubtless chose the name *Dómine Lucas* because that character had become identified in the popular mind with burlesque and musical ballets. He had degenerated into a hero of *opéra comique*. *El Caballero de Olmedo* met with a similar fate. First burlesqued, this hero of tragedy ended by giving his name to a popular dance⁴.

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¹ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

² García de la Huerta is quoted to that effect by the anonymous author of the preface to Lope's *Dómine Lucas*, published by Sancha, Madrid, 1841. Cf. Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II, New York, 1854, p. 428, note; and Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1890, p. 299.

³ Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, Madrid, 1899, p. 150.

⁴ Monreal, *Cuadros viejos*, Madrid, 1878, p. 86, note.

NOTES ON THE SUPPOSED DRAMATIC CHARACTER OF THE 'LUDI' IN THE GREAT WARDROBE ACCOUNTS OF EDWARD III.

THE first literary historian to draw attention to the Great Wardrobe Accounts of Edward III was Warton¹. He interpreted *ludos domini Regis ad festum natalis domini celebratum*² *apud Guldefordum*³ as 'plays or sports of the King, held in the castle of Guildford at the feast of Christmas.' There seems to be no doubt that he regarded the *ludi* as dramatic to a certain extent at least, and places them in the castle, though *apud* does not necessarily imply this. A part of the entry, *xiiij crestes cum tibiis reversatis et calciatis, xiiij crestes cum montibus et cuniculis*, he confesses that he does not perfectly understand⁴. This point we shall take up later.

Collier is much more positive: 'In 1348 Edward III kept his Christmas in the castle of Guildford, and there these *ludi* were exhibited: from the nature of the materials and properties furnished it is sufficiently evident that they were of a dramatic character⁵.' Brotanek⁶, the latest historian of the Masque, also classifies these *ludi* as dramatic, speaking of them as 'Maskeraden' and 'Aufführungen.'

In thus accepting the *ludi* as dramatic, Brotanek has remained in the common tradition, which has continued unbroken from the time of Warton. The first to question the dramatic nature of these was E. K. Chambers, whose *Medieval Stage* appeared a year after Brotanek's work (1903). Chambers issues the warning that the term *ludi* must

¹ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, pp. 219—220 (Hazlitt's Edition, 1871). The Accounts are printed in full by Sir N. H. Nicolas in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1—163.

² The original is full of abbreviations. Warton writes *celebratos*, but the connection seems to be with *festum* rather than with *ludos*.

³ Text in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXI, p. 37. Printed also in R. Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele* (1907), p. 2, and in E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, Vol. I, p. 392.

⁴ *History of English Poetry*, II, p. 220, Note 2.

⁵ J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, Vol. I, pp. 22—23.

⁶ R. Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, 1902.

not be pressed, that it does not necessarily imply anything dramatic, and that the analogies suggest that it is a wide generic term roughly equivalent to 'disport,' or the 'revels' of the Tudor vocabulary¹.

I wish to present some evidence which will tend to establish Chambers' contention that the *ludi* are not dramatic of necessity; and, further, to show that they are more probably tournaments than 'disports,' or 'revels.'

1. Edward III was deeply interested in knighthood and chivalry. His deepest passion seems to have been the tournament. In the year 1348 the greatest of all English orders of knighthood, the Order of the Garter, was founded; and on important feasts like Christmas mere dramatic performances would scarcely displace the nobler actions of the knightly representatives of King Arthur and his Table Round². A further direct reason for believing that tournaments would naturally grace such important feasts is that they were a royal prerogative³. They were, in a very real sense, *ludi domini Regis*.

2. Moreover, the word *ludus* does not necessarily indicate anything dramatic. The meanings given in Du Cange under the word *ludus* show this very clearly. For instance under *ludus natalis* we find a citation of 1381 describing a sort of game at single-stick. Conversely, *hastiludium*, *burdice*, which is, of course, a tournament, is described as consisting of two sides in costumes very similar to those of the *ludi* in the Wardrobe Accounts⁴; and would seem to break down the distinction between the *ludus* and the *hastiludium* maintained by Chambers⁵.

3. Let us consider the articles mentioned in the Accounts in some detail. For the Christmas of 1347-1348 the entry is as follows:

Et ad faciendum ludos domini Regis ad festum Natalis domini celebratum apud Guldefordum anno Regis xxi in quo expendebantur 84 tunicae de bokeram diversorum colorum, 42 viseres diversorum similitudinum (14 similitudines facierum mulierum, 14 similitudines facierum hominum cum barbis, 14 similitudines capitum angelorum de argento), 28 crestes (14 crestes cum tibiis reversatis et calciatis, 14 crestes cum montibus et cuniculis⁶), 14 clocae depictae, 14 capita draconum, 14 tunicae albae, 14 capita pavonum cum alis, 14 tunicae depictae cum oculis pavonum, 14 capita cygnorum cum suis alis, 14 tunicae de tela linea depictae, 14 tunicae depictae cum stellis de auro et argento vapulatis⁷.

¹ *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. I, pp. 392-393.

² See Sir N. H. Nicolas, *Archæologia*, Vol. xxxii, and *History of the Orders of Chivalry*, 4 vols. (1842).

³ See the numerous prohibitions of tournaments in Rymer, *Fœdera, passim*.

⁴ Under *Burdice* in Du Cange: '...una pars in habitu monachali veniret, et altera pars in habitu canonicali'—*de Gestis Edwardi I*.

⁵ *The Mediæval Stage*, I, 392.

⁶ This item, which puzzled Warton (*op. cit.*, II, 220), refers to coats of arms which contain the not unfamiliar devices of legs reversed and shod, and mountains and conies.

⁷ *Archæologia*, xxxi, p. 37.

For the Christmas of 1348-1349 the following articles are provided :

Et ad faciendum ludos Regis ad festum Natalis domini anno Regis xxii celebratum apud Ottefordum, ubi expendebantur viseres, videlicet, 12 capita hominum et desuper tot capita leonum, 12 capita hominum et tot capita elephantum, 12 capita hominum cum alis vespertilionum, 12 capita de wodewose, 17 capita virginum, 14 supertunicae de worsted rubro...et totidem tunicae de worsted viridi¹.

For Epiphany, 1349, we have the following entry :

Et ad faciendum ludos Regis in festo Epiphaniae domini celebrato apud Mertonum ubi expendebantur 13 visers cum capitibus draconum et 13 visers cum capitibus hominum habentibus dyademata².

This concludes the entries referring to *ludi*. Those referring to *hastiludia* are more numerous—there are some twelve in all—but they are much more summary. However, in these entries are mentioned visors³, tunics⁴, and hoods⁵. These, especially the visors, play an important part in the *ludi*, and have been made much of by those who have contended for the dramatic character of these festivities. From the entries in the Wardrobe Accounts, they seem to be an important part of the equipment of the *hastiludia* as well.

In some of the entries concerning the *hastiludia*, some of the equipment is referred to in general terms as 'necessaries,' or 'divers articles⁶.' What these were we can see from another source⁷. The equipment of a knight consisted of (1) a tunic; (2) a sur-coat, or over-tunic; (3) a pair of ailettes, *i.e.* little wings at the shoulders; (4) a crest; (5) a shield; (6) a helmet of leather; (7) a sword of balon. In this list we have all the articles mentioned in the entries concerning the *ludi* at Guildford, Otford, and Merton.

4. Moreover, the groupings of the articles in the entries point to a tournament rather than to a dramatic spectacle. 'It is material to remember that the encounters at Tournaments and Jousts consisted of two parties, the challengers and the challenged,...each party being led by its own chief, and all wearing precisely the same dress and ornaments. Some peculiar object was selected as the predominant Symbol or Badge for each Joust, which was worn by all who tilted; and the members of each party were considered to belong to, and to form the Companions of, its leader⁸.'

The number in a party varied from about five to forty, twelve to twenty being the more usual number. The *ludus* at Guildford would

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxi, 43.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30, 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 26-29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xvii, pp. 299-304.

² *Archæologia*, xxxi, 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 40, 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xxxi, p. 113.

thus provide for eight parties of fourteen each; that at Otford for eight parties of twelve each (with the exception of the seventeen 'virgins' heads'); and that at Merton for two parties of thirteen each.

This interpretation of the *ludus* as a tournament gives a satisfactory explanation of the entry concerning the twenty-eight crests, in the Guildford *ludus*, which puzzled Warton and which has been passed over in silence by all his successors. They are simply insignia of two parties, just as the various visors (faces of women, faces of men, heads of angels) and heads (of dragons, of peacocks, of swans) are the insignia of six other parties. To the rather obvious objection that the costumes required by this interpretation of the entry are absurd, it is necessary only to refer to what the tournament had become by Sidney's day, when he fought as one of the Four Foster-Children of Desire.

5. A later piece of evidence, dating from about 1450, shows that the tournament had a feature which has been supposed to be peculiar to the masque in its later developments; namely, the unmasking and the dancing between the jousts and the ladies. A manual of the tournament thus gives the order of procedure:

And when the herawdes krye à lostell, à lostell [*i.e.*, to the lodging, or tiring-house] then shall all the six gentlemen within [*i.e.*, the six challengers, as contrasted with the six 'gentlemen without' who accept the challenge] unhelme them before the seide ladyes [*i.e.*, the 'ladies within,' the ladies of the 'gentlemen within'] and make their obeisance, and go home unto their logging & chaunge the... [Unfinished in MS.]

Then shall come the women without to the ladies within, and one shall present the prizes to the three gentlemen without who have joustet best...

Then shall he that the diamaunt is geve unto [*i.e.*, the first prize] take a lady by the hande and begynne the daunce. And whan thee ladyes have dauncid as long as them likith, than spyce wyne and drynk and than avoyde¹.

It seems not improbable that in the festivities of Edward III the ladies may have taken a part; as we see, for instance, that, at the *hastiludium* at Lichfield², two hundred and eighty-eight visors were provided for the women. The *ludi* were no doubt glorious spectacles, when judged by the taste of the time; but there seems to be no good reason for supposing that they were in any proper sense dramatic.

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¹ *Archæologia*, Vol. xvii, p. 294.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. xxxi, p. 29.

THE ALLITERATION OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN.'

AN EXAMINATION AND COMPARISON OF THE THREE TEXTS.

THE following examination has been conducted partly on the lines of Rosenthal's examination which appeared in *Anglia* I. It was impossible, however, to work from his tables, even so far as they went, because of his peculiar system of stress allotment and his refusal to recognise that the alliteration often falls on wholly unaccented syllables. The whole ground has therefore been examined afresh.

It is difficult to lay down fixed rules for such work; e.g., it would probably be doing injustice to the poet's intention if we considered that he had increased the normal number of rhyme letters every time an insignificant word happened to begin with the rhyme-letter in addition to the three regular stressed alliterating syllables. I have tried to be consistent in reckoning an extra rhyme-letter only when the word was one of some importance—noun, verb, etc.—or when it bore some amount of verse or sentence stress.

As regards the text, Skeat's two volume edition of 1886 has been used, but it seemed best to adhere as closely as possible to one MS. for each version. For A I have kept to the Vernon MS. as far as it goes, then the Trinity, and for Passus XII the Rawlinson. For B the Laud MS. has been used, and for C the Phillipps. These have never been departed from for the sake of improving the metre, but only when there was an evident scribal error and the sense demanded some other reading. This has necessitated the frequent restoration of readings given in Dr Skeat's footnotes, such restoration being far more frequent in A than in B or C.

Professor Manly has said that an examination of the alliteration would help to prove his theory of fivefold authorship, but the result of this investigation tends rather in the opposite direction. On the

whole, a steady development along various lines is evident and to make this clear the additional matter occurring in the C text, amounting to about 1340 lines, has been considered separately. The two parts of A (divided at the points where Professor Manly thinks he sees a change) viz., A. Prol. I—A. VIII. 134, and A. VIII. 135—A. XII. 56 are referred to as A_1 and A_2 ; C, omitting long new passages, as C_1 and the collected additional lines as C_2 .

The scheme of alliteration is the usual one of *aa.ax*, but in all three versions the poet has varied this rather freely, sometimes adding an extra rhyme-letter, sometimes omitting one, occasionally writing a line without any alliteration at all, and also indulging in lines which have two rhyme-letters: *aa.bb*; *ab.ab*; or *ab.ba*.

1. *Increase of number of rhyme-letters.*

(a) More than two rhyme-letters in the first half verse. This is the most frequent variation from the norm, and occurs in very even proportion in the two parts of A, in B and in C_1 and C_2 , since in all five it never falls below 8% of the lines and never reaches 9%. There is a gradual though slight increase, as will be seen by the following: A_1 8.04: A_2 8.58: B 8.73: C_1 8.63: C_2 8.92.

(b) More than one rhyme-letter in the second half verse. Here there is less agreement, the percentage varying from 6.58 to 5.28. It is to be noted, however, that the difference between A_1 and A_2 , 5.74% and 6.58% respectively, is less than the difference between C_1 and C_2 , the proportion in the latter case being 6.49 to 5.28.

2. *Decrease of number of rhyme-letters.*

(a) The first rhyme-letter missing (*xa.ax*). The proportion decreases regularly from 2.7% in A_1 to 1.86 in C_2 , except that A_2 gives the astonishing result of 5.44. One has to remember, however, that in A_2 we have to draw conclusions from a very small number of lines—735—the other sections being much larger. Differences almost as great appear between the first two Visions of A and between two sections of B: e.g. the part of B which corresponds with A has the rhyme of *h* and vowel in 2.88% of its lines, while the passage B. XIX and XX has 5.22%.

(b) The second rhyme-letter missing (*ax.ax*). Here we have a very regular decrease from 2.43% in A_1 to 1.35% in C_1 . C_2 has a slight rise to 1.56%.

(c) The third rhyme-letter missing (*aa.xx*). A more frequent variation, ranging from 4.52 to 2.48 %_. Like 2 (b) it gradually decreases, but rises somewhat in C₂.

3. *Lines containing two rhyme-letters.*

aa.bb. For such an unusual construction this variation is rather frequent. Beginning in A₁ at 2.09 %_ it decreases with perfect regularity throughout the second part of A and the B and C texts, descending in C₂ to 1.11 %_. Little importance can be attached to the variations *ab.ab* and *ab.ba*, as though they both occur in all three texts and in both parts of A, the number of cases in each is very small. Yet the latter order is, on the whole, very evenly distributed¹.

4. *h rhyming with a vowel.*

This increases steadily from 2.74 %_ in A₁ to 4.31 in C₂ except that there is a slight decrease in A₂.

5. *s rhyming with sh or sch.*

Here we have a perfectly regular decrease from 1.53 %_ to .14.

6. *The rhyming together of f and v.*

This is found throughout, increasing in the later texts, though never very frequent. Professor Skeat in his edition of text C (E. E. T. S., 1873) attached great importance to this peculiarity because of its extreme rarity in other alliterative poems, and regarded it as a connecting link between the three texts.

Rosenthal has also mentioned the rhyming of *w* with *v* in romance words. This is of so rare occurrence, there being only about eight cases in the whole of the three texts, that one can scarcely be quite certain that it is intentional. The rhyming of *f* with *w* is scarcely more frequent and it therefore offers no definite evidence.

7. *c(k) rhyming with ch.*

Whether any importance can be attached to this is doubtful. Of the eight or nine cases occurring in the first part of A, five are due to the spelling 'churche' which in B is usually represented by 'kirke.' In B words beginning with *k* are made to rhyme with 'churche' three times and with other words beginning with *ch* twice.

Out of twenty-five cases of this rhyme in C twenty-one depend

¹ There is some irregularity in the first of these and a little in the second, but less than that between the first two Visions of A and the two parts of B mentioned under 2 (a).

on the word 'churche,' which in nearly every case is found in many of the other MSS. as 'kirke.' The six cases in C_2 are all 'churche' cases¹.

As this is a matter which is likely to depend chiefly on the individual preference of the scribe, no inference can be drawn from the somewhat unequal distribution of this rhyme.

8. *The rhyming together of k(c) and g.*

This is found in all the five sections but is not frequent in any. It decreases somewhat irregularly.

9. *Lines without any rhyme-letter.*

This is a variation which increases steadily from 35% to 89% but it sinks a little in C_1 . It is worth while noting a new passage in C_2 , i. 95—124, in which no less than eight cases occur.

10. Another point which up till now has received little attention is that in all parts of the poem many lines occur which have the same rhyme-letters three times, but not in the order *aa.ax*. One of the most frequent of these is a line bearing three rhyme-letters in the first half verse and none in the second. It occurs fairly regularly throughout, never much above or below 1%. The forms *xa.aa* and *ax.aa* are less frequent but also occur throughout, the first increasing slightly and regularly except for A_2 , and the second decreasing slightly and regularly. The form *aa.xa*, noticed by Schipper, is met with oftener than the others, increasing regularly and very slightly from 1.55% in A_1 to 1.71% in C_2 , except that it sinks to 1.19 in B.

11. A liking for intricate alliteration displays itself in all three texts, especially in long lines bearing one or two secondary stresses. Forms like the following appear occasionally throughout, *aa.abb*, *aa.bab*, *aab.ab*, and *aab.abb*.

12. A more important consideration than any single one of the foregoing is the placing of the rhyme-letter on a syllable bearing weak or secondary stress². This is found most frequently in the second half line. A very common case is the placing of the third rhyme-letter on a preposition in the anacrusis, as:

And wikkede weyes · with here good amende,
And brygges tobroke · by the heye weyes. C. x. 31, 32.

¹ B and C use both 'kirke' and 'churche,' B preferring the former; C, if we limit ourselves to the Philipps MS., the latter. 'Kirke' does not, I believe, occur at all in A. B has 'kirke' or 'churche' as the alliteration needs *k* or *ch*: some of the C MSS. follow in this.

² That this occurs is acknowledged by Skeat and by Luick, though Rosenthal denies that alliteration can fall on weak stress syllables.

But the alliteration is sometimes made to fall on a conjunction or even a particle:

Folweden him faste ·for thei hedden to done. A. IV. 85.

Treuthe herde telle her-of ·and to Peres he sent. B. VII. 1.

At the beginning of the prologue in the A text this is by no means common, but it increases in frequency with remarkable steadiness throughout the whole of A, only pulling up a little now and then at the beginning of a Passus. The slackening of regard for the relation between alliteration and stress is continued in B in which also it increases, and so in C, until in the new parts of the latter this relation is sometimes quite obscured and one pauses to consider whether a line shall be held to be without alliteration, so inconspicuous are the rhyme-letters.

It will be seen from what has been said that there are no really striking differences in the alliteration of the various parts of the poem. Most variations from the norm are very evenly distributed or show a fairly regular increase or decrease in the successive versions, which would often be perfectly regular but for A₂. It has been shown that the differences between the two parts of A are no greater than may be found in other parts of the poem if we take passages equally short. It must also be remembered that not only does A consist of two separate works, the second written probably after an interval of a few years, but that the examination of this second work is founded on three different MSS.¹

In almost every case of inequality between A₁ and A₂ or of interruption of an otherwise regular development it will be found that P. XI, part of which is from the Trinity MS. and P. XII from the Rawlinson, show an undue proportion of the variation in question.

On the whole, the alliteration of the new lines in C is slightly, very slightly, more correct than in the first part of A. A glance at Rosenthal's tables would lead one to imagine that the difference was great, but it is to be remembered that while the poet revised and amended former incorrect lines, he wrote many new lines containing the old errors.

One important point remains to be noticed. While the C text is slightly more correct in furnishing the exact number of rhyme-letters in the regular order, these are more often than in A, and rather more

¹ An examination founded on Skeat's text shows much less variation between the two parts.

often than in B, placed on syllables bearing secondary or weak stress. The *senkung* is very often enlarged, so that there are more words in the line, which, once we grant that the alliteration need not always coincide with the chief stress, makes the task of finding suitable words much easier. As a result, the effect of this later work is not so decidedly alliterative as that of the earlier; the alliteration has now become almost as much a matter for the eye as for the ear.

It seems to me that this is exactly what one would expect from a man writing over and over again, as he advanced in years, a poem of this type. Never primarily concerned with form, it was most natural that, as the years went by and he grew graver and still more concerned with moral ideas, he should care less and less about metrical effect, though long habit and the continual presence of the poem in his mind and before his eyes would prevent technical matters being neglected to any very serious extent.

This examination appears to prove that the alliteration gives no support to Professor Manly's theory. The differences between the texts are never very striking, even if they stood alone and entirely unexplained, while the similarities are many, the gradual increases and decreases being especially striking and suggestive of the gradual development of a single artist. At least, I think, it will be admitted that the alliteration gives no conclusive evidence one way or the other; but so far as it goes, it seems to me to tend distinctly in favour of the old 'one-man' theory.

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ANTHONY MUNDAY, PAMPHLETEER AND PURSUIVANT.

I. THE SECOND AND THIRD BLAST.

MUNDAY's activity, like that of many men of similar calibre in modern Russia, seems to have been chiefly divided between journalism and espionage. In 1578 he visited Rome, ostensibly as a convert to Romanism, but really as a spy bent on penetrating the secrets of the English seminary where he was unsuspectingly received and kindly treated. Probably he was not yet in the service of Elizabeth's government, and Mr Seccombe suggests in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that the object of his visit to Rome was simply to get interesting 'copy' for his master John Allde, the stationer, to whom in October, 1576, he had been bound apprentice for eight years. Perhaps his experiences in Rome called the government's attention to his qualifications, for in 1582 he had become one of the regular agents for ferreting out popish plots and running priests to earth. Richard Topcliffe the head of this department described him to the queen's serjeant, John Puckering, as a man 'who wants no sort of wit'; but Munday's undoubted abilities were not counterbalanced by any weight of honesty, for we find him succumbing to the standing temptation of his profession—extortion by blackmail. This, however, did not impair his reputation with the authorities, for in 1584 he is spoken of as 'one of the messengers of her majestie's chamber,' and he seems from this time forward to have been regularly employed as a pursuivant, especially in all cases of recusancy and religious trouble.

Munday's pen was one of the busiest of the age, and his anti-papal work soon led to publication. The execution of Campion took place in December, 1581. On January 29, 1582, a tract appeared from Munday's hand entitled *A Discoverie of Edmund Campion...published by A. M. sometime the Popes Scholler, allowed in the seminarie at Roome amongst them.* Within a few weeks a reply appeared by one describing himself as 'a Catholike preist' under the title of *A true reporte of the death and martyrdome of M. Campion...* The interest of this tract is in the

aspersions it makes upon Munday's character. On sig. D 4^v appears 'A caueat to the reader touching A. M. his discouery,' a sentence of which runs as follows:—'Anthony Munday...who first was a stage player (no doubt a calling of some credit) [marginal note 'Northbroukes booke against plaiers'] after an aprentise which tyme he wel feined with deceauing of his master then wandring towards Italy, by his owne reporte became a coosener in his iourney. Comming to Rome, in his short abode there, was charitably relieued, but neuer admitted in the seminary as he pleseth to lye in the title of his booke, and being wery of well doing, returned home to his first vomite againe. I omite to declare howe this scholler new come out of Italy did play extempore, those gentlemen and others whiche were present, can best giue witnes of his dexterity, who being wery of his folly, hissed him from his stage. Then being thereby discouraged, he set forth a balet against playes, but yet (o constant youth) he now beginnes againe to ruffle upon the stage.' In a pamphlet, of which the address 'to the reader' is signed '22 March 1582,' Munday replied both to this defence of Campion and another which had appeared in French. On sig. Diij of his *Breefe Aunswer made unto two seditious Pamphlets* appears a section entitled 'An answere to his caueat concerning me and my Discouerie.' By way of rebutting the accusation quoted above, Munday prints an unsolicited testimonial to his behaviour from his late master John Alde and repeats his former statement that he had been received into the English seminary at Rome. But, and this is the striking point, he keeps a discreet silence concerning the extempore play, its unfortunate conclusion and the subsequent 'balet against plays.' We may therefore conclude that this part at least of 'a catholike preist's' indictment was substantially correct.

There are several points of interest in this indictment. First it may be noticed how ready the 'catholike' is to adopt the puritan's attitude towards the stage. He supports his sarcastic remark upon the dignity of the acting profession by a reference to Northbroke's *Treatise* against dicing, dancing, vain plays and interludes, and the reference shows how famous that book, published in 1577, had already become. Again, the phrase 'returned home to his first vomite againe' is curiously similar to a remark of Gosson's in his *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* (1582). After giving certain reasons which induced him to take up the pen for the second time against the stage Gosson says:—'Beside this, hauing once already writtē against playes, which no mā that euer wrote plaies, did, but one, who hath chāged his copy, and

turned himself like ye dog to his vomite to plays again. And being falsly accused my self to do ye like, it is needfull for me to write againe¹. The similarity of phrasing may be accidental, but I am convinced that Gosson and the 'catholike preist' are referring to the same man.

Gosson's first book against the stage, *The School of Abuse*, had been published in the autumn of 1579. Between this date and 1582, when *Playes Confuted* appeared, two attacks were made upon the stage, the first the famous *Second and third blast of retreat from plays and theatres* which was licensed on October 18, 1580, to Henry Denham, and the second,

A Ringing Retraite couragiously sounded
Wherein Plaies and Players are fytlye confounded,

licensed to Edward White on November 10 of the same year. The latter has not been preserved for us, but it was obviously a ballad, and it is generally assumed, with every show of probability, that the said ballad was identical with the 'balet against plays' referred to in the *True Reporte*. Certainly we know of no other ballad which would tally with the description, and it may be noticed that the licensee Edward White was the publisher of Munday's *Discoverie of Edmund Campion*. But Mr Fleay has gone a step further than this and attributed the pamphlet as well as the ballad to Anthony Munday². As this view has been called in question, in particular by Dr Thompson the most recent authority upon the puritans and the stage³, it is worth while considering for a moment the reasons for and against the theory.

First of all, we have the similarity between the title of the tract and that of the ballad. This suggests a common author but does nothing more, since a ballad writer would be quite likely to steal or adapt a title from a book that had recently appeared. We should rest our argument rather upon the words already quoted from Gosson. *The Second and Third Blast* was an important book. It was the first book that had been entirely devoted to attacking the theatre. It was obviously inspired by the civic authorities and even bore the arms of the corporation on its title-page. It would be impossible that Gosson, who followed the battle between player and puritan very closely, could have been ignorant of its existence. Now the author of the *Third Blast* (the *Second* was a translation from Salvian) expressly informs us that he had been 'a great affecter of that vaine Art of plaie making,'

¹ Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 212.

² *History of the Stage*, pp. 51, 52.

³ *Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage*, New York, 1903, pp. 68, 86—7.

to which the editor of the book adds the remark: 'Yea...as excellent an Autor of those vanities, as who was best¹.' When therefore Gosson tells us that besides himself no playwright had ever written against plays except one, we are forced to conclude that he is referring to the author of the *Third Blast*, and when he goes on to say that the man had afterwards gone back to work for the stage once more, we are inevitably reminded of the words of the *True Reporte*. Munday had not only acted but written plays, and the story of the 'extempore play' supplies a motive for a temporary disgust with the stage. The city was at this time setting on foot one of its great campaigns against the theatre, and would probably be ready to pay for a tract written on its side of the question. Everything in fact points to Munday as the author of the *Third Blast*, and provides ample reasons for his authorship. Finally, the similarity between the titles, taken together with Gosson's definite statement that only *one* person connected with the stage had written against it beside himself, indicate that the ballad and the tract were from the same pen.

The only argument against the theory is that Munday returned to the stage in 1580, and therefore could not have written the *Third Blast* at the end of that year. But this argument, if valid, would be equally telling against Munday's authorship of the ballad, which no one seems inclined to dispute. The objection seems to rest upon Munday's description of himself as 'a servant of the Earl of Oxford,' in *A Viewe of Sundry Examples*, printed in 1580. To this it may be replied first, that the year at that time was generally reckoned as ending not on the 31st December, but on the 25th March following, so that there would have been plenty of time for Munday to repent of his repentance and 'return to his vomit' before the year ran out; secondly, that 'servant of the Earl of Oxford' does not necessarily imply that Munday was a member of the Earl's acting company. The Earl of Oxford was very free with his patronage, and at this time attracted many young men into his service, and among them John Lyly, who was apparently engaged in secretarial work². It is in any case absurd to credit Munday with the ballad licensed November 10 and refuse to admit that he could have written the *Third Blast*, licensed October 18.

That a man like Munday should be pressed into the city's service to write against the stage is a curious commentary upon the general conduct of the puritan campaign.

¹ Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101.

² See the present writer's *John Lyly*, pp. 7, 28.

II. THE MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY.

That Munday had not in reality the slightest sympathy with the puritan cause is shown by the part that he played in the Marprelate controversy—a chapter in his career that has, I believe, hitherto passed unnoticed. The author of *An Almond for a Parrat* (spring, 1590), the last of the replies on the episcopal side to the Marprelate tracts, bids Martin ‘beware Anthony Munday be not euen with you for calling him Iudas, and lay open your false carding to the stage of all mens scorne¹.’ This may perhaps be read as a threat to renew the anti-Martinist plays which had been suppressed in the autumn of 1589, and it has been suggested that the threat was actually carried into effect in the form of *A Merry knack to know a knave*². The words of *An Almond* were, in any case, a reply to one of Martin’s flings in *The Reproof of Martin Junior* commonly known as *Martin Senior*. On sig. A 2^r of this Martin gives us ‘an oration of Iohn Canturburie to the pursuivants, when he directeth his warrants unto them to post after Martin.’ Anthony Munday is the first pursuivant to be addressed, and the following words are put into Whitgift’s mouth concerning him: ‘I thanke you Maister Munday, you are a good Gentleman of your worde. Ah thou Iudas, thou that hast alreadie betrayed the Papistes, I thinke meanest to betray vs also. Diddest thou not assure me, without all doubt, that thou wouldest bring mee in, Penry, Newman, Waldegrave, presse, letters, and all, before Saint Andrewes day last. And now thou seest we are as farre to seeke for them, as euer we were.’ From this it is obvious that Munday was still engaged as a pursuivant, and was one of the chief police agents set on to Martin’s track.

As it happens, we possess a little picture of Munday in the exercise of his profession. On December 6, 1588, one Giles Wiggington, who was suspected to have had a finger in the Marprelate pie, was summoned to Lambeth to answer for himself. The ‘archbishop’s pursuivant’ who ‘apprehended him at his lodgings, while he was in bed,’ was none other than our hero. They took a boat to Lambeth and on the way Munday, under pretence of desiring to be instructed, induced his prisoner to speak unguardedly of his opinions, and of what he knew concerning Martin, all of which was of course carefully reported to the archbishop when they reached Lambeth, although a strict promise of secrecy had been given to the simple-minded puritan minister³.

¹ McKerrow’s *Nashe*, III, p. 374, l. 22.

² Thompson, *Puritans and the Stage*, p. 200.

³ For Wiggington’s account of this episode see a volume of manuscripts entitled *A Second Part of a Register*, pp. 843—849 (Dr Williams’ Library).

Since Munday has thus been proved beyond all possibility of doubt to have been engaged in tracking the Marprelate press in its movements across the country, he may I think with every show of probability be supposed to have also taken part in the production of the anti-Martinist tracts. It would be strange indeed if a man of his literary reputation and ability had not written something upon a matter which must then have occupied so much of his thoughts, especially as the bishops were at this time ready to encourage, and probably to reward, those who took up the pen against their formidable antagonist. Munday, we may be almost certain, was one of the little group of anti-Martinist writers, and the only difficulty is to point to the pamphlets that came from his pen. In this Martin himself gives us a clue, somewhat vague it is true, but worth stating for all that. On page 25 of the *Protestation* the following sentence occurs, 'then among al the rimers and stage plaiers, which my Ll of the cleargy had suborded against me, I remember Mar-Martin, John a Cant. his hobbie-horse, was to his reproche, newly put out of the morris, take it how he will; with a flat discharge for euer shaking his shins about a maypole againe while he liued.' Martin is speaking of his tract *More Worke for the Cooper*, which had just been captured with the printers and press, and is drawing upon his memory for its various points and sallies. It is clear from his words that as a retort to the anti-Martinist plays he had written what he would perhaps have entitled 'a pageant of petty popes,' and that Mar-Martin had figured in this as giving some performance at which he was hissed off the stage. The word 'newly' is curious and cannot in this connection mean 'recently,' since Martin is not referring to any actual occurrence. We must therefore, I think, give it its other meaning of 'again,' or 'anew,' and suppose that Martin is hinting at some occasion in which Mar-Martin had really been disgraced upon the boards of a theatre. Such an incident would be the very thing that Martin would pounce upon and turn to his own ends. I suggest, therefore, that the incident in question is that referred to in *A True Reporte* and that Martin identified Mar-Martin with Anthony Munday. The epithet 'John a Cant. his hobbie-horse,' which is obviously suited to the archbishop's pursuivant, lends some additional support to the theory¹.

Assuming then the identification to have been intended and to have been correct, what did Munday write in support of the bishops against Martin? There are of course the rhymes which appeared in

¹ Martin had already, it will be remembered, referred to Munday's treachery against the Papists. It is not impossible therefore that he had read *A True Reporte*.

the spring of 1589 under the title of *Mar-Martine*, but I fancy that Martin's reference to the morris and the maypole point to the fact that 'Mar-Martin' had been also engaged in the anti-Martinist dramatic work which made its appearance on the London stage in the summer of 1589. The author of *Martins Months minde* tells us that Martin had been 'made a may game upon the stage,' and gives the Theater as the place of performance¹. Martin's words would lead us to conjecture that Munday either wrote this piece or took a prominent part in it as an actor. I am inclined to believe also that Munday had a hand in the prose anti-Martinist tracts that followed the dramatic attack. Mr McKerrow has made certain discoveries, which we hope to see set out in the fifth volume of his magnificent edition of *Nashe*, that make it highly improbable that Munday any more than Nashe could have been responsible for the tracts that passed under the name of Pasquil. Nashe certainly took some part in the controversy, for we have his own word for it. Perhaps he merely contributed to the dramatic replies, perhaps he was the author of the amusing *Martins Months minde*. This would leave by process of exhaustion *An Almond for a Parrat* for Munday, the very tract, be it noticed, which gives a resentful reply to Martin's reference to him as Judas. None of the other pamphlets show such a remarkable knowledge of the Marprelate business, and moreover the kind of knowledge it displays is just that which a pursuivant engaged in detective work would be likely to have gleaned. But what converts a possibility into a strong probability is the fact that the author of *An Almond* once distinctly speaks of himself as Mar-Martine: 'I giue thee but a bravado now, to let thee knowe I am thine enemie; but the next time you see *Mar-Martine* in armes bidde your sonnes and your familie prouide them to God-warde, for I am eagerly bent to reuenge, & not one of them shall escape, no, not T.C. himselfe as full as he is of his myracles².' This passage should be sufficient to convince anyone that *Mar-Martine* and *An Almond* are by the same hand, and it is hoped that the foregoing argument will be held sufficient to show that the hand in question was that of Anthony Munday. It only remains now to identify the personality of Pasquill and we shall be in a fair way towards clearing up the most teasing and obscure section of a teasing and obscure subject, the authorship of the anti-Martinist tracts in the Marprelate controversy.

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¹ Sig. E 3.² McKerrow, *Nashe*, p. 350, ll. 6—10.

AN ANGLO-FRENCH LIFE OF SAINT PAUL THE HERMIT.

IN one of his opening lectures at the Collège de France, the late Gaston Paris¹ classified the extra-national sources from which medieval French literature derived inspiration under four heads: classical antiquity, Christian legend, Celtic tradition and Indian stories, and showed how each class had enjoyed its period of popularity. For the last class he pointed out that a story, originating in India and under Buddhist influence, may be traced through Persian, Syrian, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin before arriving at French and that the reason for the popularity of these stories lay in the excellence of their moral teaching. In an excellent paper on *The Hermit and the Saint*, Mr Gordon Hall Gerould² shows the difficulty of tracing these Oriental stories but adds: 'In cases where the story was adopted by the Christian Church at an early date for the moral or religious instruction of its adherents, there is perhaps less difficulty than elsewhere in believing that it was actually transplanted from the East, since the lives of the hermits of the desert, those reservoirs of Christian example, were strongly tinged by Oriental thought. This latter kind of narrative,' that of *The Hermit and the Saint*, 'is well illustrated by the tale of the hermit who, after years of austere living, discovers that another man, though surrounded by wealth and clothed with temporal authority, has become his equal or superior in righteousness. The discomfiture of the good man when he learns that the essential character of holiness lies rather in humility and simplicity of heart than in outward show of piety gives the story point. Though obscured in some of the versions, it bears evidence that asceticism, even when it fell upon degenerate

¹ Dec. 1874. Reprinted in *La poésie du moyen-âge*, 2^e série, p. 75 seq.

² *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. xx, No. 3, p. 529 seq.

days, sometimes remembered the meaning of true piety. The narrative thus furnishes a refreshing contrast to the multitude of tales in which morbid laceration of spirit and flesh are commended at the expense of more useful virtues.'

No less than five of this kind of story are to be found in the *Vite Patrum* attached to the lives of as many hermit saints of the desert: (1) Paul the Hermit, a version of which is the subject of this paper.; (2) St Macarius, introduced by William of Waddington into his *Manuel des Pechiez* and published with Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (E. E. T. S., 119); (3) St Paphnutius, an Anglo-French version of which, edited by the writer of this paper, is to appear in *Romania* for July, 1909; (4) Pyoterius, and (5) Eucharius, which do not seem to have found their way into French literature¹. The story of Paul and Anthony does not seem to have the same point as the other stories since the piety of the hermits is of the same kind. It is only St Anthony who would appear to have grown proud of his own goodness (see below, l. 152) and to have been sent to find his superior in piety.

There was apparently in the Early Church some controversy about the question who was the first hermit, some declaring for Paul and some for Anthony; the legend as it stands in Migne (XXIII, col. 17 ff.) declares: *Paulum...principem istius rei non nominis* and states that the story of Anthony was much more widely known. In the *Legenda aurea*, Jacobus a Voragine follows Saint Jerome (*Paulus primus eremita ut testatur Hieronymus qui ejus vitam conscripsit*) who is in turn followed by the French prose version in the British Museum MS. 17275 Add. (fo. 204 vo. b) while the account in Migne is closely followed in the three following MSS.: (1) Paris, Bibl. nat. 412 (fo. 197 vo. b), (2) Cheltenham, Philipps 3660 (fo. 212 vo. b), (3) British Mus. Royal 20 D. VI (fo. 196 vo. a)².

¹ A somewhat analogous case is furnished by the life of Saint Mary of Egypt whose story was apparently interwoven with that of Saint Zozimas to prove that the life-long asceticism of a monk could be surpassed by the abnegation of a woman.

² How closely these two groups are followed by the French prose may be seen by comparing them with the original Latin:

Legenda aurea.

Paulus primus eremita, ut testatur Hieronymus, qui ejus vitam conscripsit, fervente Decii persecutione eremum vastissimum addit ibique in quadam spelunca lx annis hominibus incognitus permansit.

Brit. Mus. 17275 Add.

Saint Pol le premier hermite alsì com tesmoingne Saint Jheroisme qui escrit sa vie, s'en ala en .l. desert gaste, a cel temps que Decius Cesar emperere de Romme vivoit et destruisoit les crestiens. Illuec demora S. Pol lx ans que il ne vit home ne fame.

The rîmed version here given has, however, no controversial intention; it is purely didactic and belongs to the vast mass of Anglo-French moral literature of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (cf. Schofield, *English Literature from the Conquest to Chaucer*, ch. II and III, and appendices). Fortunately its author names himself at the end of his poem for the reason that has so often preserved a work from anonymity, that he might obtain credit in another life. He is doubtless that 'Boioun' whose *Contes moralisés* have been accorded an edition such as they deserve in the publications of the Société des anciens textes français. Mention is there (p. xlvii) made of nine verse lives of holy women ascribed to him, contained in MS. Cotton, Domitian XI. The following life of Paul the Hermit together with that of St Panuce bring the total up to eleven. In a previous note in this review (III, p. 374) I described briefly the MS. (Welbeck ICI) which contains these lives and in my article in the *Romania* a full account has been given; besides the two already mentioned, this MS. has a life of St Elisabeth of Hungary (also in the Cotton MS.) due also to the pen of Bozon as the learned editor of the edition of the *Contes* prefers to call him. Our author had doubtless access to a MS. of the works of Saint Jerome (referred to in the notes as H.) for he mentions him in line 285 and follows him fairly closely. In some cases however he would seem to prefer the shorter rendering of the *Legenda aurea* (quoted in the notes as L.a.). The former on account of his very digressions would be dear to the heart of Bozon.

As to the text here presented, it seems fitting to point out that faulty lines have been emended as far as possible. There is no doubt that Anglo-French authors meant to write correct lines and also that they were conscious of their imperfections; an insular pronunciation had, however, developed and it is to this that must be ascribed the majority of the divergences from the French of the continent. Further

Migne, xxiii, col. 17.

Inter multos sæpe dubitatum est a quo potissimum monachorum eremus habitari cæpta sit. Quidam enim altius repetentes, a beato Elia et Joanne sumpserunt principium; quorum et Elias plus nobis videtur fuisse, quam monachus: et Johannes ante prophetas cæpisse quam natus sit. Alii autem, in quam opinionem vulgus omne consentit, asserunt Antonium hujus propositi caput, quod ex parte verum est: non enim tam ipse ante omnes fuit, quam ab eo omnium incitata sunt studia.

Brit. Mus. Royal 20 D. vi.

Assez de genz ount sovent doute qui fu li premiers hermites qui premierement habita es forez. Car li aucun dient que Seinz Helyes e Seinz Johans furent chief e commencement de tel maniere d'ordre. De cez ij nos semble il que Seinz Helyes fu plus que hermites e Seinz Johanz profetiza ençois qu'il fust nez. Li autre tesmoignent que Seinz Antiones fu chief de tel maniere d'ordre et a cels se consent toz li peuples e ce est voirs en une maniere. Il ne fu pas del tot li premiers qui entra es deserz mes il dona premierement essample au monde. (fp. 195 vo. a.)

the scribe often endeavoured to take his share of the credit by rendering a verse more comprehensible to the frequent detriment of the scansion¹. Cases where it is necessary now to count and now to omit the 'e muet' in order to secure the correct number of syllables in a line have not been pointed out in the notes.

LA VIE DE SEINT PAUL LE HERMITE.

- Le primer hermite ke ay trovée,
 Seint Paul le hermite est nomée;
 il fut en tens le emperoür
 4 Decius, un tourmentoür,
 ki tourmenta les cristïens,
 diversement, diverses genz.
 a cele houre deus juvenceus,
 8 deus crestïens, bons e le[e]us,
 furent pris e aresounée,
 si *vuelent* guerpïr (la) crestientée.
 nay, *fïrent* il, avaunt la mort
 12 nus ellïsou n ke fere teu tort.
 fors pristrent l'un e l'unt lyé
 a une ostache e flaelée,
 taunt ke il fut ensaunglauntée,
 16 pus soun cors de mel unt frotée.
 le solail ardaunt soun cors ard;
 les mousches le assailent de tote part,
 quele peyne il souffry lors,
 20 nul ne le sout for [le] soun cors.

10 MS. *voleyent*; 10 *crestientée* is generally of 4 sylls.

11 MS. *fount*.

1—4 The beginning seems rather to be suggested by the *Legenda aurea* (Ed. Graesse, 1850) *fervente Decii persecutione*, while the order is rather that of Hieronymus (Migne, xxiii, col. 19). 5—24 H. *Perseverantem in fide martyrem, et inter eculeos laminasque victorem jussit melle perungi, et sub ardentissimo sole, religatis manibus post tergum, reponi, scilicet ut muscarum aculeis cederet, qui ignitas sartagine ante superasset.*

¹ Of the various verse versions of the life of Saint Mary of Egypt, no less than six complete MSS. are extant of one of them and in each case the scribe has added an ending of his own.

- pur tote la peyne ne poyent mye,
 fere le graunter renerie;
 ben vesquit [il] e ben morut,
 24 hore ly turne tut a dedut.
 soun cunpaynoun ausi le[e]us,
 ausi estable mes plus beus,
 de assez plus ad il souffert,
 28 diverses paynes saunz desert,
 e par arsoun e par [grant] freyt;
 mes par tut [ceo] mestre esteit.
 kaunt Sathan perd(y) par la sa preye,
 32 yl le assailli par autre veye.
 en un verger delicious,
 il le unt amenee par desouz
 les arbres fuyllez e floriez,
 36 hou oyseus fount lur melodiez,
 hou se espanit le douz odour
 de rose e liz e autre flour,
 hou les riveres encountreyent
 40 ke le verger envirouneyent,
 partut enclos de beu treleys,
 e ben frettee de beu foylliz,
 la fesyent fere un lit,
 44 ben covert de [un] beu samyt;
 e unt cogee ly juvenceous,
 en [i]ceo lyt ke fu si beus,
 [e] meynz e piz ly unt lyée
 48 de laz de seye ben afforcée;
 e pus s'en sount [tres]touz allée,
 e meyntenant [s'est] reveé[e],
 femme en beaute graciouse,
 52 mes en malice venimouse;

31 the line might perhaps be better emended by omitting *par*. 50 The verb *reveer* is apparently rare; Godefroy only quotes one example of the reflexive use and that quite late (s.v. *revolier*).

21 The death of this first martyr is only suggested in the *cederet* and is not mentioned in L.a. 33 H. *in amœnissimos hortulos*. 38 H. *inter lilia candentia et rubentes rosas, cum leni juxta murmure aquarum serperet rivus*. 44 H. *super exstructum plumis lectum*. 48 H. *blandis sertorum nexibus*. 50 H. *Quo cum, recedentibus cunctis, meretrix speciosa venisset*. The picture is touched up to suit his age.

la bele mauveyse le beysa,
 e vileynement le manya,
 des braz souvent le embraza
 56 e mout *vilement* le tempta.
 yl senty sa char eschauffer,
 e il ne se pout deliverer;
 sa launge demeyne ad coupée
 60 de ses denz e [l'ad] escoupée
 en my la face [la] vileyne,
 ki [la] ly feseit taunt de peyne;
 ele vit sa bountee taunt parfite,
 64 fors s'en ala [tote] desconfite;
 e par dolour de la [soue] launge,
 sa temptaciun devynt estraunge;
 en cele bataille demora mestre,
 68 pur joye durable hou voleyt estre;
 par mort passa a cele vie,
 hou *tout* est joye e melodie.
 Seint Pol ke tut veu aveit
 72 ke de *ceus* amiz dounk esteyt,
 tere e mesoun e heritage,
 tut guerpit il e soun lingeage;
 e [il] se myt en un desert,
 76 hou nul homme [ne] se aherd;
 la se quisit hou poût meyndre,
 hou autre ne quidout ke put ateyndre:
 en une roche prive[e]ment,
 80 ke tut enviroune espessement
 bronce, espines mout poynaunz;
 e la demora sessaunte aunz;
 unk(e) de lu remuher ne vout,

56 MS. *forment*.70 MS. *hou joye est touz jours e melodie*.72 MS. *cesse*.

57 H. *Quem tormenta non vicerant, superabat voluptas.* 59 H. *Tandem celitus inspiratus, precisam mordicus linguam in osculantis se faciem erripuit.* 71 Both Bozon and L.a. omit Paul's retreat to a lonely farm and the dreaded treachery of the brother-in-law, who desired Paul's property (*sororis maritus cepit prodere velle quem celare debuerat*). L.a. has briefly *Horum et altorum pœnis sanctus Paulus territus eremum petiit*. 79 Hieronymous' long digression on the nature of the cave—a disused coiner's den of the time of Cleopatra and Antony—is omitted. 82 Cf. L.a. passage quoted p. 492, note. H. *cum jam centum tredecim annos beatus Paulus vitam celestem ageret in terris.*

- 84 ne unkes homme de ly ne sout:
 taunt ke advynt ke Seint Antoyne
 ke *esteit* un tres noble moynne,
 resceüt en avisiün,
 88 ke il alat ver un teus houn.
 Seynt Antoyne se myt avaunt,
 ne sout queu part [ne] taunt ne kaunt;
 mes grace le amena por *son* desert,
 92 le dreyt chemyn a ceu desert.
 kaunt est entre en la guastine,
 se meit la undreit hou Deu destyné.
 une beste [par] trop hidouse,
 96 l'ad encountre si merveillouse,
 ke homme e cheval sount enclos
 en la figure de un soul cors;
 pur cele vue sauvagine,
 100 yl fit la croiz en sa poitrine;
 avaunt se myt [mout] baudement,
 en Deu se affia (mout) leiment;
 pus encountra une autre beste,
 104 ke par devaunt out meyns e teste
 en fourme de homme apparisaunt,
 mes par derere out semblaunt
 de chevre, en quyse, en nage, en pée;
 108 assez esteit il deguysée.
 yl tendy Antoyne l'une mayn,
 de frut de paume tote pleyn,
 de l'autre meyn [il] ly mercheyt,
 112 cele part hou l'ermite maneyt.
 ky estes vos? dit [Seint] Antoyne.
 yl respondi au noble moynne:
 jeo su, dit il, un deu du boys,
 116 nut e jour par icy [jeo] voys,

86 MS. *fut*. 91 MS. *sa*. 107 *quyse* does not seem to be found in the dictionaries; it would seem to be *cuisse*; *nage* (= *fesse*).

87 H. *hæc in mentem ejus cogitatio incidit, nullum ultra se perfectum monachum in eremo consedissee*. L.a. *Eo tempore cum Antonius primum se inter monachos eremicolam cogitaret*. 97 H. and L.a. *hominem equo mixtum*. 104 H. *haud grandem homunculum videt, aduncis naribus, fronte cornibus asperata, cujus extrema pars corporis in caprarum pedes desinebat*. 110 H. *palmarum fructus...offerebat*.

- jeo su mortel, de mort mourray,
 le comun Deu priez pur mey.
 pus [il] encountra un grant lou,
 120 unke mes ne out un tel(e) v[e]u;
 le lou fit seingne de la couhe,
 ke ly seint homme fu ben venue;
 touz jours [il] ala devaunt ly.
 124 e seint Antoyne le suhi;
 pensa de Deu ke le out cher,
 (le) lou envea pur l'amener.
 kaunt aprocherent a tel lu
 128 ke Seint Pol [i] out ell[e]ü,
 de nule part ne ad trovée,
 veye ne sent ke fut usée.
 le lou le ameyne par my la bronce,
 132 hou il passa par mainte rounce;
 a graunt peyne illuke vint,
 ne hoseit entrer, dehors se tynt.
 le lou a Seint Pol i entra,
 136 e Antoyne dehors demora;
 par le lou apparceüt tot,
 ke estraungerie ly fu desc[l]ost
 tot meyntement soun hus [il] clot
 140 e clos se tynt, ne dit nul mot.
 Seint Antoyne [resta] par de hors;
 a tere chey e dit lors:
 beu douz pere, taunt [seyez] benyngne,
 144 mes ke jeo ne seye pas digne
 de veer la face aungeline,
 sa graunt bountee ver mey encline;

138 MS. *descost*: this would seem to be an incorrect past participle, cf. l. 97.

117 H. *Mortalis ego sum et unus ex accolis eremi, quos vario delusa errore Gentilitas, Faunos, Satyrosque vocans colit. Legatione fungor gregis mei. Precamur ut pro nobis communem Dominum depreceturis....* 121 L.a. has simply: *Postremo obriavit ei lupus, qui eum ad cellam sancti Pauli perduxit.* H. remarks that the wolf entered the cave to quench its thirst and that Antony followed it. Neither author mentions the sign of the tail but it is a touch worthy of a writer who used beast stories to such an extent in his *Contes* (v. op. cit. p. 64 et freq. al.). 134—9 Both H. and L.a. state that St Paul barred the door: *Paulus ostium sera clausit.* H. *Paulus ostium quod patebat occludens sera obfirmavit.* 145 H. *Scio me non mereri conspectum tuum.*

- ne souffrez pas ke jeo ne eye
 148 mon desir e ke [jeo] vos veye :
 avaunt ke venise a vos cy,
 Deu me moustra la sue mercy
 en [un] apert avisioun,
 152 e vostre vie e vostre noun.
 ky estes vos ke la parlez ?
 ja sessaunte aunz en sount passez
 ke jeo oyse nul parler,
 156 si aunge(l) ne fut hou seint du ciel.
 jeo su Antoyne, ceo dit il,
 un cheytif moyne ke en peril,
 su venu cy pur visiter,
 160 vostre persone ke Deu ad cher.
 Seint Pol dounke li leit entrer,
 se entrebeysent de douz quer :
 lors se assistrent e parlerent
 164 de douce matere ke la trestherent.
 [e] Seint Pol pus li demaunda
 de gent de secle coment va,
 sount il uncore demorez
 168 hou li secle est ja passez ?
 e il respond(i) la crestienté
 commence a crestre, beneyt se Dé(e).
 a ceo ke sistrent en parlaunt,
 172 vint un oysel ke fu ben graunt,
 ki port[eit] un payn tut enter,

155—6 This instance of assonance would not be as striking a fault as it would be on the continent; the value of *r* cannot have been very distinct; cf. the rimes, 97, 8. 170 The form *se*=(*seït*) may perhaps be kept in a formula like this, but the reduction *ei* > *e* is rare in Agn. though some instances are found in Domesday Book.

157 H. *Quo (ingressu) aperto dum in mutuos miscentur amplexus, propriis se salutare nominibus.* 165 *Narra mihi, queso, quomodo se habeat humanum genus.*
 A similar human touch is to be found in a life of St Mary of Egypt:

*Dic, quomodo nunc agitur cum gente
 Christiana? quid Reges agunt? quomodo
 gubernatur Ecclesia?*

A.A.S.S. 1 April, p. 79.

*mult li comence a demander,
 e molt sovent a enterver,
 des reis, des contes de le tere,
 se il ont pais ou il ont guerre,
 e des pastours qui le loi tienent
 confaïtement il se continient.*

MS. Paris, B.N. 23112.

entre eus deus le lut cheer.
 lors dit Saint Pol a Saint Antoyne;
 176 checoun jour a heure de noune,
 Deu me ad done sessaunte aunz
 par un oysel ma soystenance,
 un demy payn [a] checun jour,
 180 mes pur nos huy [a] iceo jour
 nous est venu un payn enteer
 par nostre courteys despenseer.
 hore en pernez, dit Saint Pol;
 184 nay, dit l'autre, jeo serrey fol,
 si jeo meyse avaunt la meyn
 avaunt ke husez pris du payn.
 [mes] pus apres un long atent,
 188 [y] mistrent meyn par un assent,
 l'un e l'autre a iceo payn,
 si ke nul ne fut le dereyn.
 kaunt unt mangé, del ewe burent,
 192 autre hanap ke meyns ne hurent;
 e mercient lur creatur,
 ke lur fit [un] si graunt honour.
 dounk dit Pol jeo ay (mout) désirée,
 196 de cheytif cors estre allegée;
 ke jeo puse par taunt venir,
 a moun seynour ke taunt desir;
 hor(e) say jeo ben ke tens aproche,
 200 ke ly alme du cors se alloche;
 par taunt ke estes venu icy,
 par vos serray ensevely.
 e Saint Antoyne respoundy
 204 ne vuylle Deu ke fut issy.
 hou vos touz jours ci demouray,
 e de vos servir prest serray.

177—8, the rime would seem interesting for the pronunciation. 200 I know no example of *allochier* in Old Fr. but *eslochier* is very common in senses analogous to this: perhaps the line should be emended *s'esloche*; Bozon may possibly have written *asloche*, the change *e* > *a* is not uncommon in Agn.

184 ff. H. *Hic vero quis frangeret panem oborta contentio, pene diem in vesperum duxit. Paulus more cogebat hospitii, Antonius jure refellebat atatis. Tandem consilium fuit, ut apprehenso e regione pane, dum ad se quisque nititur, pars sua remaneret in manibus.* 192 *Dehinc paululum aque in fonte prono ore libaverunt.*

- nay, dit l'autre, mouz de genz
 208 serrount apres par vostre presens;
 voirs ne devez pas desirer,
 taunt sowl vous meesmes sauver,
 mes autry salu (de) procurer,
 212 par ensaumple e par precher;
 coment serrey(en)t la gent sauvée,
 si ne fusent ben enfourmée:
 hore alez tot, jeo vous [en] pri,
 216 si me aportez le mauntel (i)cy,
 ke l'arceveske Attanasy
 vous ad donee, vostre amy;
 si tot cum vous retournerez,
 220 prest de ensevelir me troverez.
 Seint Antoyne se enmervuillout,
 coment Seint Pol du mauntel sout;
 ver mesoun se myt bon e bel,
 224 ho ly reporta le mauntel.
 kaunt une journey fu de lu
 hou Seint Pol esteit, [le] soun dru,
 regard amount au firmament,
 228 e veyt mounter igneement,
 une trebele compaignie
 des aungeles, en ky bayllie,
 l'alme Seint Pol fu bayllée
 232 ke passa (le) solayl(le) en clartée.
 lors Antoyne se hasta mout,
 pur saver [moun] si Pol mort fut,
 trova le cors ho joyntes meyns,

207 line too short; 208 line too long. I read 'many people will be (saved) by your being in the world' (not hidden in a cave). 217 A blank had been left by the scribe before *veske*, the reference is to the gift of a *pallium* by Athanasius to Anthony. 220 Read *troverez* as two sylls. 234 The expression *saver moun* occurs in the same author's *Vie de Saint Panuce*: cf. Molière, *Ça mon* (*Bourg. gent.* III. iii).

209 H. *Non debes, inquit (Paulus), querere quæ tua sunt sed quæ aliena.*
 217 H. *Quamobrem, queso, perge, nisi molestum est: et pallium quod tibi Athanasius episcopus dedit, ad obvolvendum corpusculum meum, defer.* 221 H. *Stupefactus ergo Antonius, quod de Athanasio et pallio ejus audierat.* 225 H. *Cumque jam dies alia illuxisset, et trium horarum spatio iter remaneret, vidit inter angelorum catervas, inter prophetarum et apostolorum choros, niveo candore Paulum fulgentem in sublime conscendere.*

- 236 seaunt a genuz par dedeysn;
 (il) quidout ke fut en oreysoun,
 par seingne de graunt devociun,
 meuz apparut [plus] vif que mort,
 240 dount il resceit graunt counfort;
 pus apres kaunt [il] ad v[e]u
 ke le corps ne se est m[e]u;
 il sout dont ben ke il fu mort,
 244 lors out double descounfort
 ke il ne hut parle avaunt ho ly

 dount il poit ensevelir.
 248 si dolent fut ne sout ke dir.
 a ceo s'en venent deuz lyouns,
 dount prime out poir ly seint houns,
 taunt ke vit ke [il] se cogèrent
 252 aupres du cors e weymenterent
 la mort le seint en lur nature;
 (e) pus s'en levent e (fount) ouverture,
 de la pouhe [fount] en la tere;
 256 si ben cum *estovereit* fere,
 assez lOUNg e assez parfount,
 e pus apres cogez s'en sount
 devaunt (Seint) Antoyne e por guerdon
 260 quer(er)ent par seingne la beneyson;
 lors Seint Antoyne a Deu dit:
 beu douz syre, Jhesu Crist,

246 The scribe in omitting this line has committed the error known as *homoioteleuton*; the line doubtless ended also with the words *ho ly* and corresponded to the Latin *Contristabatur Antonius quod sarculum quo terram foderet, non haberet*.
 254 The *fount* of this line belongs to the line following. 256 The MS. has *escoverent* or *estoverent*: I take it that the scribe has written *n* for *i* (one bar too many). 262 Line of only 7 sylls.

239 H. *Ac primum et ipse vivere eum credens pariter orabat.* 248 Another instance where a wild beast helps to bury a saint is to be found in the before-mentioned life of Saint Mary of Egypt. Here one lion digs the grave in which Mary is placed by Zozimas and the lion. 250 H. *Et illi (sc. leones) quidem directo cursu ad cadaver beati senis substituerunt, adulantibusque caudis circa ejus pedes accubere: fremitu ingenti rugientes, eos plangere, quo modo poterant. Deinde haud procul ceperunt humum pedibus scalpere; arenamque certatim egerentes, unius hominis capacem locum foderunt. Ac statim quasi mercedem pro opere postulantes, cum motu aurium, cervice dejecta, ad Antonium perrexerunt manus ejus pedesque lingentes. At ille animadvertit benedictionem eos a se precari.*

- saunz ke *seü*, cheer a tere
 264 la fuylle de arbre ne ne pout fere;
 vous savez ben ke jeo oy affere,
 de eyde pur cety metre en tere;
 a cestes bestes ke me unt eydée,
 268 jeo vous pri ke seit allouhée.
 les lyouns s'en vount peysiblement;
 le seint du seint le cors i prent,
 le mit en tere e le covery,
 272 e sa cote prit [il] ver ly;
 autre tresor ne [i] trova
 for la cote ke Saint Pol usa;
 ne hot ne pael ne poscenet,
 276 ne toylle ne nape ne cotelet,
 ne chaloun ne lyncel (ne poyns) desure,
 pur sessaunte aunz ke fit la demure:
 la dure roche esteit soun lit,
 280 de herbe e mouse se coverit;
 autre payn ja mes ne goustá,
 fors ceo ke l'oyssel aporta;
 dount Saint Antoyne ren ne trova,
 284 fors la cote ke il usa;
 de cele cote Saint Jerome dit,
 ke en latin sa vie descrit:
 meuz vödrey, dit il, en atres

263 The emendation seems hazardous since the MS. has *fu*: *saunz ke* should be followed by a finite verb, but the author may have mixed the two constructions *saunz ke sachez* and *saunz vostre seu*. 275 The word here given might possibly be a variant of *poçonet*, a measure; but since all the other words are names of textile goods, I am inclined to take as *poncelet*: a stuff which might have been woven at one of the many French towns of the same or similar names (cf. Arras) and named after it: or since *poncel* = *pavot* (poppy) it might be a name given to a stuff from the colour of the dye (cf. *cramoisi*), or perhaps the word is *poinçonnet*, embroidered work. 277 *chaloun*: Godefroy gives no example of this word but says that it is a stuff formerly manufactured at Châlons-sur-Marne. *poyns*: I take as *pane* in *counterpane* formerly *counterpoint*, and *desure* in the sense of *on him, to cover him*, but a reading *de Sure*, = of Syria seems possible. 287 I take *en atres* in the sense of 'belongings.'

263—8. H. *Domine, sine cujus nutu nec folium arboris defluit, nec unus passerum ad terram cadit, da illis* (sc. bestiis) *sicut tu scis*. 274—8 The author has allowed his fancy to run away with him: mention is only made of course of the *cote* = *tunica* in H. 285 H. *Obsecro, quicumque hæc legis, ut Hieronymi peccatoris memineris cui si Dominus optionem daret, multo magis eligeret tunicam Pauli cum meritis ejus quam regum purpuras cum pænis suis*.

- 288 la cote Paul ho ses benfez,
 ke touz les reumes ke reys tenent
 e touz les tresors ke a ceus partenent:
 e si fut ele mout estraunge,
 292 de menuz paumes saunz lange hou lange,
 mes k'aunke la cote valut meyns,
 en value passa ke fut dedeyns:
 mes ceo est la fin e la soume,
 296 vie de aungel out cel homne.
 e jeo pri Deu pur sa bountée
 ke mercy eit de humeyne lyngnée,
 de frere Boioun ne eit pas dedeyn,
 300 de cele vie ke est loynteyn. Amen.

292 H. (*tunicam*) *quam in sportarum modum de palmæ foliis ipsi sibi contexuerat.*

A. T. BAKER.

SHEFFIELD.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

SOME EARLY MIDDLE-ENGLISH SPELLINGS.

THERE are two remarkable pieces of twelfth century English forming the respective conclusions of two manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, which exhibit extraordinary phonetic and orthographic features. These are most of them to be paralleled in other early Middle English documents, but the passages that I refer to present such a chaos of grammatical forms as is only to be found in specimens of a like character with the *Paternoster*, which I commented upon in the October number of the *Modern Language Review* for 1907. Professor Skeat has noted (see *Influence of Anglo-French Pronunciation upon Modern English*, 1901, p. 27) what he regards as Anglo-Norman scribal characteristics in the Laud MS. of the *Chronicle*, but he has not, as far as I am aware, called attention to the passages I will proceed to discuss.

The first of these occurs at the end of MS. C (= Cott. Tib. B. i) of the *Chronicle* and is a twelfth century addition to the annal for 1066. It runs:

[Þa Normen] flugon þa Englisca. Ða wes þer an of Norwegan þe wiðstod þet Englisce folc, þet hi ne micte. þa brigge ofterstigan, ne sige gerechen. Ða seite an Englisce mid anre flame. ac hit nactes ne wiðstod. and þa com an oþer under þere brigge. end hine þurustang en under þere brunie. þa com Harold Engla chinge ofer þere brigge, & hys furde forð mid hine, & þere michel wel geslogon. ge Norweis ge Flæming, & þes cyninges sunu Hetmundus let Harold faran ham to Norweie mid alle þa scipe.

While this extract contains several features that link it with other documents of similar age, such as the forms *wes*, *þet*, *brigge*, *and*, *michel*, *gerechen*, it has peculiarities of spelling and of inflexion which would satisfy the hypothesis that the writer's native tongue was not English. Such are the confusion in the notation of guttural and palatal consonants, in *micte*, *nactes* for *mih-ton*, *nahtes*; *chinge* by the side of *cyninges*; the erroneous final *e* in *seite* (= O. E. *scēat* 'shot'); *þere* for *þær*; *chinge*

used for the nominative; the collapse of inflexions seen in *Norweis* by the side of *Norwegan*; *micte* for *mih-ton*; *mid alle þá scípe* for *mid eallum þām scipum*. For *s = sc* in *seite*, cf. *soten* in Layamon (later text) 1876.

Two early occurrences of words are supplied by the forms *brunie* and *en under*. The former is not recorded before 1175 (Cotton Homilies), though *healsbrynige* occurs amongst the early twelfth century glosses on Aldhelm (ed. Napier, p. 147, line 418). In the present instance the direct source may well be the Old French *brunie* rather than the Icelandic *brynja*. The latter, *en under*, is pretty certainly intended for the preposition *anunder*, which has hitherto been exemplified only from the thirteenth century.

The second passage for consideration forms the concluding paragraph of MS. D (= Cott. Tib. B. iv) of the *Chronicle*; it is the annal for the year 1130, but is misdated MLXXX (for MCXXX), and records the failure of the rebellion of Angus, Earl of Moray. (See Mr Plummer's edition of Earle's *Saxon Chronicles*, vol. II, p. xxxii.) It is as follows:

Hér werþ Anagus ofsleien frám Scotta éere. & þer werþ micel weell ofsleigen. mid him. þer wes codes riþt gesochen on him for þet he wes all for swóorn.

We observe here certain features noticed in the *Paternoster* referred to above: the omission of *h* in *éere* for *here*; *riþt* for *ih* in *riþt*; *c (= k)* for *g* in *codes* for *Godes* (cf. *kult* for *gulte* in the *Paternoster*). We have also the interpolated vowel between a liquid and another consonant in *Anagus*, which may be paralleled by *ileke* for *ilke* (*Old English Miscellany*, p. 28), *arum* for *arm* (*Havelok*, 1982). Other noteworthy points are the use of geminated vowels to represent vowels originally short, in *éere* (O. E. *here*), *weell* (O. E. *wæl*) and *for suóorn* (O. E. *for-sworen*); and the unusual spelling *werþ* for *wearþ*. The form *gesochen* would seem to be a positive blunder; Mr Plummer very plausibly takes it to be for *gerochen*, intended as the passive participle of *gewrecan* 'to avenge.'

There is also a point of syntax which calls for remark. The passage affords a much earlier instance of the conjunction 'for that' (= 'because') than has hitherto been recorded. The *Oxford Dictionary* gives it first from Ormin. But the question naturally arises, whether the instance before us is to be looked upon as genuinely representing contemporary usage, or is only due to the ignorance of a foreign scribe, who made the nearest approximation he could to the normal *for þām* (*þon*, *þȳ*) *þæt*, *forþan* (*forþā*) *þet*.

The importance of the two passages here considered seems to be that they belong to the very earliest decades of the history of Middle

English, and probably show us the old language in the very act of breaking down in the hands of writers familiar only with the phonetic system of French.

C. TALBUT ONIONS.

OXFORD.

‘TO HAVE ONE’S RAIK.’

As a supplement to my note *An Unrecorded Reading in Piers Plowman* printed in the *Modern Language Review* for January, 1908, and in view of its having been challenged elsewhere, it may be well to record a third occurrence of this phrase which I have found in a northern poem of the fourteenth century relating to the Scottish wars and printed in the Rolls edition of Pierre de Langtoft’s *Chronicle*, Vol. II, App. iv, p. 458 :

So lange the lebard loves the layk,
wit his onsped your sped ye spille,
And lates the lion have his raikē,
wit werke in werdl ase he wille.

C. TALBUT ONIONS.

OXFORD.

A NOTE ON ‘EXODUS,’ LL. 56 ff.

oferfor he mid ðy folce	fæstena worn,
oð ðæt hie on guðmyrce	gearwe bæron.
nearwe genyddon	on norðwegas,
wiston him be suðan	sigelwara land, etc.

Blackburn, the latest editor of the O. E. *Exodus* (*Belles Lettres Series*), in his note on *guðmyrce* (p. 38) remarks that the mention of the Ethiopians in the above passage is not easy to explain, as the original has nothing to suggest it, and that the notion of the cloud as a shelter from heat occurs nowhere in the Scriptures. He suggests also that *guðmyrce*, which is usually regarded as an adjective, ‘war-dusky,’ here used as a substantive, ‘Ethiopian,’ is a derivative of *mearc* meaning ‘warlike-borderer,’ and supports his theory by citing *per viam deserti* and *in extremis finibus deserti solitudinis* of the original, and the words *mearchofu* 61, and *mearcclandum* 67, which occur in the O. E. version. But the poet’s mention of the Ethiopians is inseparably connected with his conception of the purpose of the cloud, and of the

geography of the country over which the Israelites were marching. To him the cloud was a 'canopy,' 'net,' 'sail,' spread by the Almighty over the hosts of Israel as a protection from the heat of the scorching sun of the Sun-folk's (*Sigelwara*) land, where the cliffs were burning hot, and the people dusky with the sun's heat, and to the confines of which, as he conceived, the Israelites had come in their flight before Pharaoh. The mention of a wilderness in the original should also be taken into account. It is evident that the poet took it to be a waste country bordering on the Ethiopian desert, which is mentioned in the following passage in Alfred's *Orosius* (p. 8, Sweet's edition): 'Affrica 7 Asia hiera landgemircu onginnað of Alexandria, Egypta burge, 7 ligeð ðæt londgemærc suð ðonan ofer Nilus ða ea, 7 swa ofer Ethiopica westenne oð ðone Suðgarsecg.'

The second element of the O. E. name *Sigel-hearwa* also, which designates an Ethiopian, still remains obscure. Does the whole compound mean 'one who despises the sun,' or less probably, 'one harassed by the sun,' *-hearwa* being related to O. E. *hyrwañ*, 'to speak ill of anyone,' 'despise,' 'harass,' O. H. G. *harwian*, 'exasperare'? It is impossible to relate *-hearwa* to the second part of the plural form *Sigel-waras*, 'Sun-folk.'

O. T. WILLIAMS.

BANGOR.

THE MYTHICAL ANCESTOR OF THE KINGS OF EAST ANGLIA.

The earliest genealogy of the East Anglian kings is that given in the Cotton MS. *Vespasian B. 6*, of the ninth century. Unfortunately the list occurs on what was apparently once the last page of the book, and the writing is rubbed and faint, especially towards the end of the pedigree.

Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, 171) reads the last names as 'tyt . . . r. ing . care . . uodning . uoden frealafing.' If the MS. is examined under a glass in a good light, the second and third names appear quite indisputably to be *casering caser*. The faint *ser* should be compared with the same combination of letters in *sergius* in the list of popes on fol. 107 b. There is no trace of any letter following the *r* of *caser*.

The *Vespasian MS.* accordingly confirms Florence of Worcester, who places Casere after Woden at the head of the East Anglian pedigree (ed. Thorpe, I, 249).

Casere is twice mentioned in *Widsith*: first as the Emperor of the East, *Casere weold Creacum*, and subsequently as the ruler *Wala rices*. The name Caesar must early have been familiar to the tribes of North Germany, and may have been introduced into the Old Anglian speech, as Hoops suggests (*Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum*, 1905, p. 569), through Anglian or Saxon mercenaries in Roman pay.

That an obscure coast tribe should have made Caesar the ancestor of their royal house, and have given him Woden for a father, throws, perhaps, some little light upon their outlook towards Rome. It may be paralleled by the fact that, already in the fourth century, the Burgundians claimed to be of Roman descent. (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVIII, 5, 11, *quod iam inde a temporibus priscis subolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt.*)

R. W. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

ENGLISH TAGS IN MATTHEW OF PARIS.

The following tags of English from the *Historia Minor* of Matthew of Paris¹ are in themselves of no particular interest. They bring forward no strikingly unusual forms; they neither prove nor disprove the contention that Matthew of Paris was an Englishman who shortly after the Norman Conquest spoke English easily. They do offer the suggestion, however, that a careful search of the Latin chronicles written in England at the time of the Middle English period might disclose bits of English embedded in the Latin, which would, perhaps, more nearly represent the spoken English of the time than do the conscious productions that we have, written, as they are, in a conventional literary form.

1. Entry for the year 1075². 'Qualiter Dunelmensis episcopus interfectus est...Unus eorum...patria lingua insibilans dixit, *Sort red, god red, slea we þe bissop!*'

2. The Battle of the Standard, 1138³. 'Cum enim illis satirice dicitur lingua sua patria, *Yry, yry, standard.*'

Does *yry* = 'hasten' = *eire*? Compare the noun *eir*: *as ssipes wiþ gret eir come toward londe*, Robert of Gloucester.

¹ *Matthaei Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor*. Ed. Sir F. Madden. Rolls Series. 1866. 3 vols.

² I, 21—22.

³ I, 260.

3. One of the songs of the Flemish soldiers under the Earl of Leicester, 1173, was¹

Hoppe, hoppe, Wileken, hoppe, Wileken
Engelond is min ant tin.

4. Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, 1161, in a dream heard² 'vocem puerilem hunc sermonem Anglice pronunciantem, *Riseth op, alle Cristes icorne, Levenoth ure fader of þis wrold fundeth.*'

5. 'Terraemotus'³ is glossed 'quem Anglici patria lingua, *Erhdune* vocant.'

JAMES F. ROYSTER.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C., U.S.A.

WAS 'DUE DESERT' WALTER DEVEREUX?

Professor Cunliffe's note on *Gascoigne and Shakespeare, Modern Language Review*, IV, 232, in which he suggests that 'Due Desert' denoted Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, finds confirmation in the allusion there to 'the Etimologie of his name.' The name Devereux as is well known, came from 'd'Evreux,' but to Elizabethan etymologists this easily resolved itself through the spelling 'Deureux' into 'd'(h)oureux,' with suggestions of 'success,' 'victory,' 'good hap,' etc. I do not know whether Edmund Spenser took the part of Silvanus at the Princely Pleasures in 1575, but he was for several years an occasional inmate of Leicester's London House, as he was later a dependent of the Devereux family there, and was doubtless very familiar with this 'Etimologie' of 'Deureux': so much so that in *Prothalamion* he transfers the 'due desert' compliment, the laurelled victory, and the 'heureux' etymology, from Walter to Robert Devereux, from father to son:

Joy have thou of thy noble victorie,
And endlesse happinesse of thine owne name
That promiseth the same.

Let us turn back to Gascoigne's 'mysterious phrases': 'She dyd long sithens convert *Due Desert* into yonder same *Lawrell* tree. The which may very well be so, considering the *Etimologie* of his name, for we see the *Lawrell branch* is a token of triumph,' etc. It is not the Laurel branch, but *the triumph*, of which 'the Laurel, meed of mighty conquerors,' is a token, that is uppermost in the writer's mind. The phrase 'due desert' was of course in common use, e.g., *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, l. 777; and

¹ I, 381.

² I, 312.

³ III, 20.

E. Hake's dedication of his translation of *The Imitation or Following of Christ*, 1568:

1st Princely race that brings the crowne of fame?
Or due desert that hath the same assignde?

This particular instance of 'due desert' was Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in 1572, three years before Professor Cunliffe's 'Due Desert' had the misfortune to achieve a very dubious triumph in Ireland. There seems little doubt that Professor Cunliffe's identification of 'Due Desert' is correct.

H. LITTLEDALE.

CARDIFF.

BEN JONSON AND 'THE ISLE OF DOGS.'

The part taken by Ben Jonson, as writer and actor, in *The Isle of Dogs*, to which I called attention in my notice of Mr Greg's *Henslowe's Diary* (*Modern Language Review*, iv, 411) perhaps helps to interpret the chaff of him in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, ll. 1513—1527:

'*Tucca*. No Fye'st; my name's Hamlet reuenge: thou hast been at Parris garden hast not?

Horace. Yes Captaine, I ha plaide Zulziman there.

Sir Rees ap Vaughan. Then M. Horace you plaide the part of an honest man.

Tucca. Death of Hercules, he could neuer play that part well in's life, no Fulkes you could not: thou call'st Demetrius Iorneyman Poet, but thou putst vp a Supplication to be a poor Iorneyman Player, and hadst beene still so, but that thou couldst not set a good face vpon't: thou hast forgot how thou amblest (in leather pilch) by a play-wagon, in the high way, and took'st mad Ieronimoes part, to get seruice among the Mimickes: and when the Stagerites banisht thee into the Ile of Dogs, thou turn'dst Bandog (villanous Guy) & euer since bitest therefore I aske if th'ast been at Parris-garden, because thou hast such a good mouth; thou baitst well, read, *lege*, saue thy selfe and read.'

Possibly Zulziman was Jonson's part in *The Isle of Dogs*; there is no reason why Solyman in *Solyman and Perseda* should, as is sometimes suggested, be meant. The reference to Paris Garden may confirm the view that *The Isle of Dogs* was played at the Swan in the Liberty of Paris Garden; or Dekker may only be jesting on the suitability of Jonson's temper to the 'game' of bear-baiting, ordinarily called 'the game of Paris Garden.'

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

THE DATE OF FLETCHER'S 'THE CHANCES.'

Can anyone help me to resolve the apparent contradiction in the evidence as to the date of Fletcher's *The Chances*? The plot is taken from Cervantes's story of *La Señora Cornelia*. This was first published among the *Novelas exemplares* of 1613, and it is hard to see how Fletcher can have known it before that year, or even, if, as some scholars think, he was ignorant of Spanish, before the issue of the French translation of 1615. On this I am allowed to quote from a letter which Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, than whom there can be no better authority, was kind enough to write me on December 9, 1908.

At least one of the *Novelas exemplares* was written long before 1613. In *Don Quixote* (Part i, Chapter 47) *Rinconete y Cortadillo* is mentioned, and, as the *Privilegio* of *Don Quixote* is dated September 26, 1604, this story must be dated earlier than this.

No doubt the *Novelas* were written at odds and ends of times, and very likely there is a great interval between the earliest and the latest of them. But there is no evidence to justify Watts in saying (p. 119) that the majority were written between 1599 and 1603. *La Gitanilla*, for instance, was clearly written after the transfer of the court from Valladolid to Madrid (January 20, 1606). The Marqués del Priego was evidently dead when the *Coloquio de los Perros* was written: so it must be later than September 2, 1606. And so with the rest.

As it happens, there is a dispute about the date of *La Señora Cornelia*. Rius, in his *Bibliografía crítica* of Cervantes's works (vol. II, p. 354), argues that it must be assigned to a date long before 1600, and Rius is an acknowledged authority. But, in my introduction to MacColl's translation of the *Novelas* I have tried to show that Rius is mistaken, and the drift of my argument is this. Rius's only reason for putting *La Señora Cornelia* so far back is that (as he alleges) Hardy dramatized this story about the year 1595. This seems a rash deduction from a passage in a letter at the beginning of vol. II of Hardy's *Théâtre* (Paris, 1625): 'Ce n'est qu'un bouquet bigarré de six fleurs vieilles depuis le temps d'une jeunesse qui les a produites.' Rius takes this quite literally, supposes that Hardy was born about 1570, and maintains that, if Hardy did translate *La Señora Cornelia* in his youth, the translation must have been made at latest in 1600. Therefore (he goes on) the original should be assigned to 1590 or thereabouts.

This implies that Hardy read the story in MS. But there is nothing to lead us to suppose that there was a MS. copy of the story floating about, or that Hardy could have read it, if he had met with such a thing. At any rate, he did not read the story in Spanish, but took it from the French translation of the *Novelas exemplares* published by Rosset and the Sieur d'Audiguier in 1615. Several small but significant details prove this. Rosset translates *La Gitanilla* by 'La belle Egyptienne': so does Hardy. Rosset converts the *corregidor* into a *sénéchal*: so does Hardy. And so on.

Accordingly—at least this is my contention—Rius's argument goes to pieces. There is not the least reason to think that *La Señora Cornelia* was written in 1590 or thereabouts. Judging by the style, I should guess it was written after *Don Quixote*—say, about 1606; but this is only a conjecture, and we really know nothing as to the date....

...I think we may reject as untenable the theory of some of the *Novelas exemplares* being circulated in manuscript before their publication in the autumn of 1613. If this had occurred, we should expect to find some traces of it in Spain. There are

many dramatic adaptations of the *Novelas exemplares* in Spanish after 1613, but none before. It is an expensive and tedious business to make copies, and Cervantes was too poor to pay for copies, and too busy earning his living at odd jobs to make the copies himself. There is no reason to believe that copies circulated in Spain: we should require overwhelming evidence to convince us that they circulated out of Spain. There is no blinking the fact that Cervantes was not at all celebrated till the first Part of *Don Quixote* appeared in 1605: and, to put it bluntly, he was not worth copying or robbing till that year.

Even after all allowance is made for one's natural revolt against the much over-worked hypothesis of manuscript transmission as a solution of literary problems, Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's convincing argument seems to me wholly to forbid any assumption that *La Señora Cornelia*, whether written in 1590 or in 1606, was known to Fletcher before 1613 at earliest. On the other hand, there is a passage in *The Chances* which it is extremely difficult to assign to a later date than about 1609. This is the bit of dialogue between the Landlady and Peter, which begins on Act iii, Sc. 1, l. 4:

Landlady. I will know.

Peter. Ye shall, any thing

Lyes in my power: The Duke of *Lorraine* now

Is seven thousand strong: I heard it of a fish-wife,

A woman of fine knowledge.

Landlady.

Sirrah, Sirrah.

Peter.

The Popes Bulls are broke loose too, and 'tis suspected

They shall be baited in *England*.

This does not come from *La Señora Cornelia*, and it would have had very little point, unless it had a topical point intelligible to an audience at the time of its presentation in England. But for the puzzle arising from the date of Fletcher's source, I should have had no hesitation in assigning it to 1609. The jest about the Pope's bulls in particular would have seemed an unmistakable echo of the controversies of that and the immediately preceding years. The Recusancy Act of 1606 had led to the issue of papal *brevia* in 1607 and 1608, condemning the action of those Catholics who took the oath of allegiance, and these in their turn to the *Apologia pro Iuramento Fidelitatis* published by James the First in February, 1608. This was anonymous, but the authorship became matter of common knowledge, and a Catholic reply was anticipated. The interest caused by the controversy is traceable in contemporary letters. Thus M. De la Boderie, the French ambassador in England, wrote in a despatch of June 22, 1608 (*Ambassades*, iii, 347), 'Cependant il vient de Rome, ce disent les Catholiques, une excommunication fulminante contre tous ceux qui ont fait ledit serment, ou le voudroient faire, qui achevera bien de mettre tous ces pauvres gens en proie.' Similarly, on February 14, 1609, John Chamberlain

wrote to Dudley Carleton (Birch, *Court and Times of James the First*, i, 87), 'The Pope hath written to the French King, complaining that our King misuseth him continually in table-talk, and calls him *Anti-christ* at every word, which doth so enrage his holiness, that some papists fear it may drive him to thunder and lighten with excommunication.' But the closest parallel to the gossip of *The Chances* is afforded by the following passage from Bishop Montague's preface to his edition of the *Works* of King James in 1616.

After that the Apologie was out, his Maiestie diuerse times would be pleased to utter a Resolution of his; that if the Pope and Cardinall would not rest in his answere, and sit downe by it; take the Oath as it was intended for a point of Allegiance and Civill Obedience; Hee would publish the Apologie in his owne name with a Preface to all the Princes in Christendome; wherein he would publish such a Confession of his Faith, perswade the Princes so to vindicate their owne Power, discover so much of the Mysterie of Iniquitie unto them; as the Popes Bulles should pull in their hornes, and himselfe wish he had never medled with the matter.

The Apology was in fact answered by Bellarmine under the name of his chaplain Matthew Tortus in October, 1608, and in June, 1609, James fulfilled his threat by the issue of *A Premonition to all the most mighty Monarchs, Kings, Free Princes and States of Christendom*. Fletcher might well have adapted the royal jest to the purposes of his dialogue, at any time during the interval between the two books. The other allusion, to the forces of the Duke of Lorraine, would fit a date after the death of the Duke of Clèves and Juliers on March 25, 1609, when gossip was beginning to estimate the strength of the parties of Europe in anticipation of the Clèves war. Henri IV certainly hoped for the aid of the Duke of Lorraine, and sent De Bassompierre to ask for it in the course of the following August (*Mémoires*, i, 237). No doubt the strength of Lorraine may have come into question at other and later dates, but the development of Stuart politics in their relation to the Holy See does not suggest any other appropriate occasion for the references to bull-baiting, before Fletcher's death on August 29, 1625.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

LONDON.

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS TO GOETHE FROM AN ENGLISH
TRANSLATOR OF 'GOETZ VON BERLICHINGEN.'

Walter Scott's translation of *Goetz von Berlichingen*, which appeared in February, 1799, was followed within a few weeks by another version, almost unknown in literary history. The author, Rose d'Aguilar, afterwards Mrs Lawrence, published under the latter name a translation of Gessner's works in 1802, also a mythological anthology and some poetry. Her *Gortz von Berlingen*¹, as she calls the hero of the drama, bears witness to her enthusiasm rather than to her skill or conscientiousness as a translator. The following sentences from the Preface are perhaps worth quoting²: 'The author, the celebrated Goethe, is known throughout Europe by various literary publications, particularly by his Sorrows of Werter; a work beautiful in its separate pictures, though in its general tendency unfavourable to virtue and happiness, and which but for this fatal objection, might have ranked with the most successful efforts of modern genius....He whose taste is formed in the laws of the Greek or the French stage will scarcely tolerate the irregularities of Gortz of Berlingen: the disciples of Shakespeare and nature will give him welcome, and dismiss him with applause....This play was published in Germany about the year 1771. The author therefore could not in writing it, have any reference to the melancholy crisis in which Europe is at present involved. To prevent, however, any improper application, a few sentences are softened or expunged.'

In a note to the *Dramatis Personae* the translator justifies the liberties she has taken with the names of the characters. 'The name of Falkenheim, which will be familiar to those who are well read in the German Romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has been substituted for that of Weislingen, as more easy to English pronunciation. The translator has also ventured to change the appellation of Francis for that of Frederic [i.e., Weisslingens Bub], to avoid the confusion which three characters of the same name might have occasioned the reader.' The same principle has evidently led to other changes: Goetz von Berlichingen becomes 'Gortz of Berlingen'; Max Stumpf becomes 'Mark Sturt'; Metzler 'Meisner'; Jaxthausen, 'Yarthausen'; Liebetaut, 'Veritas.'

¹ *Gortz of Berlingen, With the Iron Hand*. An Historical Drama of the Fifteenth Century. Translated from the German of Goethe, the Author of Werter. Liverpool, printed by J. McCreery.

² I am indebted to the Editor of this *Review* for the following notes on the translation, a copy of which is in the British Museum.

The translation is exceedingly free and often inaccurate. In Act II Veritas' [i.e., Liebetraut's] song is omitted. The scene 'Im Spessart' is headed 'Yarthausen—the Dining Hall,' the translator having possibly read 'Spessart' as 'Speisesaal.' The most conspicuous addition is in the Vehmgericht scene, where the translator has evidently borrowed from those 'German Romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries' to which she refers in the above note. The scene is supplied with the following descriptive stage-direction: 'Midnight. Inside of a Ruined Chapel. (The storm is still heard raging without, and sweeping at intervals thro' the long ailes of the building. Partial and transient gleams of moon-light serve to discover the dismantled windows, the mouldering monuments, and the insignia of knighthood, swords, helmets, and escutcheons, which are displayed against the walls. In the background is an altar sinking in ruins. Broken pillars, and fragments of images lie scattered around. The ruins are in many places overgrown with ivy, moss and weeds. Near the altar are two rows of seats. Upon the altar lie a dagger and a cord).'

The author sent her book to Goethe accompanied by a letter, which was followed, after some months, by a second. Both were preserved by the poet, and they are to be found in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv at Weimar, *Briefe an Goethe*, 1800, pp. 60 and 87.

September 20th, 1799.

SIR,

The following imperfect translation of a beautiful original is submitted to the author of Götz von Berlichingen as a testimony of the respect his genius commands, and a proof of the admiration his excellence inspires. *Distance*, like *time*, annihilates the constraint with which we are accustomed to speak of living authors, and in *England* I may speak of Goethe and of Shakespeare with equal unreserve, and praise, without the imputation of flattery, the writer who has imitated the beauties, and inherited the genius of our immortal Bard.

The youth and inexperience of the translator must be pleaded as an excuse for many inaccuracies and several errors in the following sheets; nor can I flatter myself that I possessed one requisite to encourage me to so arduous an undertaking, except an unbounded admiration of the beauties of the original, and an ardent desire to communicate them to the English Public: With *them* and with *you* it remains to decide how far I have succeeded in this difficult task.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Yrs

ROSE D'AGUILAR.

Great George St. Liverpool.

SIR,

I have ventured to desire my translation of your celebrated Drama *Götz von Berlichingen* may be forwarded to you, not as a considering worthy your attention or perusal but merely as a tribute of respect and admiration, and as a slight acknowledgment of the unbounded pleasure *this*, and the rest of your works, have afforded me. I feel the greatest diffidence in submitting this translation

to your perusal; and am quite at a loss how to excuse the many errors and inaccuracies you will certainly perceive in it. With regard to the trifling and incidental *alterations* or rather *additions*, I have now and then been obliged to make, they were such only as I judged absolutely necessary to accommodate it to the English public, and to explain to the mere English Reader the force of many expressions and allusions to which it was impossible to give in a translation the form and dignity they possess in their original language. The youth and inexperience of the translator may be pleaded in excuse for many errors; as it was my first, so it will probably be my last attempt: for I was only induced to undertake so arduous a task by my extreme admiration of the original, and by the idea that the English Public might experience a *portion* of the pleasure I had enjoyed in the perusal of a work, which appears to me to possess more than any other Drama this country or Germany has produced, the characteristic traits of Shakespeare's genius;—and which certainly displays *his* accuracy in the delineation of character, and his powerful energy in awakening the passions. I will not intrude longer on your leisure, or indulge myself in expatiating further on the beauties of *this* and many others of your writings which I have dwelt on with pleasure next to rapture. You must have heard the language of panegyric till it has ceased to give you pleasure;—and it cannot be supposed that you could at any time have been flattered by the commendation of an obscure stranger. Yet I will hope that you will not reject this testimony of respect and admiration when you recollect, that among all those your country or your friends may have offered you, there cannot have been one tribute on whose sincerity you might more justly depend, or which can be supposed more totally free from every interested motive.

I am Sir

with great respect

Yours

ROSE D'AGUILAR.

March the 5th, 1800.

If you are so obliged as to favor me with your opinion of the translation, be so good as to direct to *the Translator* free under cover to Dr Currie, Liverpool.

F. BALDENSPERGER.

LYONS.

‘MACBETH’ AND ‘LINGUA.’

In his valuable *Notes on some English University Plays* in Vol. III, No. II, of this *Review* Prof. G. C. Moore Smith alludes to some ‘dubious imitations of Shakespeare’ in the University play *Lingua*, ascribed by Sir J. Harrington to Thomas Tomkis of Trinity College, Cambridge, and first published in 1607. Prof. Moore Smith’s references are to passages in *Julius Caesar* and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and to kindred lines in the Cambridge comedy.

I should like here to draw attention to two parallels between *Lingua* and *Macbeth*. If Tomkis is deliberately parodying Shakespeare, as is,

I think, probable, the passages in *Lingua* become of great importance. For they then form an additional link in the chain of evidence which connects the production of *Macbeth* with 1606. *Lingua*, as already mentioned, was first published in 1607; though it has been conjecturally assigned on internal evidence to an earlier date, the hypothesis is a very doubtful one. I would suggest that the play, the popularity of which is attested by six editions, was printed soon after it was written; and that the author, who shows a remarkable faculty of parodying varied literary and dramatic styles, included in it imitations of two passages in Shakespeare's recently acted tragedy.

Even, however, if this view is not accepted, and the resemblances between *Macbeth* and *Lingua* are looked upon as accidental, they are well worthy of notice.

In the Cambridge comedy, *Lingua*, who aspires to be reckoned among the Senses, seeks to provoke discord between them by means of a crown and royal robe which she lays in their path. Her page Mendacio declares that these gifts have been brought from heaven by Mercury. The plot, however, fails, and, in revenge, she stirs up fresh strife among her rivals through a drugged potion, which she obtains from the hag, Acrasia. To prevent bloodshed, Crapula in Act v, Sc. 10 summons Somnus whom he thus addresses:

Soft sonne of night, right heyre to Quietnesse,
Labours repose, lifes best restorative,
Digestions carefull Nurse, blouds Comforter,
Wits helpe, thoughts charm, the stay of *Microcosme*,
Sweet *Somnus* cheefest enemy to Care:

Compare with these lines Macbeth's apostrophe, after the murder of Duncan:

Sleepe that knits up the ravel'd Sleeve of Care,
The death of each dayes life, sore Labors Bath,
Balme of hurt Minds, great Natures second Course,
Chiefe nourisher in Life's Feast.

Though, of course, in any detailed descriptions of sleep, some parallelism will be found, the close correspondence of idea and phraseology in the above passages is very remarkable, while the words '*Digestions* carefull Nurse,' compared with 'Chiefe nourisher in Life's Feast,' seem to give just the necessary touch of parody.

The other passage to which I wish to draw attention occurs in Scenes 17 and 18 of the same Act. Somnus has bound fast the Senses and *Lingua*, but they are talking in their sleep, while Phantastes and Heuresis stand by and listen. In the earlier part of the Scene the

Senses babble confusedly, one after the other; then the dialogue continues as follows:

Ling. Mum, mum, mum, mum.

Phan. St, sirra, take heede you wake her not.

Heur. I knowe sir shee is fast a sleepe, for her mouth is shutte.

Ling. This 'tis to venture upon such uncertainties, to loose so rich a Crowne to no end, well, well.

Phantastes then bids Heuresis fetch Communis Sensus and Memoria to hear Lingua's further utterances. Whilst they are being summoned, the scene proceeds:

Ling. *Mendatio*, never talke farther, I doubt 'tis past recovery, and my Robe likewise, I shall never have them againe, well, well.

Phan. How? her Crowne, and her Roabe, never recover them? hum, wast not said to bee left by *Memory*? ha? I conjecture here's some knavery—fast lockt with sleepe, in good faith. Was that Crowne and Garment yours *Lingua*?

Ling. I marry were they, and that some body hath felt, and shall feele more, if I live.

Phan. O strange, she answers in her sleepe to my question, but how come the Senses to strive for it?

Ling. Why I laide [it] upon purpose in their way, that they might fall together by the eares.

Phan. What a strange thing is this?

Then in Scene 18 Communis Sensus and Memoria appear, and Phantastes asks the sleeping Lingua further questions. In her answers she first takes him to be *Mendacio* and afterwards *Acrasia*, whom she thanks for the effects of her potion. She then, according to the stage-direction, '*riseth in her sleepe, and walketh.*' Thereupon Communis Sensus cries 'how's this, is shee asleepe? have you seene one walke thus before?' And Memoria answers, 'It is a very common thing, I have seene many sicke of the Peripatetick disease.' Communis Sensus inquires 'what should be the reason of it?' and Memoria gives a quasi-scientific explanation from Scaliger. Lingua, in reply to a further question, tells how she has used *Acrasia*'s potion, and then lies down again, still asleep.

The remarkable resemblance between this episode and the 'sleep-walking' scene in *Macbeth* will, I think, be evident. In both cases a criminal heroine reveals in her sleep her guilty practices; in both she imagines herself to be conversing with the partner of her misdeeds, while she is in fact being watched and overheard by witnesses anxious to learn the true significance of her involuntary confessions.

But the resemblance is not confined to the general situation. It can be traced also in details of expression. Part of the strangely impressive effect of Lady Macbeth's utterances in her 'slumbry agitation' is due to the repetition of certain words and phrases. The

author of *Lingua* adopts the same device. Thus *Lingua*'s four-fold 'mum, mum, mum, mum' sounds like a parody of Lady Macbeth's four-fold 'come, come, come, come' in her final speech. The Doctor in *Macbeth* murmurs 'well, well, well'; two of *Lingua*'s speeches end with 'well, well.' Just after Lady Macbeth's entry the Doctor remarks 'you see her eyes are open,' and the Gentlewoman answers 'I but their sense are shut.' Is not this parodied in Heuresis' words, 'I knowe sir shee is fast a sleepe, for her mouth is shutte'? And as the Doctor ends the Scene with the confession 'My minde she has mated, and amaz'd my sight,' so Phantastes cries 'What a strange thing is this.'

But the most striking fact of all is that *Lingua* should not only talk in her sleep, but that she should rise and walk. This is in no way necessary to the plot of the Cambridge play, and it is difficult to see why it was introduced unless the author had Lady Macbeth in his mind.

I think that the reasonable inference from the whole evidence is that Tomkis had recently seen *Macbeth*, and was making good-humoured fun of parts of the tragedy. Otherwise we must conclude that by some extraordinary chance Shakespeare and the academic playwright invented about the same time situations and speeches so curiously akin.

F. S. BOAS.

LONDON.

DISCUSSIONS.

'AHRIMANES,' BY THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK.

ALL admirers of Thomas Love Peacock must needs be grateful to Mr A. B. Young for his publication of the unprinted poem, *Ahrimanes*, in the January number of the *Modern Language Review*. At the same time, it is impossible not to regret that Mr Young did not treat the sole authority for the poem—the author's holograph MS.—with somewhat greater care. And as Mr Young's text, backed by the high reputation of the *Review*, is likely to mislead future critics and editors, it will be well to have its more important errors corrected and its chief omissions supplied.

In Canto I, the word which Mr Young could not read in Stanza v is 'anarch,' and in Stanza XXVII the word is 'Great,' which should be followed by 'Ahrimane's' with an apostrophe before the final 's.'

In Canto II Mr Young gives thirteen stanzas only, and says nothing about the fourteenth, which he evidently overlooked. Peacock in this poem wrote one stanza on each side of each sheet of paper. Folio 25 of the MS. contains Stanza XIII—given by Mr Young. Folio 25 *verso* contains Stanza XIV. Folio 26 has the heading 'XV' for the fifteenth stanza, but no words. And on folio 26 *verso* is the beginning of that prose outline of the plot which Mr Young transcribes (p. 228 of the *Review*). His omission is the more curious, as the fourteenth stanza, which is not unfinished or inferior to the rest, must have been immediately before his eyes as he transcribed folio 26 *verso* below it; since the sheets on which *Ahrimanes* is written are only some two-thirds the size of the volume of MSS. in which they are bound up. The omitted stanza runs as follows:

XIV.

Far on the left the lessening rocks recede:
A plain extends, a wide luxuriant plain;
One fair expanse of grove and flowery mead,
And field, wide-waving with unripened grain;
Of industry and peace the blest domain!
The tinkling sheep-bell gave a pleasant sound;
And youths and maids were there, a cheerful train;
And rosy children gambolled on the ground,
Where peeped the cottage forth from many a sylvan mound.

Mr Young's verbal errors in *Ahrimanes* may be given, with least expenditure of space, in a list. The Roman numeral gives the stanza, the Arabic the line; the first word is Mr Young's, the second Peacock's.

Canto I, i 6 cliffs'—cliff's; vii 2 passed—pressed; viii 1 music—music's; x 4 mossy—massy; xiv 9 soon—scorn; xx 2 death—dearth; xx 8 fields—field; xxi 6 peerless—waveless; xxix 8 a—no; xxx 1 pale—parle; xxx 8 lovely—lonely.

Canto II, iii 4 poison-clamp—poison-damp; iii 7 steeds'—steed's; iv 6 moonlit—moonlight; viii 6 mossy—massy. Also in Stanza xii, in the first alternative line given in the footnote, 'the heaven' should read 'to heaven.'

Mr Young omits a connecting hyphen between the following words:

Canto I, vii 4 ever-murmuring; ix 1 island-bowers; xxx 2 thickly-mantling; Canto II, xii 1 mountain-top; xii 4 light-trembling; and he inserts one in Canto I, xii 1 between 'barrier' and 'rock.'

Stops should be inserted as follows, where Mr Young has either the wrong punctuation or none at all:

A comma after Canto I, ii 2 beam; iii 4 Jet-black; vii 6 around; xiii 4 task; xvi 5 remote; xxv 4 names; xxix 1 said; xxx 2 thickly-mantling; Canto II, i 3 man; i 6 hymn; i 8 displays; iii 7 swords; vi 8 suffice; viii 7 groves; x 6 free; xiii 1 expand.

A semi-colon after xxix 2 amaze.

A colon after ix 5 knelt; Canto II, xii 1 mountain-top; xii 2 sway.

A full stop after vi 2 obeyed; xiii 5 shrine (before the dash); xv 7 bear; Canto II, xi 2 suspends.

A dash after iii 9 rise (deleting the period), and Canto II, iii 2 court (after the comma).

A period supplied by Mr Young after xxi 5 'imprest,' and a dash after 'poison-damp,' in Canto II, iii 4, should be removed.

Mr Young prints, moreover, two verbal inaccuracies in the course of Peacock's note on the first stanza of Canto II—'form' for 'forms,' and 'inquisition' for 'inquisitor'—and he does not make it clear that the pencil erasure covers the last sentence only of the note.

A list of Mr Young's oversights in the rough draft of the poem, and his errors in transcribing it, would occupy too much space. Of the latter, perhaps the most curious are 'wildish' for 'wildest' (which he tentatively suggests), and 'long species' and 'applicants' for 'every species' and 'suppliants.' In his connecting remarks, by the way, on page 227 of the *Review*, he places Shelley's first meeting with Newton on August 5, 1812—three months before it actually took place.

The mistakes and omissions in Mr Young's text of poem and draft speak for themselves. It may seem, however, that I have been over nice in giving so long a list of mis-punctuations in his version of the

former. I can only urge that the MS. of *Ahrimanes* is a fair copy, and finished so far as it extends; and that I have corrected Mr Young's errors only where they had a distinctly bad influence upon either the sense or the run of the poem. Had I included also those deviations which, though they are to be deprecated in a presumably faithful text, do not actually stultify the author's intention, the list would have been greatly swelled. I have passed over also Mr Young's minor divergencies in spelling, and his somewhat autocratic treatment of Peacock's text in the ignoring of occasional interesting *variae lectiones*.

One other omission, however, seems to call for rectification. Mr Young does not even mention the quotations which Peacock—a man of very wide classical scholarship—prefixed to each canto of *Ahrimanes* by way of motto. He gives indeed Peacock's following translation of the four lines of Sophocles which head the first canto, but no indication of their source: and the quotation, as I shall presently show, has a double interest, since it explains an allusion in Peacock's *Memoirs of Shelley*, and at the same time narrows the scope for the date of *Ahrimanes*. The lines of Sophocles, which I find in *O.C.* 1225, run as follows:

ΜΗ ΦΥΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον·
το δ' ἐπεὶ φανῇ
βῆναι κείθεν ὅθεν περ ἦκει,
πολυ δευτερον, ὡς ταχιστα.

Now in Peacock's account of Shelley's separation from his first wife, he describes very vividly the distracted state in which he found the poet, upon visiting him in London:

Between his old feelings towards Harriet, *from whom he was not then separated*, and his new passion for Mary, he showed in his looks, in his gestures, in his speech, the state of a mind 'suffering, like a little kingdom, the nature of an insurrection.' His eyes were bloodshot, his hair and dress disordered. He caught up a bottle of laudanum, and said: 'I never part from this.' He added: 'I am always repeating to myself your lines from Sophocles:

Man's happiest lot is not to be:
And when we tread life's thorny steep,
'Most blest are they, who earliest free
Descend to death's eternal sleep.'

This interview may be placed with most probability towards the end of June, 1814—Shelley left England with Mary Godwin on July 28—and it suggests a reasonable and probable date for Peacock's poem. Mr Young has shown that *Ahrimanes* was the outcome of Peacock's intercourse with Newton, whom he met first during a visit to Shelley at Bracknell in 1813. Shelley, certainly before the end of July in the following year, quotes with appreciation the rendering of Sophocles which Peacock prefixed, along with the original, to the poem which owed its subject to Newton. It is therefore at least a very probable conclusion that Peacock had written, and shown to Shelley, the first canto of *Ahrimanes*, either in 1813, or early in the following year. And

the probability gains some small amount of support from the familiarity with the subject of the poem which is implied in a passage of one of Shelley's letters to Peacock, written from Chamouni on July 24, 1816:

Do you, who assert the supremacy of Ahriman, imagine him throned among these desolating snows, among these palaces of death and frost, so sculptured in this their terrible magnificence by the adamantine hand of necessity, and that he casts around him, as the first essays of his final usurpation, avalanches, torrents, rocks, and thunders, and above all these deadly glaciers, at once the proof and symbols of his reign?

The second canto of the poem was also introduced by quotations: two from Homer, both of which are struck out, and two others:

and Ἀλλὰ λαίᾳ λαλεῖντι τεὸν γάμον αἰ κυπαρίσσοι. ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ.

Tempestates, venteique sequuntur,
Altitonans Voluturnus, et Auster flumine pollens. LUCRETIVS.

These passages I find in Theocritus, xxvii 57, and Lucretius, v 745; and the rejected ones in the *Iliad*, v 89—92, and xxii 126—8.

Finally, in considering the theme of *Ahrimanes*, it is not without interest that Peacock wrote in a fair hand at the beginning of the poem, just above the verses of Sophocles, the sentence 'The devil is come upon the earth with great power'—a statement which recalls his effective repetition, in the mouth of the Manichæan Millenarian of *Nightmare Abbey*, of *Rev.*, xii 12, 'Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you (*Peacock*: among you), having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.' Nor is this the only connection between poem and novel. Newton's zodiacal system, at first deemed worthy of poetic treatment, soon sank in Peacock's mind to the level of an amusing fad; and it seems tolerably certain that the ichthyologist, Mr Asterias, of *Nightmare Abbey*, father of Aquarius and enthusiastic fisher of mermaids, owes his being, and his views on aqueous origins and Hindoo theology, to the fountain of which *Ahrimanes* was an earlier and less troubled spring.

H. F. B. BRETT-SMITH.

OXFORD.

REVIEWS.

Chaucer and his England. By G. G. COULTON. London: Methuen & Co., 1908. xii + 321 pp.

Mr Coulton's book on Chaucer and his time is much less entertaining than his former volume *From St Francis to Dante*, but it is happily free from the controversial spirit with which that book is pervaded. It is pleasantly enough written, and displays a competent knowledge of the state of society in the fourteenth century, though it can hardly be said to throw much new light upon Chaucer. The chief fault of the book is one of construction: the two parts of which it is composed are almost independent of one another. Chaucer's life and works are dealt with in the former half, and the conditions of English society in the fourteenth century in the latter; but the bearing of the last chapters lies in their application, and this is not supplied by the author. The chapters on Marriage, The Gay Science, The Great War, The Poor, Merry England, The King's Peace, Priests and People, and so on, form a series of essays which may be interesting in themselves, but in which Chaucer practically plays no part, except such as is suggested by the question (or is it an exclamation?) in the chapter on The Poor, 'How many such cottages did Chaucer, like ourselves, pass on his ride to Canterbury?' The life of Chaucer is told in a readable manner, and the latest authorities are utilised. It is a pity, however, that the author should adopt the eight-year love-affair as a biographical fact, and still more that he should repeat the suggestion that the poet was restrained by the influence of his wife, while she lived, from indulging his taste for indelicate stories. We have had too many of these quite baseless and highly improbable conjectures. Equally unlikely is it that Chaucer passed at any time through 'an intense religious crisis,' and that his occasional approaches to mockery indicate a reaction from this. Again, there is no probability in the conjecture that Ralph Strode was the author of *Pearl*, though two eminent scholars have disputed with one another for the credit of suggesting it.

Mr Coulton 'has not hesitated, in a book intended for the general public, to modernize Chaucer's spelling'; but this is a thing about which he ought to have had some hesitation, seeing that it has the effect of destroying to a great extent the character of the verse. It is true that he preserves the final 'e' when it is required for the metre in

the body of the verse, but he sacrifices it ruthlessly at the end, and Chaucer's verse reduced almost to a monotony of masculine terminations has a very different run from that which the author intended, and differs very widely from that of his Italian models. The passage of fourteen lines quoted on p. 45 had originally eleven double endings, of which all but two are lost in Mr Coulton's text, and in addition one rhyme is altogether destroyed by the alteration of 'wighte' to 'weight.' Moreover the metrical structure of the passage is obscured by the fact that two distinct stanzas are here given without any visible separation between them, a method which is also followed elsewhere, e.g., on p. 102.

Where Mr Coulton does best is in his endeavour to make Chaucer's daily life real to us by such careful details as those which he gives in reference to Aldgate tower, where Chaucer resided for several years, and the London Custom-house, where he worked; and in his explanation of the course of politics as bearing on Chaucer's fortunes. The account of the 'inspection and description' of the future Queen Philippa, when a child, quoted from the official register of Bishop Stapledon of Exeter, is a document of considerable interest; and we must thank Mr Coulton also for the illustrations, especially the beautiful pictures from the Louterell Psalter, and the amusing scene of the 'hostelry at night' on p. 139. The painfully modern photographs of Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall might with advantage have been omitted.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

Chaucer. A Bibliographical Manual. By ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908. 8vo. x + 579 pp.

This book is another evidence of the fruitful interest taken in Chaucer studies on the other side of the Atlantic, and Chaucer students on this side will welcome it as an indispensable aid. A marvellous amount of care and labour must have been spent upon it by its author, and yet the result is by no means of the dry-as-dust order. The immense collection of facts and references is illuminated throughout by criticism, which is at once sober and interesting, so that in spite of the fact that the book is called a bibliographical manual, it proves to be thoroughly readable. We may fairly say that no such conspectus of the materials for Chaucer study has ever been presented before, and Miss Hammond is to be congratulated both on her choice of subject and on the manner in which she has executed her work. The chief fault to be found with it is that there is a certain disproportion in her treatment of the various branches of the subject. For the most part she reports progress, setting before us the actual results attained and the process by which they have been reached, with brief but apt comment and criticism. Sometimes, however, where it appears to the author that a subject has not been satisfactorily worked out, or where

it has especially engaged her own attention, she launches forth into an original contribution of considerable length, which may be full of interest, but would have been more in place elsewhere. Thus the arrangement of the *Canterbury Tales* is discussed in great detail, and an elaborate theory is proposed with regard to it, for which the author alone is responsible, and which involves a number of highly speculative assumptions, while *Troilus* and the *Legend of Good Women* are treated of with comparative brevity. The same criticism applies, more or less, to the discussion on metric, but here the author is on firmer ground, and her conclusions are less disputable. However, we must not be ungrateful. Miss Hammond has merely given us more than she promised: the bibliographical details are never neglected, an extraordinary store of references is accumulated for the assistance of the student, and the author usually displays a very sound critical judgment, guided by the determination to accept no results as established unless satisfactory proof is forthcoming.

The work consists of seven sections: (i) The Life of Chaucer, with most convenient reprints of the earliest biographies by Leland, Bale, Pits and Speght, and critical references to the succeeding accounts, followed by a survey of the modern investigations down to the Chaucer Society *Life Records*. (ii) The Works of Chaucer, dealing generally with the Chaucer canon, the chronology of the accepted works, and the sources, and concluding with a full bibliographical catalogue of the editions of the collected works. (iii) *The Canterbury Tales*, dealing first generally with the arrangement of the tales, then with the manuscripts, which are for the most part fully described, and then with the editions. After this follows an original dissertation of considerable length on the dates of the separate tales and the relation of each one to the general scheme, and finally the bibliography of each tale is dealt with separately. (iv) Works other than the *Canterbury Tales*, dealt with in alphabetical order. (v) Spurious or doubtful works. (vi) Linguistics and versification, with interesting contributions by the author, especially on the subject of the verse. (vii) A descriptive account, with a view principally to American students, of the principal libraries in which Chaucer MSS. are found, a review of the work of some Chaucer students, from Shirley to Furnivall, a list of the publications of the Chaucer Society, and a general reference list of the writers, books and journals most frequently referred to.

It will readily be seen how exceedingly useful such a work, executed with accuracy and sound judgment, must be to students. A few points of detail suggest themselves for criticism.

P. 94. On the Lollius question Miss Hammond seems to accept what is really much the least acceptable of all the theories proposed, namely that Chaucer did not know the name of the author of *Filostrato*. It is surely far more probable that the use of the name in *Troilus* is a mere mystification, not for the purpose primarily of concealing literary obligation, but in order to avoid the indecency of citing a contemporary modern author as sole authority for the truth of a supposed classical

story. Reference to some authority was evidently desirable, and it was impossible on such a matter to adduce merely the name of Boccaccio, without suggesting the fictitious character of the whole story. Chaucer has no difficulty in citing the authority of Dante for the tale of Ugolino, or of Petrarch for the Clerk's Tale; but when he needs an authority for the story of Troilus he has to invent one, and he uses Lollius to cover contributions both from Boccaccio and from Petrarch. This is very simple and very intelligible, and does not imply any mean motive or any impossible kind of ignorance. The only difficulty is as to the relation between the reference to Lollius in *Troilus* and the mention of him in *The Hous of Fame*.

P. 251. With regard to the argument founded on the two translations of 'pernicibus alis,' the author has overlooked the fact that in *Troilus* Chaucer is following not Virgil but Boccaccio, who has 'prestissime ale,' which Chaucer translates 'preste winges.'

P. 374. In the discussion of 'Daunt in English,' while rightly disabling Lydgate's critical power, Miss Hammond has neglected to observe that he seems to be quoting some expression used by Chaucer himself. 'Daunt in English, himself doth so expresse,' may mean 'Dante in English, as he himself calls it.' It is true that no such appellation of any of Chaucer's works is recorded in the MSS., but Lydgate may have found it somewhere as a half-humorous description of the *Hous of Fame* on the strength of its invocations. However, the application of the description to this poem must be regarded as very doubtful.

P. 486. It is a pity that one of the few quite intolerably bad lines in Chaucer, 'But thou wys, thou wost, thou mayst, thou art al,' should be selected as a normal specimen of his metre, especially considering the lightness and beauty of the Italian line which is set by its side, 'Tu savio, tu amico, tu sai tutto.'

P. 487. The line of Dante should of course be 'Lo giorno se n' andava, e l' aer bruno.'

P. 499. Is not Miss Hammond wrong about the scansion of the line of Milton? It is printed in the original editions, 'Created hugest that swim th' Ocean stream,' and though the indication of the apostrophe in these cases is not always trustworthy, yet here it suggests what is probably the correct reading of the line.

Finally we feel disposed to plead for a more careful use by English scholars of English words in their proper meaning. Chatterton's language cannot properly be said to be 'presumably archaic'; 'ostensibly' is surely the right word. We are told that Professor Lounsbury 'disavows' a certain statement, when the meaning is simply that he denies it; and that the *Clerk's Tale* must 'postdate 1373,' when the meaning is that it must have been written at a later date than this. Again 'geometrical progression' means something quite different from that which the author intends to convey by the phrase as used on p. 71, nor is 'rendition' the same as 'rendering,' though perhaps it may be justified by American usage.

But we do not wish to take leave of Miss Hammond in a tone of fault-finding. Her work on the whole is admirably conceived and excellently performed, and it cannot fail to further the interests of the study to which she has devoted herself.

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The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser. Cambridge Edition. By R. E. NEIL DODGE. Boston, Mass., U.S.A.: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1908. 8vo. xxiii + 852 pp.

Readers of Spenser should welcome this excellent edition for its large type, exceptionally accurate text¹, catalogue of persons, places, etc., 'in or connected with' *The Faerie Queene*, and ample glossary with precise references. In these respects it is a substantial advance on previous editions. Particulars more open to question are: (1) the relegation of much glossarial matter to the notes, though the resulting inconvenience to the 'general reader' is partly compensated by the advantage of having a purer list of Spenser's archaisms; (2) the placing of the *Complaints* (publ. 1591) before *The Faerie Queene* (publ. 1590 and 1596). This is due to the prevalent view that the *Complaints* are largely a reworking of earlier material (see p. 57¹)—a consideration which applies with equal propriety to no small part of *The Faerie Queene*. Prof. Dodge thus departs from the historical order of the impressions produced by Spenser on the public. It may be maintained, even, that the *Complaints* would not have assumed their present form had Burghley received more favourably *The Faerie Queene*.

The *Biographical Sketch* and the critical discussions preceding each poem are, on the whole, careful, judicious, and well-informed²: satisfactory for the purposes of a popular edition. It is to be regretted that the editor chose to withhold the names of scholars supporting the views which he has occasion to discuss. The absence of these creates an air of vagueness. But this is not, what is much to be desired, an edition of Spenser addressed primarily to scholars, digesting the evidence and argument of research. Within Prof. Dodge's space limits, discussion of controverted points, illustration of sources, and record of more than the most important readings, were inadmissible. Nor is there any bibliography. These omissions are vexatious to the serious student, and render it difficult to recognize the editor's contribution to critical opinion.

¹ The careful collation and recollection of first editions is so stressed by Prof. Dodge, that one is surprised at his statement in the *Preface* that copies of the original editions of *Daphnaïda* and the *Prothalamion* are not accessible in the United States. Copies of both may be consulted at the Boston Public Library.

² An exception appears where Prof. Dodge states (p. xix) that in 1589: 'He [Spenser] and the old fame of his *Shepherd's Calendar* were "quite forgot".' This does not accord with Puttenham's familiar allusion and praise in 1589 (ed. Arber's Reprints, p. 77), or Webbe's in 1586 (ed. Arber, p. 35).

One important point on which I differ from Prof. Dodge is the date of Spenser's departure from England either shortly before or sometime after the publication of the *Complaints* (1591)¹. It has been customary, and Prof. Dodge adheres to the custom, to understand by the 'Printer's' prefatory allusion to Spenser's 'departure over sea,' his departure subsequent to receiving his grant of a pension in February, 1591. The objections are: (1) we have no other evidence that Spenser had departed; (2) the departure is not distinguished as his *late* departure by contrast with his departure in 1580; (3) the context becomes implausible if a recent departure is assumed. The 'Printer' declares that the poems composing the *Complaints* 'were disperst abroad in sundrie hands; and not easie to bee come by, by [the poet] himselfe; some of them having been diverslie imbeziled and purloyned from him, since his departure over sea.' Diverse imbezillings, purloinings, communication between author and printer, the author's vain attempt and the printer's successful attempt at collection, imply a passage of time befitting an allusion to 1580, but inapplicable to a departure shortly before publication. Moreover, according to Prof. Dodge (p. 58¹) the collection had been made, and 'the copy must have been at least approximately complete,' before Spenser can have left London, since it was entered in the Stationers' Register under December 29, 1590. The 'Printer,' therefore, alludes to Spenser's departure in 1580.

Prof. Dodge seeks to escape this conclusion by holding (I think rightly) that this address of *The Printer to the Gentle Reader* is a subterfuge inspired by the poet himself. If so, whether Spenser's motive was diffidence (as suggested by Prof. Dodge, p. 58¹) or a desire to shield himself from counter-attack², his disingenuousness would make him wish to seem plausible. He would, therefore, allude to his departure of 1580, and not to his departure which, on this hypothesis, was yet to take place.

We have, therefore, no evidence that Spenser left London until after the publication of the *Complaints*. Indeed, having avoided responsibility, he might wish to enjoy his triumph. Again, his grant of Kilcolman was not secured till October 26, 1591, and business connected with this is not unlikely to have kept him in London. Finally, he dates the dedicatory letter prefixed to *Daphnaïda*, at London, January 1, 1591 (modern style 1592). Prof. Dodge, in common with previous editors

¹ See *Spenser's Dating of Colin Clout*. N.Y. Nation, Nov., 1906. Prof. Dodge alludes to this (p. 678²).

² The unlikelihood that Spenser did not keep, or could not procure, copies of these poems, dedicated to his relatives or most intimate patrons, satirizing his chief enemy (Burghley), circulating at most in a limited group of court folk—and yet that a printer could obtain them—is very great. It is heightened by the representation of the 'Printer' that Spenser, though present in London, had no hand in the publication. The inference, that this is a subterfuge, is made probable by the circumstance that the *Complaints* are largely complaints against Burghley. Personal malice could not be urged against or visited upon the 'Printer,' while these indiscretions of the author would appear to have been 'purloined' (not circulated at his wish), and no longer 'easie to bee come by.' In this contingency, Spenser would wish them to appear to be juvenile indiscretions, and would therefore refer to his departure in 1580.

and biographers, explains this as a mistake or exceptional following of continental usage, claiming that Spenser meant 1591, modern style. The assumption is made to avoid two seeming difficulties: one created by the dating of *Colin Clout* (see note 1, above), the other by the date of Daphne's death (August, 1590). This, too, is easily met, for the dedicatory letter need not date from the first completion of the poem¹. An assumption that the poem circulated for a time in manuscript or was written toward the end of 1591, involves less difficulty than to suppose it ready for publication on January 1, 1591: for in that case it should have formed a very appropriate part of the *Complaints*.

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Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Von C. H. KAULFUSS-DIESCH. (*Probefahrten*, VII.) Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1905. 8vo. viii + 236 pp.

Many problems of interest to the student of the drama have arisen in connection with the appearance of English players in Germany in the sixteenth century; none are, however, of greater interest just at present than that connected with the stage itself, especially as during the last few years the contemporary English stage has been the subject of numerous monographs². The present volume offers a thorough investigation on this question—the *mise en scène* of the English Comedians. The author has, moreover, undertaken his task with an extensive knowledge of the German stage prior to the arrival of the English players: indeed, his introductory paragraphs on the stage of the mediæval drama, the shrove-tide, school, and master-singer plays may be pronounced without hesitation the best concise treatment of the subject. And regarding the stage-setting of the plays of the English Comedians and of Herzog Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig, he has brought forward much new and valuable material and has also admirably arranged the old, especially in those paragraphs that deal with the actors and the acting. With the actual staging of the plays, however, he has not been, as I believe, so successful.

That the English Comedians brought with them what was to all intents and purposes the Shakespearean stage is the current opinion. But many matters of detail relating to this are still, and perhaps always will be, the subject of controversy. According to our best present

¹ Spenser's explanation in this letter of 'the occasion why I wrote the same [poem]' appears to connote a lapse of time.

² Cf. William Archer in the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 208, p. 442, where a discussion and criticism of six recent publications on the Elizabethan stage (1904–1907), and the announcement of a seventh, which has since appeared in part, is to be found.

knowledge the 'public' playhouses of Elizabethan London were fairly complex affairs. Is it probable that these wandering actors whom Fynes Moryson, after seeing them perform at Frankfurt a.M., called 'our cast despised Stage players',¹ should take with them any great number of stage properties? Indeed the case of poor Richard Jones who was obliged to beg the money to get 'a sute of clothes and a cloke' out of pawn is well known. Would they not rather make use of the stage of the English players when touring the provinces? But of this or even of the stage of the 'private' London theatres we know practically nothing. That these were more primitive and decidedly simpler is about all that we can affirm. Toward this view we have, indeed, for Germany some evidence, and again it is Fynes Moryson who, in the same paragraph from which the above was quoted, speaks of these English actors 'at Franckford in the tyme of the Mart, hauing nether a Complete number of Actours, nor any good Apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage.'

This whole question is not touched upon by Diesch, for whom the Elizabethan stage is the stage of the 'public' theatres. His authorities are the publications of Gaedertz, Brandl and especially the dissertation of Cecil Brodmeier: *Die Shakespeare-Bühne nach den alten Bühnenanweisungen*, Weimar, 1904. He accepts apparently the so-called alternation theory, although for this I am not able to point to any definite statement. In one important respect, however, Diesch differs from Brodmeier. He does not find, in the extant plays of the English Comedians, the least evidence of a curtain, temporarily shutting off a part of the stage, and from this argues that the Elizabethan stage also possessed none. The presence of a curtain, or better of curtains, is, however, now a recognized fact. In view of the material at hand it would almost appear that Diesch feared to admit the possibility of what is, after all, a very considerable difference in the two stages. I would rather believe that, as the 'corridor' or 'alcove' (i.e., the comparatively small space enclosed entirely or in part by curtains) was at best very dark and by no means necessary for all plays, the English players in Germany omitted it entirely as an unnecessary detail. Their audience was quite content to watch, for example, the preparations required for a banquet; indeed from the number of times which this particular scene appears in the few texts we have, it evidently appealed to the popular taste.

With Brodmeier Diesch divides his stage into three parts—a front stage without decoration, representing an indefinite locality, such as a street; a somewhat smaller rear stage with properties, representing a definite place, such as a room; and an upper stage or balcony. Regarding the front and rear stages he admits, however (p. 64): 'die beiden Bühnenfelder sind durchaus nicht streng geschieden. Sie können ineinander übergehen und so zur Neutralbühne werden.' Entire acts

¹ The reference from Moryson is quoted by Charles Harris: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*. Vol. xxii, p. 446.

or even series of acts (in the *Fortunatus* of the 1620 Collection¹ the first three) he assigns to this neutral stage.

The occasional use of an upper stage or balcony by the English Comedians has long been recognized. Mettenleiter's description of Spencer's stage in Regensburg (Diesch, p. 59) certainly provides for such an upper stage; stage directions of *Titus Andronicus* in the 1620 Collection, which agree surprisingly with Shakespeare's, references and stage directions in the plays of Heinrich Julius and Jakob Ayer prescribe it. Whether, as Diesch surmises, the balcony was also used for the fairly frequent 'Geistererscheinungen' and for the orchestra, which played a very important part in these pieces, is, to say the least, doubtful. The evidence for the division into front and rear stage must, however, be examined. What has been called 'the only obvious test of a rear stage scene,' the use of a curtain, is not to be found. Mettenleiter's description (Diesch, p. 59) of the Regensburg stage, on which he (p. 77) would not lay much weight, is too indefinite to base conclusions upon. We are left to the texts themselves.

'Der beste Beweis für die Trennung von Hinterbühne und Vorderbühne' Diesch (p. 63) finds in the third act of *Esther* in the 1620 Collection (Tittmann, p. 33 ff.): '*Haman kömpt mit dem Knapkäse Zimmermann.*' He orders Knapkäse: 'bawe mir einen Galgen in meinem Hofe, 50. Elen hoch.' Knapkäse takes the measure of the gallows from Haman himself, who finally becomes angry: '*Ziehet sein Gewehr. Er* (i.e., Knapkäse) *läufft. Gehen hinein.*'

The king now enters with a servant who reads to him in the *Chronica* of Mardocheus' action in saving the king's life. He asks what has been done to honour this man, the servant replies, nothing.

König. Nichts? das ist uns leyd: Sag wer ist dar im Hofe?

Diener. Grossmächtigster König, es ist Haman, der lest sich ein Galgen bawen.

König. Lass ihn bald zu uns herein kommen. *Holet ihn.*

Diesch (p. 63) comments: 'Währenddem (i.e., while the servant is reading to the king on the rear stage), so müssen wir annehmen, ist Haman mit Hans Knapkäse wieder auf die Vorderbühne erschienen, wo Hans den bestellten Galgen aufstellt. Der König fragt: "Wer ist dar im Hofe?" Diener: "Grosser König, es ist Haman, der lässt sich einen Galgen bauen." Es geht zwar aus dieser Stelle nicht mit absoluter Sicherheit hervor, dass die Erbauung des Galgens vor den Augen des Publicums geschieht; indessen gehen wir wohl in unserer Annahme nicht fehl, da ja der Galgen im nächsten Akte tatsächlich

¹ *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*, etc., appearing 1620 in a first, 1624 in a second edition. The plays are for the most part accessible in the collections of Tittmann: *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*, Vol. XIII of Goedeke und Tittmann: *Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts*, and Creizenach: *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*, Vol. 23 of Kürschner: *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*. In the following quotations I give page references to Tittmann or Creizenach, the text itself, however, according to the copy of the 1620 Collection in the British Museum. An exact reprint of this, as also of the 1630 Collection, *Liebeskampff*, is much to be desired. Tittmann, especially, gives a greatly modernized text.

benutzt wird....Ist unsere Annahme richtig, so ist sie der beste Beweis für die Trennung von Hinterbühne und Vorderbühne.'

But is not this entirely begging the question? Diesch places the scenes arbitrarily on the front and rear stage, doing violence to the text, which clearly states that Haman and Knapkäse exeunt (*Gehen hinein*) before the entrance of the king with his servant, and then claims this as *best proof* for the division into front and rear stage scenes.

In support of his preconceived theory Diesch often leaves in the reader's mind an entirely false impression. A good example in question is the following, taken from the fourth act of *Titus Andronicus* in the 1620 Collection. Diesch (p. 73) writes: 'Im vierten Akte wird Titus veranlasst, sich die Hand abzuhaue[n], um das Leben seiner Söhne zu retten (auf der Vorderbühne); Helicates und Sophonus, die beiden Söhne der Kaiserin, führen auf der Hinterbühne die geschändete und verstümmelte Andronica herein, wo sie ihr Bruder Victoriades findet und in seinen Schutz nimmt, und auf der Vorderbühne erscheint wieder Titus Andronicus; hier werden ihm die abgeschlagenen Häupter seiner beiden Söhne gebracht, und Victoriades führt ihm die unglückliche Andronica zu.'

From reading this description one receives the impression that for some of the action at least both the front and rear divisions of the stage are in use at the same time, which is not at all in accord with the actual, very definite, directions of the text. For after Andronicus has cut off his hand, the stage direction reads (Creizenach, p. 31 ff.): '*Gehen zusammen hinein.*' The stage is empty. '*Jetzt kömpt herauss Helicates und Saphonus*' with the mutilated Andronica. The two brothers '*Gehen weg. Andronica bleibt alleine....Nicht lange darnach kömpt...Victoriades.*' She would run from him and hide—'*leuffet sie ins Holtz.*' But Victoriades '*leufft hinein, holet sie wiederumb herauss.*' He expresses his pity and bids her: '*O kom mit mir, du solt hie nicht bleiben. Gehet hinein.*' Evidently both go out and the stage is again empty. '*Nun kömpt herauss Titus Andronicus, Vespasianus, alsbald kömpt der Morian, bringet die beiden Häupter und die Handt.*' Morian exits, Titus calls down the vengeance of the gods upon his adversaries. '*Jetzt kömpt Victoriades, bringet die Andronica.*'

One sees how carefully the German adaptor avoids just what Diesch desires to find—the simultaneous use of two parts of the stage, representing different localities. In fact one only needs to read the texts themselves to become convinced that the compiler of the 1620 Collection, at least, never thought of any distinct division into front and rear stage. Very instructive in this respect is a series of short scenes in the third act of *Esther* (Tittmann, p. 29 ff.), where, however, even Diesch must admit (p. 62): 'Der Verfasser war anscheinend der Situation nicht mehr gewachsen und kehrte deshalb zu dem einfachen Prinzip der Neutralbühne zurück.'

¹ The text of the 1620 Collection is here corrupt—it reads *Vate*. Creizenach conjectures *Vetter*; a simpler conjecture would appear to me *Pate*; *Bruder* is quite impossible.

We cannot follow Diesch's argument in full—he analyses with more or less detail seven plays of the 1620 Collection—these examples must suffice. Is, however, the case of Heinrich Julius different, whom Diesch (p. 107) calls 'der einzige deutsche Dramendichter, der die englische Bühne bewusst und in vollem Umfange übernahm'? Eugen Kilian, who reviewed Diesch's publication¹, evidently thinks so. He writes (*Studien*, p. 144): 'Weit eher als bei den englischen Komödianten könnte man sich bei den Stücken des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig...mit der von Diesch vertretenen Annahme einer grundsätzlichen Teilung des Bühnenfeldes befreunden.' As 'kräftigste Stütze' he regards a passage in the tragedy *Von dem ungeratenen Sohn*. We find in the fifth scene of the third act of this piece a passage (Diesch, p. 87): 'welche für die Beschaffenheit der Bühne des Herzogs den untrüglichen Schlüssel abgibt. Die Szene spielt im Holze; Nero und seine beiden Mordgesellen Seditiosus und Hypocrita verschwören sich gegen das Leben des alten Herzogs. Hier sagt nun die Bühnenanweisung: "Die beiden gehen ab. Nero gehet aus dem Holze, und kommt wider auff die Brücken." Aus dieser Stelle geht die prinzipielle Teilung des Bühnenfeldes in Vorderbühne und Hinterbühne deutlich hervor.'

There is, however, one difficulty with this explanation. This play offers, as Diesch readily admits, almost insurmountable difficulties in the staging. He gives then an arrangement which seems to him to have 'die grösste Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich.' In this he places woods and garden, both being necessary, side by side at the very back of the rear stage. He admits this to be merely a possible solution, but thereupon promptly uses this hypothesis to prove his point: the woods are perhaps to be located at the rear of the stage, Nero comes from the woods 'auf die Brücke,' he must then come from the rear to the front, consequently the stage is to be divided into two parts, a front and a rear stage. It is the same method of proof which was used in the case of the plays of the English Comedians themselves. That the actors played both on the front and rear of the stage goes without saying, but that there was any definite division into front and rear stage, either in the plays of the English Comedians or of Heinrich Julius has still to be shown; Diesch has not introduced any evidence that is in the least convincing.

Also in many points of detail I would differ from Diesch. To mention a few: on p. 79 he claims: 'Die Vorderbühne war im englischen Theater von der Hinterbühne dadurch scharf unterschieden, dass die letztere durch ein Dach geschützt war, welches der Vorderbühne fehlte.' This is, however, in itself very doubtful and only to be granted if we accept the theory that the curtains shut off everything behind the pillars. This same arrangement Diesch then reads into the very vague descriptions of the stages at Regensburg and Cassel, and conjectures a similar arrangement for all the larger stages of the English Comedians

¹ *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VII, 138 ff.

in Germany. In other cases—private houses, castles, etc.—he would have the rear stage surrounded with curtains. The only evidence he can produce for this (*Der bestrafte Brudermord*, which he introduces, is inadmissible because of the late date of the text) is to be found in the play *Von dem verlorren Sohn* (Tittmann, p. 66 f.). The Prodigal enters in beggar's clothing, he bewails his misery, for three days he has not eaten. 'Hie wil ich vor diese Thür gehn und bitten. Ach mein guter frommer Herr ich bitt, erbarmet euch uber mich unnd theilet mir mit ein Allmosen....*Es antwortet ihm einer unter den Tapetichten.*' Three times he approaches a door and each time he is refused, although there is no further mention of tapestries.

It would not seem possible on such meagre evidence to assert that the rear stage was surrounded by tapestries; I am inclined to believe that the 'Tapetichte' were the curtains hung before the entrances, of which we find evidence in Jakob Ayser and the earlier Terence stage.

Nor is the case of the galleries with which Diesch surrounds the rear stage on three sides, with entrances directly upon the front stage—a slight modification of Brodmeier's arrangement for the Elizabethan stage—different. These he finds again in the description of the Regensburg stage (p. 59), where, however, there is absolutely no word of anything of the kind, and in the petition of Green, Danzig, 1615, where the word *Gallerey* refers only to arrangements for seating the audience. He claims (p. 83): 'Die Seiteneingänge sind ausdrücklich vorgeschrieben im *Königssohn von England*' (Tittmann, p. 218), where the stage direction in question reads: (the king) '*Gehet hinein, kömpt auff der andern Seiten wieder.*' I can picture the scene perfectly well, including the following entrance of the magician, with three back entrances or even two. Side entrances are not necessary, and certainly not prescribed.

In fact, the back entrances seem to have occasioned Diesch unnecessary trouble. In the plays in question he finds but one absolutely necessary, but '*aus Gründen der Symmetrie*' (p. 82) he provides his stage with two. Surely, however, at least two entrances are called for by the 1608 Graz text of *Niemand und Jemand*¹, where we read (Bischoff, p. 177): '*Hie khombt aus ein Thor Cornuel, zum andern Thor begegnet ihm Morganus,*' or '*Hie khomen Martianus und Malgo zu unterschidlichen Thorn aus.*' I imagine, however, that the actual number of entrances depended to a very great extent upon other conditions and that no precise number can be given.

It is just in this respect that Diesch lays himself open to severest criticism. He starts with a preconceived, and in many details false, notion of the Elizabethan stage. On to this stage he forces the plays of the English Comedians, although in support of his theory he is often obliged to resort to conjecture and to an unwarranted interpretation of the text. To local conditions, which undoubtedly played a most

¹ Edited by Bischoff: *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, 1899.

important part in the stage arrangements of these wandering actors, he allows little or no room¹.

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Goethe und die Seinen. Quellenmässige Darstellungen über Goethes Haus. Von LUDWIG GEIGER. Leipzig: R. Voigtländer. 1908. 8vo. 374 pp.

In the preface to this book the author explains what he wishes to be understood under the somewhat ambiguous term 'die Seinen': 'Es ist die Welt, die ihn nach Begründung seines Heines umgab, es sind die Bewohner seines Hauses, die Mitglieder des kleinen vertrauten Kreises, der täglich, ja stündlich um ihn war,' or, in other words, Goethe's 'Familie der freien Wahl.' A good deal has already been written on this subject, and monographs exist on most of the members of Goethe's household, but Professor Geiger claims for his book that it is the first in which the 42 volumes of letters, the 13 volumes of diary and the 10 volumes of conversations have been so freely used, and given such a prominent place in the foreground.

The work falls into several sections. The first of these is devoted to 'Die Gattin,' whose history is traced from the day she first met Goethe in the park at Weimar in 1788, till her death in 1816. This is by no means the first attempt to vindicate Christiane's character from the aspersions cast upon it by the indignant 'Weimarerinnen'; but by the juxtaposition of the various poems, letters and reports having reference to Goethe's life-companion, we get a clear and illuminating view of the 'dicke Ehehälfte,' as Charlotte von Schiller was wont to call her. Professor Geiger, in passing a final judgment, does not commit himself further than to describe their union as one 'dass unsere Teilnahme fordert und unsere Achtung,' but he closes the section with the words of Frau von Knebel, who, in a very impartial description of Christiane's character, declares 'dass Goethe nach seiner Eigentümlichkeit nie eine passendere Frau für sich hätte finden können.'

Section II is devoted to August, Ottilie and 'die Enkel.' A full account of August von Goethe's melancholy existence has not yet been written, and the 67 pages devoted to Goethe's son in this part of the book will be welcome to all who wish to become better acquainted with Goethe's family circle. The details of his early life and his official career, though in themselves of no intrinsic interest, shew how harmful

¹ It should be added that there are a rather large number of simple printer's errors in Diesch's publication, also a few of a somewhat more serious nature. Of this second class I note the following: p. 77, first line of the paragraph, for 'Spencers Nürnberger Bühne' read 'Spencers Regensburger Bühne'; p. 81, four lines from top, for 'V. B.' (Vorderbühne) read 'H. B.' (Hinterbühne). Most troublesome, however, is the error, p. 58, in the first line of the quotation from Duncker; for 'Au devant du Paris' read 'Au devant du Palais.' The reference to *Deutsche Rundschau* is here also wrongly given; for '48, S. 219 ff.' read '48, S. 260 ff.'

to his character and development generally was the unsystematic and disconnected method which his father followed with regard to his education and upbringing. And yet the fact that his life was not an even greater failure is probably due to the almost fanatical love of order which he certainly inherited from his father, and which the elder Goethe constantly encouraged and demanded, even to the detriment of other and more valuable faculties. As regards his character and his personal relations to his father, Professor Geiger's view differs somewhat both from that of Karl von Holtei, who represents his friend as gifted but without character, and from that held by another of August's contemporaries, whose account of Goethe's son is one of the few trustworthy documents on this subject that we possess. According to Jenny von Pappenheim, August Goethe was a man of good abilities and amiable disposition, whose one misfortune was to be the son of his father: 'die Nähe des Vaters floh er, weil die forschenden Blicke, die unausgesprochenen Anklagen ihn einschüchterten. So kam es, dass er, der sonst so Fröhliche, sich in den Räumen Goethe's am liebsten stumm und missmuthig in die Ecken drückte,' etc. (Lily Braun, *Im Schatten der Titanen*, p. 123 f.). Dr Geiger, on the other hand, lays considerable weight on the evidence we possess to shew that August was kept closely in touch with his father's intellectual life, that he became indispensable to his father's activity, and that even their collaboration on purely business and official matters bore a more intimate and personal character than has generally been assumed. It must be confessed, however, that in the documents he adduces, the impression one gains is not that of intense filial or parental affection, but rather of dry business transactions between two men in their official capacity. There can be no doubt as to Goethe's affection for his son, however disappointed he may have been in his subsequent development; but even Professor Geiger is forced to admit in the end that 'Der Fluch seines Lebens war...das niederdrückende Gefühl: Goethes Sohn zu sein.'

In his treatment of Ottilie, Dr Geiger errs perhaps on the side of being too severe. He comments on the fact that, after August's death, the intimacy between father- and daughter-in-law, at first so great, seemed to diminish; and he attributes this to Ottilie's 'grobe Vernachlässigung der Pflichten einer Hausfrau.' He laments that she should have understood so little how to brighten the declining years of the aged poet and should have forced on him the burden of duties which properly fell in her own province. But here again we have a more sympathetic picture from the hand of her friend Jenny von Pappenheim. From this we learn that Ottilie, after August's death, daily devoted six hours of her time to her father-in-law; to quote her own words, as reported and later corroborated by her friend: 'oft kann ich nicht mehr und glaube ohnmächtig zu werden vor Schwäche, doch der Gedanke dass ich ihm nützlich, ihm nothwendig bin, dass ich seine alten Tage verschönern und in der Welt zu etwas gut sein kann, dieser Gedanke giebt mir die Kräfte wieder. Neulich haben wir den Plutarch zu lesen angefangen, und schliesslich las er mir aus dem zweiten Teil des Faust;

es war schön und gross, als ich aber nach 11 Uhr mein Zimmer betrat, fiel ich meiner Länge nach zu Boden' (*Im Schatten der Titanen*, p. 119). Of course it is impossible to deny that Ottilie was frivolous even to excess; but when, speaking of her life, Dr Geiger says: 'Es ist nicht das Leben einer Mutter, die sich der Pflichten gegen ihre Kinder bewusst ist, und noch weniger das einer Frau, die den gefeiertsten Namen Deutschlands trägt; man ist manchmal versucht, an eine Abenteurerin zu denken, die in der Welt herumzieht und jede ihrer Launen befriedigt,' and then produces some contemporary gossip to justify his hard words about her, we are inclined to think that he does gross injustice to Ottilie and that, overlooking the good points in her 'problematische Natur,' he unduly accentuates the less pleasing ones.

The account of the two sons and their somewhat misguided attitude towards their grandfather's inheritance is of great interest, and the description of the author's unsuccessful interview with these two jealous guardians of the family treasure is clearly characteristic of their behaviour towards even the most serious and conscientious of Goethe-students. We get a clear idea of the curious blight which seemed to lie over the lives of these two not ungifted men, whose melancholy existence is only illuminated by the generosity with which, at the close of their lives, they handed over the incomparable gift of all the family treasures and archives for the use of the German nation.

The Section devoted to 'Haus und Hausverwandte' is perhaps the part of the book which presents least interest to the general reader. Goethe's relations to his coachmen, his cooks, and other domestics are illustrated from notes of his Tagebücher and correspondence. His transactions with the actors and actresses at the Weimar theatre are discussed. Finally Goethe's friends, more particularly those of his later years, are presented to us. Schiller is intentionally left on one side; Meyer and Zelter are sympathetically characterized, and finally, as 'untergeordnete Hausgenossen,' Riemer and Eckermann. The Kanzler v. Müller, as usual with Goethe's biographers, comes off very badly: 'Kein Umgang, der eines Goethe würdig war.' Dr Geiger does not even do him the justice of quoting him absolutely correctly on p. 173, where a very slight inaccuracy causes the chancellor's words to produce a more unpleasing impression than they do as they stand in the original (cf. *Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler von Müller*, ed. Cotta, p. 183). It is, moreover, scarcely fair to insist on the unworthy manner in which he acted with regard to Goethe's 'Nachlass,' and to omit to mention at the same time the many difficulties of the work he undertook, as well as the thanklessness of his task, owing to the attitude taken up by the rightful heirs.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

LONDON.

La Rhythmique Musicale des Troubadours et des Trouvères. Par PIERRE AUBRY. Paris: A. Picard, 1907. 4to. 67 pp.

Die Melodien der Troubadours. Von J. B. BECK. Strassburg: Trübner, 1908. 4to. viii + 202 pp.

The object of the first of these books is to show the incorrectness of Hugo Riemann's system of interpreting the melodies of the trobadors and trouvères and to prove the author's own hypothesis that these melodies, though they are not written in mensural notation, belong to the *ars mensurabilis* of the Middle Ages.

According to Riemann, the rules for the measuring of music, which were laid down by the mediaeval theorists, applied only to music written in several parts, and the rhythm of the trobadors' melodies depended entirely on the structure of the verse, each syllable being sung to a note or group of notes of equal time-value. The task of transcribing the old melodies into modern notation becomes a very simple one if Riemann's method is employed, but there is no reason for believing that the musical rhythm of the songs was anything like what he supposes, for the known facts concerning the music of the Middle Ages give no indication of such a rhythm ever having been employed. Riemann's system of interpreting the melodies is indeed an invention of his own.

M. Aubry on the other hand arrives at his conclusion after studying the rules of the mediaeval theorists, examining MSS. which contain two-part music (which was undoubtedly measured) as well as melodies, all the music being written according to the same system of notation, and comparing MSS. which contain the same songs, written in mensural notation in one MS. and not in the other. The conclusion which he draws after a logical examination of all the facts is that the melodies should be measured according to the system of modal formulae, of which frequent mention is made by the old theorists. The musical modes resemble classical metres, the first three, the most often used, corresponding to the trochaic, iambic and dactylic. M. Aubry gives a number of examples of songs from MSS. not written in mensural notation, which he transcribes according to the modal interpretation, and the results are very satisfactory as regards the music itself and the rhythm and meaning of the words.

M. Aubry has always maintained that the melodies of the trobadors and trouvères should be interpreted mensurally, but in the present work, as he admits himself, he departs considerably from his former method of interpretation. He formerly believed that the Old French and Provençal chansonniers, such as Paris Bib. Nat. 844 fonds fr., 22543 fonds fr., Arsenal 5198, etc., were actually *written* in mensural notation. A further study of the MSS. and of the history of mensural notation has led him to discard this belief, and in the present volume he sets forth a method of interpretation for which it may be claimed that it is at once the most satisfying and the most reasonable that has

yet been suggested. M. Aubry has the gift of being able to write on a thoroughly technical subject in really good prose, and the clearness and ease of his style help his readers to follow his arguments without difficulty. That we are convinced by them is due to the solid facts on which he bases them.

It is strange that during all the time that has elapsed since the revival of interest in the poetry of the troubadors which started about a hundred years ago, scarcely any attention has been paid to the music of the songs. Words and music were inseparable in Provençal lyrics, the two halves which made up the whole of the song. The fact that the songs which survive in their complete form are very much less numerous than those the words only of which are in existence is surely no reason for not studying those melodies which do exist. The musical branch of the art of the troubadors was, nevertheless, almost entirely ignored until a few years ago. For some time past it has been studied by MM. P. Aubry, H. Riemann and A. Restori, but the first complete general survey of the subject is contained in the book by Dr J. B. Beck now before us. The value of Dr Beck's book to all students of troubador literature can scarcely be overestimated, and it should do much to give to the study of the music that prominence which has hitherto been denied it. A description of the contents of this volume will give some idea of the thoroughness and care with which Dr Beck has worked at his subject. The first part contains a list and description of all MSS. containing troubador melodies, a complete list, arranged in alphabetical order, of the existing songs with music, with an indication of the MS. or MSS. in which they may be found, notes on this list, and a description of the notation in which the melodies are written in the MSS. with many examples. This part concludes with a survey of the different views of modern students, especially MM. Aubry and Riemann, as to the proper method of interpreting the melodies of the troubadors. The second part consists in an exposition of the writer's theory as to the original rhythm of the songs and the correct way in which to transcribe the melodies, with many examples in the original and in modern notations. The work is not yet complete; Dr Beck announces that he hopes shortly to publish the entire collection of all known troubador melodies. When this collection appears, it and the present volume will form a most important contribution to the study of mediaeval Provençal literature.

The first part of the present volume needs no special discussion. Dr Beck's theory as to the proper method of interpreting the original notation of the MSS. and of measuring the rhythm of the songs is substantially the same as that put forward by M. Aubry in the book just noticed—namely that the actual notation employed gives no indication of the relative value of the musical notes, but that the melodies should be interpreted according to the modal formulae. It is clear that this part of Dr Beck's work was written before the appearance of M. Aubry's book, for he nowhere alludes to the latter, but makes frequent reference to the erroneous view formerly held by M. Aubry, that the troubador melodies were written in mensural notation. No

stronger argument in favour of the modal system of interpretation could be found than the fact that two such zealous and careful investigators as M. Aubry and Dr Beck should, independently of each other and treating the subject from slightly different points of view, have arrived at the same conclusion. Dr Beck lays stress on the importance of the discovery of the modal rhythm in Provençal and Old French songs as a help to the study of Romance metre. The interdependence of metre and musical rhythm on each other is a very interesting question. Dr Beck, while recognising the purely syllabic system of measurement employed in Romance verse, is inclined to attach undue importance to the tonic accent of Romance words. He describes the Second Mode, $\cup -$, as 'der echt romanische Rhythmus' because, though the musical accent generally falls on an atonic syllable, the tonic syllable is compensated by having a note of double the time-value of the accented note—a levelling-out of values thus taking place which he considers eminently suitable to the non-accentuated character of Romance verse. It is not very probable that the troubadors were actuated by consideration of the tonic syllable in words when choosing the 'modes' in which to make their songs. Dr Beck's study of the melodic rhythm of the songs is nevertheless of great interest and value. The modal method of interpreting the music will probably become universally recognised and adopted. Now that Dr Beck has lessened the difficulty of transcribing the melodies, it is greatly to be hoped that all future editions of troubador and trouvère poetry will contain melodies as well as words when the former exist. The songs lose much of their character when the words only are considered and the aesthetic value of the melodies is quite great enough to make them worth consideration. The student of music and the student of Romance literature should alike be grateful to Dr Beck, for his work opens a new aspect on both subjects.

BARBARA SMYTHE.

LONDON.

Grammaire historique de la langue française.® Par KR. NYROP. Tome III. Paris: Picard, 1908. 8vo. viii + 459 pp.

Since the appearance of Darmesteter's epoch-making work, *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux dans la langue française*, in 1877 the study of the subject has so widened that the learned author of the present volume has found it necessary to omit his promised study of semantics altogether, and to reserve for it a volume which we hope will soon be published. It is with great regret that we learn that he is suffering from an affection of the eyes which renders all reading impossible; we sincerely hope, however, that he may be able to complete his volumes on semantics and syntax, both of which are so much to be desired. The present work of Nyrop deals with the methods of formation generally and with those that Darmesteter left untouched, viz., regressive formation, irregular formation and onomatopœia.

Though no writer of the last thirty years has proved so productive of new words as Balzac, yet Zola, Bourget and Anatole France all add a considerable number to the vocabulary. The *historique* of the neologism is clearly stated, and we find quoted a protest by the late *académicien* Brunetière against innovations. This sturdy classic claims that such should be regularly debarred unless they correspond to *réalités*: yet we must admit the claim of a modern symbolist poet to place his impress on the language, as well as that of Hugo to 'mettre un bonnet rouge sur le vieux dictionnaire.' Nyrop expresses sanely the attitude we should adopt towards neologisms: 'Selon nous, les néologismes sont les résultats nécessaires et les marques infaillibles de la vitalité forte et saine de la langue, ou, pour parler plus correctement, ils témoignent d'une imagination poétique et plastique toujours en éveil, d'efforts continuels pour rendre l'expression plus variée, plus nuancée, plus pittoresque. Il ne faut pas tenter d'endiguer le flot des néologismes: il saura bien se régulariser lui-même; les mots mort-nés ne tarderont pas à disparaître sous la surface de l'eau, les viables entreront vite dans le grand courant de la langue parlée, qui, grâce à ce surcroît constant, se rajeunira, s'embellira et sera de plus en plus apte à exprimer les nuances infinies de la pensée humaine.' The chapter on onomatopœia strikes us as extremely interesting and original. Nyrop points out that the names of sounds are entirely conventional and often differ widely from one country to another, thus the noise made by the duck is represented in English by 'quack quack,' and in Denmark by 'rap rap.' No direct observation is brought into play: thus a clock always says 'tic-tac' or 'tick-tock,' and if we try to hear 'tac-tic,' after a second or so we shall again hear 'tic-tac,' so strongly does the force of habit dominate the impression of our ears. Onomatopœia always offer a series of vocalic modulations thus: i-a, i-o or i-a-ou with fixed harmonics; the reason, though Nyrop does not note it, seems to be that the first of a series is always a front vowel with a high musical pitch with rapid return of the tongue to the position of rest or, from the point of view of pitch, a high and then a low pitch or, in the case of a series, from the vowel having the highest to that which has the lowest musical pitch. An interesting chapter of the book is that which deals with the neologisms of politics and literature. Many of those formed can remain only as interesting examples, such as 'beaupérisme,' 'henriquinguiste,' invented to describe the action of President Grévy's son-in-law Wilson in the sale of decorations and the supporters of the claims of the late Comte de Chambord (called Henri V) to the throne of France, while others, 'extrême-oriental,' 'moyenâgeux,' may be said to have received 'droit de cité' if not recognition by the Académie.

The study of suffixes, both Latin and French, gives proof of years of earnest work, and offers the most complete study of the subject extant; the difference between those suffixes the activity of which has ceased and those which are still living is stated with the greatest clearness, e.g., -ia at the time of Charles the Simple no longer served to form a compound 'Normándia' and therefore recourse had to be had to ía

whence 'Normandia' > 'Normandie,' but one cannot help thinking that another explanation is possible, viz. that the new word 'Normandie' might stand in the same relation to 'Norman(d)' as 'baronie' to 'baron.' Vast numbers of compounds have disappeared from the language, thus out of the numerous examples derived with the help of the suffix -ison < itionem, only 'garnison,' 'guérison' and 'trahison' remain. So vast was the vocabulary of Old French that we feel some sympathy with Gautier, who revelled in words as every examiner knows, when he protests that the Malherbian reform, while it cleared away many tares, yet destroyed many a golden ear. Chapter V. dealing with 'Mots composés' does not do more than study types and the enquirer should turn to Darnesteter's exhaustive work the *Traité des mots composés* (2nd edition, 1894). The only addition we note here is 'un cinq heures' (§ 720).

In some interesting additions the use of initials, generally in professional or student slang only, to avoid a long or clumsy phrase, we find the remark that those in the Services des Postes, Télégraphes et Téléphones are known as the P.T.T., it will be of interest to note whether their recent strike will generalize this convenient abbreviation.

It must be a matter of great joy to the learned professor to find so many devoted friends and pupils ready to undertake the routine work of correcting and indexing. So devotedly has this been done that we are unable to find an important reference omitted or a false one given. Praise from us is needless, but we may say that this work increases the debt of gratitude that students of French owe to the learned professor of Copenhagen.

A. T. BAKER.

SHEFFIELD.

Étude Scientifique sur l'Argot et le Parler populaire. L'argot français et étranger dans ses vocabulaires, ses origines, ses éléments et son interprétation. Par RAOUL DE LA GRASSERIE. Paris: H. Daragon, 1907. 8vo. 179 pp.

The plan adopted in this work has been, first to classify all forms of parlance from the highest to the lowest; and then to characterise and illustrate by copious examples the processes which have given rise to all below the level of standard speech. 'L'espace,' the author aptly says, 'se divise entre les parlers, mais en couches horizontales pour les diverses classes, tandis qu'il se divisait en tranches verticales entre les langues différentes.' So the various parlanges take rank in an order descending with the power of abstract expression possessed by each, and consequently corresponding roughly to a descent in the social scale. Parlance not being however exclusively the outcome of social conditions, the above correspondence is merely approximate, and 'higher' and 'lower' almost of necessity remain vague terms. 'Ces étages,' says the author in reference to them, 'correspondent aux diverses classes sociales, ainsi qu'à la culture intellectuelle.'

Both classifications, that of speech and of its modes of formation, are carried out by the aid of a carefully devised nomenclature. In it 'glose' means any parlance or form of speech; 'orthoglose,' one springing from normal conditions; 'paraglose,' one acquired to suit new ones. So cant or 'la langue verte' is an 'orthoglose'; trade terms make up a 'paraglose,' the 'technoglose,' in fact; whilst trade and professional slang are classed under the heading 'ergoglose,' an instance of the clearness of the distinctions made. But the inclusion of dialects here is a little surprising, the difference between parlance and language having once been illustrated by speaking of the one as horizontal and the other as vertical. Of course the convenience of the author's arrangement in other ways is sufficiently obvious. The difficulty comes in trying to lose sight of the difference between dialect and social parlance on finding the two thus classed together.

It is a pity that good two pages of an interesting introduction should have been spent in defining such words as 'intellectuel,' 'matériel'; and in drawing a careful distinction between 'parler' and 'langage,' which is disregarded in what follows. This will probably not, as the author seems to hope, tend to popularise a piece of work which is essentially of a learned kind; and it merely leads to pitfalls, in one of which his own foot is unhappily taken. 'Ce qui est invisible et inaudible est, au contraire, immatériel,' he says incautiously. But the following two passages of real importance are also open to criticism. 'Ce serait un acte de volonté expresse, or de tels actes sont inconnus du langage,' is one; 'autrefois, il n'y avait point dans une langue ces différents étages; tout le monde employait le parler devenu inférieur depuis,' is the other. The existence of the French language is of itself sufficient to shew the second statement to be incorrect of classical times, nor is it any more applicable to the Middle Ages either.

The book suffers from one regrettable defect. It contains far too many misprints, and some other mistakes which have obviously escaped correction. It is perhaps needless to quote examples. Of the four chapters on foreign slang, the one on English slang is largely taken from the Introduction to Hutton's *Slang Dictionary*, edition 1864. But there are errors here, e.g., 'shree sheats in the wind' for 'three sheets in the wind'; 'smelling chete' is incorrectly glossed 'grange'; 'walking a mortes' should be 'walking mortes'; 'chanut' should be 'chaunt'; 'boit of blood,' 'bit of blood.' It is, too, hardly fair, without qualification, to charge the author of the *Slang Dictionary* with confounding Slang and Cant, when he has carefully defined both. 'Although in the Introduction,' he says, 'I have divided Cant from Slang, and treated the subject separately, yet in the Dictionary I have only, in a few instances, pointed out which are Slang, or which are Cant terms. The task would have been a difficult one. Many words which were once Cant are Slang now.' But M. de la Grasserie transcribes Harman's 1566 list from the same work, without stating that the words it contains are sixteenth century slang—an important omission with respect to a form of speech so perishable as a non-literary parlance. In this connec-

tion it may be interesting to observe by the way, that 's'en torcher le nez' (p. 78) was good English seventeenth century slang: 'and the King own a marriage...and so wipe their noses of the Crown' (Pepys, *Diary*, July 17, 1667). The references to folk-lore and proverbs in Ch. iv. are interesting, and a short chapter is devoted to proper names. But it will be for the two able classifications referred to above and for the wealth of examples it gives, that the book will be chiefly valued.

G. A. PARRY.

LONDON.

Jean Racine. Par JULES LEMAITRE. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1908. 8vo. 328 pp.

Some apology is due for the tardy notice in these pages of such an important book as M. Lemaitre's *Jean Racine* which last year charmed all Paris. The excuse we would tender is one that the author will surely accept and even commend, since it implies the triumph of his art. M. Lemaitre's pages compel you to turn again to the *Théâtre* of Racine, and on that enchanted ground the voice of criticism is hushed. Something of the same witchery is exercised by M. Lemaitre's own work. Its beauty and its skill dazzle the reader and conceal the defects of its argumentation. No one of Racine's tragedies can compare in interest, as the critic truly says, with the story of his life. And in handling this theme M. Lemaitre employs with consummate mastery all the qualities which it demands—learning, sympathy, style, and a sense of the dramatic.

The result is a book as full of life and interest as any play or novel. The tragedy is held together and its action is controlled by the dominating figure of Port-Royal, which broods over the whole like the Nemesis of Æschylus or Sophocles. The note is struck in the first pages, where we are shewn the four Solitaries passing in silence through the streets of La Festé-Milon, the home of Racine's parents and his birthplace; and it sounds all through the story till his death and burial beside M. Hamon, the best-loved teacher of his childhood. M. Lemaitre sees that this influence of Port-Royal, begun before Racine was born and always surrounding him, however fiercely for a time he fought against it, gives unity to that agitated life with its worldly successes and its moral failures, its glory and its baseness. He does not, we venture to think, appreciate Jansenism at its proper theological value nor see how directly it derives from St Paul; but he thoroughly understands its psychology, and his picture of the Jansenist in his cell and before the world is a masterpiece and throws into high relief the figure of the wayward youth who owed so much to Port-Royal and profited so little by the lessons of unworldliness which he learnt there. The influence of the place upon his art (which is quite another matter) was considerable, and is of course duly noted. 'L'opinion de Port-Royal sur la nature humaine se retrouvera dans ses tragédies; elle le fera véridique et hardi dans ses peintures de l'homme. Et, à cause de Port-Royal, jamais (sauf dans l'Alexandre)

il ne donnera dans l'optimisme romanesque des deux Corneille and de Quinault.'

Enough has been said in order to illustrate the skilful construction of M. Lemaitre's study. But among many instances of his extraordinary literary skill, one in particular deserves to be cited, and that is the way in which the reader's mind is prepared for the appearance of Alexander the Great on the Racinian stage. The irresistible appeal of this romantic figure has never been better described, and no one can fail now to understand why in 1665, the year of the execrable War of Devolution and five years after the Spanish marriage, Racine the courtier produced, and Louis the King applauded, the play in which the interest centres on this 'héros amoureux et guerrier.'

It is a thousand pities that M. Lemaitre's enthusiasm for Racine has led him to be less than fair to his great rival, and indeed to anyone that ventured to question, not his genius, but his supremacy. Out of a score of references to Pierre Corneille there are perhaps two which can be twisted into a faint confession of merit; while with regard to Madame de Sévigné, the critic permits himself to use an epithet which can only be termed 'fâcheux' (it is his own word for Racine's action in the matter of his *Alexandre*). He calls that great-hearted lady 'la grosse Sévigné.' Such impertinence tempers with disgust our delight in M. Lemaitre's prose.

There are certain passages which render the book unsuited to—let us say, les demoiselles de St Cyr—for instance the extremely ingenious and probably sound defence of Racine's youthful morality. But after all it was not written for young people, and we trust that it may have many English readers and help to the better understanding of a poet who is little understood by us. To discuss at length the causes of this want of appreciation lies outside our present purpose. The general ground is no doubt that which Mr Tilley has indicated in his recent volume *From Montaigne to Molière*, viz., Racine's lack of imaginative expression. The Elizabethans have created in us an appetite for this which finds satisfaction in the French romantic writers whom M. Lemaitre evidently despises rather than in the delicate and subtle art of Racine. And here it is worth while to point out a strange oversight on the part of this champion of classicism. He makes merry, as many have done before him, over the 'couleur locale' of the Romantics and against it places the 'couleur historique' of Racine, shewing quite truly that Racine manages to give the right setting to his exotic personages without the help of technical terms. But the same might be said with equal truth of the chief of the Romantics. A comparison of *La légende des siècles* with, say, the painful archaeology of Leconte de Lisle shews that Hugo was past master in the very art so greatly praised by M. Lemaitre in Racine, viz., the power of creating an atmosphere and conveying the general truth of a distant period or climate without regard to accuracy of detail.

H. F. STEWART.

Guy de Maupassant. Sein Leben und seine Werke. Von PAUL MAHN.
Berlin: Egon Fleischel und Co., 1909. 8vo. xvi + 556 pp.

Dies umfängliche, mit Fleiss und Liebe geschriebene Werk ist ohne Zweifel zur Zeit das einzige, aus dem eine wirkliche Kenntnis von Leben und Werken des letzten grossen gallischen Erzählers geschöpft werden kann; vor allem die Analyse der Dichtungen lässt die kurzen, gelegentlichen Andeutungen weit hinter sich, die man in französischen Büchern über Maupassant findet. Dennoch muss ich gestehen, dass das Ergebnis zu der Arbeitsleistung nicht im rechten Verhältnis steht. Die Biographie bringt nur in kritischer Abwehr literarischer Legenden einen allerdings sehr dankenswerten Fortschritt. Die Persönlichkeiten, mit denen der grosse Schriftsteller in einem belebten Dasein in Verbindung kam, werden zu sehr als bekannt vorausgesetzt, die Eltern und die schriftstellernde Geliebte (Frau Lecomte de Nouy) etwa ausgenommen. Und doch wäre sein Verhältnis zu Edmond de Goncourt z. B. so gut wie das zu Louis Bouilhet einer Besprechung würdig gewesen, die ganz gewiss zu einer Entlastung des von Mahn mit Recht (S. 467, 482, 525) scharf getadelten 'gentilhomme de lettres' nicht geführt hätte. Der Verfasser geht aber überhaupt auf die literarischen Zusammenhänge viel zu wenig ein, und wo er es tut, wie (S. 96) bei der Charakteristik des 'fabliau,' geschieht es in nicht einwandfreier Weise. Ebenso wird die Zweiteilung in 'Darsteller' und 'Erzähler' (S. 375), an sich treffend und fruchtbar, zu ausschliesslich vom Standpunkt Maupassants aus angenommen.

Und wie die literarhistorische, bleibt die literarische Seite des Buches hinter unseren Erwartungen zurück. Die Übersetzungen, durchweg misslungen, werden durch die Unmöglichkeit, einen Meister des einfachen Ausdrucks adäquat zu übersetzen, entschuldigt. Aber es tut weh, in einem Werk über diesen Virtuosen Ausdrücke zu treffen wie 'wurstige Skeptik' (S. 340), 'tränen' im Sinne von 'weinen' (S. 214), oder das zweimalige 'ungeheuer skeptisch' in sich deckenden Stellen (S. 321, 337). Und nicht einmal, wo sich in ihm ein berechtigter Zorn regt, findet er das rechte Wort: viel zu schwach ist (S. 467) der Ausdruck 'Gemeinheit' für die bodenlose Niedertracht, von der Goncourts schnüffelndes Behagen erzählt.

Ist das Buch aus diesen Gründen nicht geworden, wozu der hingebende Eifer des Verfassers es wohl gern gemacht hätte, so bleiben doch Verdienste genug, um derentwillen wir Mahns Werk über seine französischen Vorgänger stellen konnten.

Schon in der Gliederung und Einleitung der Novellen ist zur tieferen Erkenntnis seiner literarischen Eigenart wenigstens ein guter Schritt vorwärts getan, wenn auch die Analysen oft zu äusserlich bleiben. Wichtiger noch sind die Beobachtungen über Kunst und Technik, die über Maupassants Stil (S. 408), seine Kunst der Schlüsse (S. 418), seine Sensibilität (S. 398) und seinen Esprit (S. 413) feine Bemerkungen bringen und ein vortrefflich gewähltes Belegen die Kunst

dieses neuen Boccaccio illustrieren. Endlich aber sind auch Mahns Worte über die Persönlichkeit Maupassants von Bedeutung: sein Verhältnis zu den Frauen, zur Schriftstellerei (S. 518), zur Musik (S. 395), zur Politik, zur eleganten Welt sind noch nirgends so klar und fest ausgezeichnet worden. Nur einen Denker möchte ich ihn nicht mit Mahn (S. 159, 169) nennen und auch von seiner Philosophie (S. 313–448 f.) ungern sprechen. Er war ein wunderbarer literarischer Apparat, der kaum seines Gleichen hatte; begabt mit unerhörter Kraft, seltsame Vorgänge so loszulösen, dass sie bei aller Verständlichkeit ihre Seltsamkeit behalten wie pathologische Präparate; aber dies war ihm eben nur möglich, weil er nicht philosophierte, d. h., keine Gegensätze aufzuheben suchte, vielmehr die Unverständlichkeit der sozialen und psychologischen Zusammenhänge einfach als ein 'Urphänomen' anerkannte. Ein Ansatz zum Ethiker war vorhanden in diesem vom Verfasser richtig gewürdigten sozialen Mitleid, dass die Anklage für so viel nur verschuldetes Elend mit Schopenhauer'schem Grimm in das *Dossier de Dieu* (S. 441) schrieb; aber zu einer Klärung auch nur der eigenen Ansichten hat es der unaufhörlich beobachtende Dichter nicht gebracht, nicht bringen wollen. Die seltsame, echt französische Naivetät des Raffinements stört er durch keine Verallgemeinerung und das Raffinement der Naivetät durch keine ethischen Prinzipien. Impressionist im moralischen Sinn, Klassizist im ästhetischen ist er unter den vielen Mischungen und Gärungsprodukten unserer Zeit eins der merkwürdigsten, der gelungensten.

Echt deutsch zerbricht Mahn sich darüber den Kopf, ob Maupassant schon Genie oder nur Talent heißen dürfe (S. 426 f.). Ich meine auch: er stand an der Grenze. In der Meisterschaft der Form hat er, altheimische Übung erneuernd und steigernd, ein erstaunliches Talent erwiesen; in der Kunst, sich an den wunderbaren Verwicklungen des Weltlaufs immer wieder erregen zu lassen, zeigt er eine heute ganz einzige Genialität.

RICHARD M. MEYER.

BERLIN.

The French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration. By A. H. UPHAM. New York: Columbia University Press, 1908. 8vo. ix + 560 pp.

This essay—the author insists that the work must not be regarded as final—will, in spite of its deficiencies, be welcomed by all students of literature in England and France, and help to fill a serious gap. After an Introduction rather overlaid with facts for twenty-four pages, a second chapter in which we distinguish the guiding hand of Professor J. B. Fletcher, deals with the Areopagus Group. Though the idea of a parallel between the group of Sidney and the Pléiade is not new, the numerous points of contact are clearly made out by the author, and

not too closely pressed, as is becoming. In the third chapter on the Elizabethan Sonnet we observe a distinct tendency to underrate the dominating factor that the sonneteering outburst led by Watson and Sidney was directly prompted by the poets of the Pléiade, and not by the Italian Petrarchists. Moreover, the results of recent research are occasionally overlooked, as in the case of the sonnets of Daniel and Drummond of Hawthornden, which owe as much to France, or very nearly, as to Italy. Next a chapter of some seventy-five pages is devoted to the translators and imitators of Du Bartas. Here the author is evidently on congenial ground, and in these few pages, packed with information, supplies interesting parallels and traces probable lines of connection which are as yet far from being common knowledge. It may be noted that Milton is put aside rather too unceremoniously, and that certain of the longer poems of Drummond have not been taken into account. Despite these few deficiencies, the chapter in question is about the best in the book, and affords ample evidence of independent research. Chapter v, on Rabelais, supplies less promising material, but is none the less very readable and well-informed. In Chapter vi Montaigne's relation to Bacon, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Raleigh, Drummond, Burton and Browne is investigated. On the important question of Montaigne in England Mr Upham appears to have carefully studied the works of J. M. Robertson (1897), Jakob Feis (1891), F. Dieckow (1903), and Miss Elizabeth Robbins Hooker (1902), but, strangely enough, he does not seem to have read the remarkable studies of his country-woman, Miss Grace Norton. He is distinctly behind the times in regarding Montaigne as a pure sceptic, and instead of a rather dry accumulation of facts from which the reader is left to draw his own conclusions, we would have preferred to have been shown in what way and to what extent the authors mentioned were influenced by Montaigne. In connection with Bacon, for example, the *Novum Organum* is passed over in silence; we are not told if Bacon's invention of the experimental method owed anything to Montaigne. We trust that M. Villey will clear up this and other points in his promised parallel between Montaigne and Bacon. The sources of Montaigne's *Essays* and of those who copied them should also have been taken into consideration in estimating certain specific borrowings. The results obtained by Villey were not then available, but those of J. de Zangroniz and others were in print. Thus some of the passages from Drummond's *Cypress Grove* quoted in Appendix B as imitated from Montaigne's *Essays* turn out on closer investigation to have been transmuted in part from Charron's *Sagesse*. A consideration of Seventeenth Century *Précieuses* and Platonists occupies the seventh chapter—not a very obvious division of the subject. Satisfactory headway is made in Chapter VIII (Romance, Drama, and Heroic Poem), and in Chapter IX (Minor Literary Forms), till we reach the final chapter which is occupied with the author's Conclusion. A useful Bibliography and two Appendices complete the volume. The general impression left is that much valuable material has been collected, but that the extent and particularly the nature of the influence exercised by French litera-

ture in the period chosen has not been sufficiently emphasised; the objective method has been carried out too rigorously.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

Le Lyrisme et la Préciosité cultistes en Espagne. Par LUCIEN PAUL THOMAS. (Beiheft zur *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.) Halle: Niemeyer, 1909. 8vo. 191 pp.

This monograph is a study of the evolution and progress in Spain of cultism, the post-renaissance parasite known in other countries as marinism, euphuism, or preciosity. Traces of it have been detected in earlier periods, under the influence of Provençal and Petrarchian poetry, and scholastic writings. But humanistic stylists and rhetoricians were the medium *par excellence* in which fine writing was degraded into the pedantry and chronic bad taste of the cultists. In the Peninsula the 'new style,' as it was at first called, was consciously affected about the year 1609 by Carrillo, Gongora, and Paravicino; Herrera of the previous century had prepared the way. The fact that gongorism became synonymous with cultism may show that Gongora was the precise originator—still a mute question—or simply that he was considered the arch-sinner in conscious preciosity; it may only emphasise, however, that he was the greatest poet of the new school and the one who had made the most conspicuous *volte-face*, in the interest of notoriety. All this, and the literary war which ensued, in which Lope, Tirso, Alarcón, Quevedo and other writers were arrayed against Gongora, Jaureguí, Villamediana and their numerous followers, and the subsequent triumph of the bad cause, M. Thomas studies in a most masterly way. He has an enviable command of his facts, the fruit of long investigation, and displays an independence of judgment that is at times somewhat disconcerting. But the nature of his subject precludes definitiveness in details, more especially in the sections dealing with the ill-explored 'selva selvaggia' of the early decades of the seventeenth century. The relation, for example, of Marino to Spanish cultism has not been satisfactorily determined. It may be noted that Lope, in his dedication of *Virtud, pobreza y muger* (1625), does not seem to consider 'la bárbara aspereza que llaman culta' the same as marinism. Then, too, M. Thomas has wholly overlooked the novel and the drama in his researches. They contain information that helps to antedate phenomena noted in his study. Tirso, it may be recalled, satirized cultism in *Amor y celos*..., probably acted in 1616. So did Lope in *El anzuelo de Fenisa*, licensed in the same year. Both plays use the word 'culto' in an unfavourable sense. Lope's comedia also refers to the purists as 'los palpables,' a designation that has escaped M. Thomas, as have also the following: 'la nueva seta' (*El castigo sin venganza*); 'estos poetas que escriben sin natural' (*Las flores de don Juan*, cited 1618); in *Los peligros de la ausencia*, Lope designates the new school as poets who write 'á lo moderno.' In *La*

dama boba (MS. dated April 28, 1613) Lope seems to recognise cultism as a legitimate ingredient of style:

Nise.

Hay dos prosas diferentes,
Poética e historial:
La historial, lisa y leal,
Muestra verdades patentes
Por frasi y terminos claros;
La poética es hermosa,
Varia, culta, licenciosa
Y oscura en ingenios raros:
Tiene mil exornaciones
Y retóricas figuras.

Celia.

Pues de cosas tan obscuras
¿Juzgan tantos?

Nise.

No le pones,
Celia, pequeña objeción;
Pero así corre el engaño
Del mundo.

The passage is somewhat ambiguous, more especially as Nise is a bluestocking. The same play attacks conceptism.

One of the few plays mentioned by M. Thomas, Tirso's *La celosa de si misma* is ascribed to the year 1623. It is usually dated much earlier. M. Thomas promises a second part to his study. It is to be hoped that cultism in the novel and the drama will there receive treatment.

MILTON A. BUCHANAN.

TORONTO.

Dante Alighieri. La Vita Nova. Suivant le texte critique préparé pour la 'Società Dantesca Italiana' par Michele Barbi. Traduite avec une Introduction et des Notes par HENRY COCHIN. Paris: H. Champion, 1908. 8vo. lxxx + 246 pp.

Dante's Vita Nuova. With Rossetti's Version. Edited by H. OELSNER. (The King's Classics.) London: Chatto and Windus, 1908. 8vo. lix + 274 pp.

The *Vita Nuova* (or *Vita Nova* as M. Cochin prefers to call it, finding the Latin orthography more congenial to French readers) lends itself wonderfully to translation in the kindred Romance language. The French translator can achieve a closeness and literalness of rendering quite impossible to us Teutons, and that without undue violence to his literary medium. Of M. Cochin's rendering, clear and limpid and unlaboured yet with a delicate archaic flavour—borrowed in part from the vocabulary of the *Roman de la Rose*—this is conspicuously

true. He is to be congratulated (so far as a foreigner may presume to judge) on the grace and the faithfulness both of his prose and of his verse translations, which form a charming *vis-à-vis* to Signor Barbi's text. The prose especially is not only literal to a marvel, but manages constantly to preserve something of the cadence of the original. The introductory 'Reflections on the Vita Nova' have the characteristic illuminating quality of all good French work; and M. Cochin manages to deal freshly and strongly with a well-worn subject. Especially good is his estimate of Dante's relation to the *dolce stil nuovo* and of his real contribution to vernacular poetry.

The dainty series of 'The King's Classics' is enriched by an excellent edition of Rossetti's classic rendering of the *Vita Nuova*: a rendering to which M. Cochin himself pays the highest tribute, as to 'the best result obtained hitherto.' 'Mais l'anglais,' he adds, 'est, pour traduire, une langue merveilleuse.' Nothing like the literalness of a French translation is possible in English, for the genius of the language is so diverse. Nor can the identical cadence and melody be reproduced in our tongue, as M. Cochin manages to reproduce it with but sparing archaisms and inversions. Yet Rossetti's noble translation is faithful even in its aberrations, being the product of a mind uniquely gifted for the task. On Rossetti and his Dante-worship and the genesis of his translation and many kindred subjects Professor Oelsner's Introduction is most valuable; and useful also are the well-chosen notes and the four illustrative Appendices.

LONSDALE RAGG.

TICKENCOTE, RUTLANDSHIRE.

Tenuis en Media. Over de Stemverhouding bij Konsonanten in Moderne talen met een Aanhangsel over de fonetische Verklaring der Wetten van Verner en Grimm. Door H. LOGEMAN. Gand: E. van Goethem. 1908. 8vo. ix + 206 pp.

Experimentelle Versuche über die labialen Verschlusslaute im Deutschen und Französischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung methodischer Fragen. Kapitel I bis III. Von PAUL SEYDEL. Breslau: H. Fleischmann. 1908. 8vo. 69 pp.

The problem of the classification of stop-consonants is one which has engaged the attention of phoneticians for a long time, and still remains one of the most debatable in the whole field of phonetics. A convenient review of the history of this problem will be found in the recently published Breslau dissertation by Seydel. This is however still incomplete, the final chapter which is to bring the results of the author's experiments not having appeared at the moment of writing. It is therefore not yet time to judge how much furtherance we may expect from this new contribution to a delicate problem. It is worth noting, however, that in contrast to some recent investigators Seydel emphasises once more the value of the distinction between 'Spreng-

und Lösungslaute,' first set up by Sievers, as a criterion for classification.

The traditional division of these sounds was a dual one into the series *Tenues* and *Mediae*, which finds its expression in the employment of a double set of written signs to denote them. It was natural then for phoneticians to start from this dual division, and to try and give it a scientific significance. This was not easy, for although the double series of signs was employed in practically all languages which were written as well as spoken, very few languages agreed in the varieties of sound actually associated with them. The *Tenues* and *Mediae*, when a review of the languages was held, represented two allied series of sounds each showing many varieties in detail. So long therefore as the traditional dual division was upheld, the burning question was to find a characteristic difference between the two series which held good for all languages no matter how manifold the variation might be in detail. The dual division still exerts its influence on the minds of phoneticians although there is little agreement in regard to the criterion by which it is to be carried through, as may be seen from Seydel's historical review above mentioned. It is noticeable however (although this fact is not brought out clearly by Seydel) that in recent times a tendency has declared itself to abandon the traditional dual division. This is exemplified by Jespersen, whose position in regard to this question seems to me more independent than would appear from Seydel's notice (where he is grouped along with Brücke). Jespersen divides the stops into five, not two classes; and a characteristic feature is his expression of the opinion, that one of these classes is not to be regarded as belonging to either the *Tenuis* or the *Media* series. This step in the direction away from the dual division is not perhaps a very decisive one: Jespersen's opinion just cited is expressed quite guardedly, and the old duality evidently still looms large on his mental horizon. Furthermore his classification rests entirely on the laryngeal factors involved in the production of these sounds, to the neglect of the oral factors (mode of explosion etc.). But it is worth while perhaps to raise the question as to whether such a step be not necessary, whether the dual division be not a Will-o'-the-wisp. It does not follow necessarily in the first place, because most languages recognise a division of stops into two classes, that this division rests on a constant, objective difference between the two. In the second place, if we start from the assumed necessity of a dual division it always raises the question of a 'characteristic' or 'essential' difference, which has to be found ere it can be made the criterion of division. And then we must ask, Is it quite clear what is meant by a characteristic or essential difference? Have we as yet defined quite objectively what is characteristic or essential in this connection? My doubts are not removed, rather, greatly strengthened, by reading Mr Logeman's work, in which the search for the essential difference plays a great part. I am not going to deny that an objective essential difference may finally be found to exist between a *Tenuis* and a *Media*, but I question strongly whether it is such as Mr Logeman

conceives it to be. Mr Logeman seeks for the characteristic difference from the acoustical standpoint. To explain the difference, he looks for a genetical factor (or rather series of factors) whose variation produces an auditive effect recognised by the ear. As this standpoint is carried through by Mr Logeman, it is open to the objection that a confusion is made between two very different things: namely, sounds in the physical, and sounds in the linguistic sense. Mr Logeman comes to the conclusion that a Tenuis has always a different resonance cavity from the corresponding Media, and that this fact is the 'essential' difference between the two. But this difference in resonance cavity is only the condition of a difference in sound physically speaking; it does not necessarily follow that the linguistic ear ('Gehör') recognises it. A *p* pronounced with the lips protruded and one pronounced with the lips drawn in against the teeth are physically quite different sounds, but for the linguistic ear both are the same sound, and the same holds good in many other examples which will occur to every phonetician. What reason is there therefore to conclude that what is in such cases not an essential difference, should be one in the case of Tenuis and Media? Mr Logeman apparently feels dimly that he is here in conflict with his own conception of 'type-klanken' (type-sounds) according to which a speech-sound in the phonetical sense is an abstraction from a whole series of physically different sounds (which the linguistic ear accepts as one and the same sound). He attempts to get over this by drawing a fine distinction between 'theoretical' and 'practical' resonance differences. The latter exist for the ear, the former do not. But he makes no attempt to show why this difference in the case of Tenuis and Media is a 'practical' one. It is plain that before we decide what is essential to the ear for recognising difference in sounds, we must have a clear idea of the conditions under which the linguistic ear recognises similarity in physically different sounds. Do we not here reach a point at which the phonetician must call in the aid of the psychologist? It is significant that Mr Logeman's own confidence in the value of his essential difference seems to vary at different times. The final sections of his work weaken it to such an extent, that it seems to be in considerable danger of vanishing into thin air. I mention here at once a further defect in Mr Logeman's reasoning. While in general we must admit that there is a feeling for a characteristic difference (however hard to define) between Tenuis and Media in most languages, we must also recognise that this feeling is not so persistent as Mr Logeman makes out. It is sometimes lost, where it once must have existed. This occurs, as is well known, in various German dialects. The conditions under which this takes place are not yet clear, though one of them is doubtless absence of voice in the Media. But the fact itself may be accepted as a strong hint that the difference between Tenuis and Media is one of degree, that between the clearly recognisable extremes there are 'Zwischenstufen,' which do not seem to belong to either group. In practice, if not in theory, Mr Logeman perhaps recognises this (but cf. below): witness such phrases, which he frequently uses, as 'a Tenuis which makes the

impression of a Media' etc. I take the opportunity of suggesting that the factor of intensity may have some value in the explanation of such 'Zwischenstufen.' Compare the case cited by Jespersen¹ of the confusion of initial *p* and *b* in South German dialects. There is a strong tendency in German for on-sounding consonants to be lenes². It seems to me that as the lenis level is approached the ear loses the faculty of distinguishing between Tenuis and Media if both are voiceless. This applies to the hearer: the speaker himself may still be able to distinguish on the basis of his muscular sensations when all distinction for the ear is lost. And also at the fortis level it is perhaps open to doubt whether the difference between Tenuis and Media can be perceived by the ear quite independently of *all* but auditive associations. It is by no means clear to me that the whisper test on which Mr Logeman lays much weight proves that the ear is so independent. Even in English where the 'Flüstergeräusch' plays the rôle of voice in the case of Media, I cannot be certain that the ear perceives inevitably the difference in a pair of words such as 'lacking' and 'lagging' when whispered. A little experiment which I have attempted with such pairs of words on a listener seems to bear this out strongly; but here again the matter seems to me to be only capable of final solution by the psychologist.

Mr Logeman's investigations are planned on an extensive scale—although perhaps not quite so extensive as the 'moderne Talen' in the title might lead one to expect, the languages actually examined being French and the Germanic tongues (English, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian). One cannot but admire the extent of Mr Logeman's practical linguistic attainments, but it seems doubtful whether his selection from the modern languages is not at once too wide and too narrow. Too wide because he can hardly do justice to all the languages treated inside the necessary limits—the very extensive material which the German dialects alone offer for the treatment of this question is scarcely touched upon: Mr Logeman, e.g., gives only a passing notice to the interesting stops of the German dialects, and his practical identification of the S. G. Mediae with the Danish³ in no wise balances this. Too narrow, because after all the Germanic languages and French represent a rather arbitrary limitation of the whole field of modern languages. One has a feeling that Mr Logeman owes us a proof that the generalisations he erects on the basis of this material could have anything but a very limited applicability.

Mr Logeman's book further presents many difficulties to the reader on account of its defects of exposition. It contains an unusual number of repetitions, anticipations, and digressions. The author has his hobby horses which are constantly running away with him: such as the worthlessness of all attempts to grasp the nature of Tenuis and Media on the basis of the contrast between voice and voicelessness, the 'verkeerde isolatie' (an evil spirit which apparently dogs the steps of everybody

¹ *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, p. 110.

² Cf. Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre*, p. 68.

³ See § 49.

but himself) etc. The development of his own views is inextricably mixed up with polemic excursions and definitions of technical terms. Under the circumstances the lack of a table of contents makes itself felt, in spite of a careful index.

The intention of the book seems to be a double one: first, the discovery of the essential difference between *Tenuis* and *Media*; secondly, an attempt to lay bare the conditions under which voice is present or absent in the production of stops and spirants. These then prove often to be further the conditions of a transition of sounds from one class to another, which as will appear must be considered a rather surprising result from Mr Logeman's standpoint. I have indicated shortly above the nature of the contrast which the author conceives between *Tenuis* and *Media*, as also my opinion that the conception is exceedingly vague. There is indeed more than reason to believe that it is quite a vague one even for the author himself—otherwise he could hardly employ such contradictory phrases as: 'En media die geheel de indruk maakt van een tenuis' (§ 57); this from an author who declares elsewhere that the ear is the only judge of a sound! What is a *Media* of this sort, if not a *Tenuis*? Why then call it a *Media*? One almost suspects that anything which is written *b, d, g* in the ordinary orthography is a '*Media*' for the author, even although the spoken sound it represents be actually a *Tenuis*. But let us look at some of the consequences of Mr Logeman's *Tenuis-Media* theory.

The articulatory factors on which this contrast between the two depends are asserted to be purely oral—voice or its absence is therefore an accident, so far as the nature of the sounds is concerned, and as any oral articulation can *a priori* be combined with voice, it follows that a voiced *Tenuis* is just as possible as a voiced *Media*. Further, according to the author, these factors are concentrated in the moment of closure. The form of explosion has nothing to do with the contrast; it is an accident in the same sense as the voice, for both *Tenuis* and *Media* may be either 'gesprengt' or 'gelöst.' (*En passant*, it is interesting to note that when he disposes of the 'essentiality' of the distinction between 'Spreng-' and 'Lösungslaute,' the author, although he polemises against Bremer who is accused in a foot-note of a profound 'verwarring' in his ideas, does not even mention Sievers, to whom the whole conception is owing.) Under these circumstances nothing stands in the way of an extension of the *Tenuis-Media* idea to the spirants as well as the stops and this is accordingly carried out.

All this the author supposes to be borne out by the material which he has collected from the languages mentioned above. It may be as well to examine how far this supposition is correct. We have seen that in the author's eyes the essential difference between *Tenuis* and *Media* is one of resonance cavity. This being so, one would naturally expect that either could occur as a *lenis* or *fortis*, and that differences of breath pressure (intensity) would have nothing to do with the nature of the sounds. This the author recognises in § 184. Yet in § 35 we find the statement: 'Daar nu de adem bij de dan wijd openstaande stembanden

(in the case namely of voiceless initial Mediae) in groter volume komt aanstromen, is die ademstroom krachtiger en zal het kunnen gebeuren dat de lenis tot semi-fortis, zelfs fortis wordt, d. w. z. *de Media kan zo Tenuis worden*' (italics are mine). Why however the Media should change its resonance cavity and therewith its nature as Media in response to a change in a factor of which it is independent, i.e. breath pressure, the author nowhere explains. Again, the author insists till one becomes weary of his insistence, that the behaviour of the vocal chords has nothing to do with the nature of a Media or Tenuis, yet plainly in the passage just quoted the open position of the vocal chords is implicitly recognised as a condition for the change of Media to Tenuis, while further on in the case of the Danish Mediae (see § 54) it is expressly claimed as the cause of the shifting of these sounds in the direction of Tenuis. Elsewhere (p. 130) the transition of Media to Tenuis is limited to the case in which '*de Media niet met zacht begin gesproken is, waar de stembanden dus niet eerst gespannen waren*' (italics are mine). In any case it is plain that the author in practice, although in contradiction of his theory, regards the behaviour of the vocal chords as having a very important influence on the nature of the Mediae. To this there is also a pretty parallel in the case of the Tenuis. The author furnishes us in § 159 with the following generalisation on the Tenuis in the languages he has examined: '*De enkelvoudige mid-dentenuis zal altijd met stem gehoord worden...Naar mate de midden-tenuis meer stem heeft, zal die ook eerder media worden.*' If a voiced Tenuis is, as the author asserts (§ 169), for all purposes the same thing as a voiceless Tenuis, why should it then become a Media, '*naar mate dezelfde meer stem heeft*'? Note, Mr Logeman does not say '*a Tenuis becomes a Media when it is voiced*,' but, '*in proportion as it has more voice.*' The distinction is a delightfully fine one, but there are plenty more distinctions in his book, which are equally fine, and equally delightful. Does the author really expect anyone to believe both these things together: (i) That the condition of the glottis, whether open or closed for the vibration of the chords, is immaterial to the nature of Tenuis and Mediae; and (ii) that the transition of Media to Tenuis or *vice versa* is a result of the condition of the glottis? Plainly we can only understand this transition in so far as it is a consequence of the variation of essential factors which go to make up the '*nature*' of the sounds involved.

The confusion in this book as regards essential points hardly calls for more exemplification, and I am accordingly not greatly moved to state where I disagree with the author in matters of detail, but it will be necessary to say something about the result of Mr Logeman's investigations in regard to the conditions which bring about the voicing or unvoicing of stops and spirants, since on these depends largely the new conception of Verner's Law which is put forward in the Appendix. The author operates with two series of factors to explain the presence or absence of voice, firstly, the nature of the on-glide or off-glide; secondly, accent (stress and pitch). The employment of the

first may be exemplified from the following formula based on a review of the languages mentioned above: 'Elke begin-media met geleidelik begin is stemloos. Elke begin-media met zacht begin heeft stem' (§ 66, a similar formula for the Tenuis § 117). That such a formula is no explanation is obvious; on the author's own principle that the 'organen anticiperen geregeld een volgende posietie,' there is hardly anything left open except to regard the nature of the on-glide as dependent on what follows, not *vice versâ*. The author of course, as indicated above, regards the on-glide as the determinative factor (§ 41). There is something more to be said for the influence of the off-glide as determinative (cp. the formulae for final Mediae and Tenuis). But the glides can hardly claim much importance in this connection unless as intermediaries; they respond to the same influences as the consonants themselves, and the real determinative factors must accordingly be looked for elsewhere. We turn therefore with more interest to the rôle assigned by Mr Logeman to the factors of accent. Here we meet with one constantly recurring conception, namely the following: (a) Decrease in expiratory force and falling tone protect a voiced stop or spirant from being unvoiced, and favour the voicing of a voiceless one, i.e. when a voiced Media follows the stress and the chromatic accent it remains voiced; under similar circumstances a voiceless Tenuis or Media becomes voiced ($\neg | ag'a$ remains $\neg | ag'a$; $\neg | ak'a > \neg | ak'a$)¹. (b) Increasing expiratory force and rising tone have the opposite effect. (c) When word stress and chromatic accent do not fall together and stress precedes, then the effect on a consonant standing between the two is the same as in the latter case (cp. § 82 a). The distinction between (b) and (c) is only apparent, for although Mr Logeman recognises that a rise in tone is not necessarily accompanied by an increase in pressure, in practice he assumes that it generally is, and hence exercises the effect here assigned to it. At bottom therefore the real determinative factor in (a) (b) (c) is the syllabic stress. The syllabic musical accent seems only to act through the stress which accompanies it, since Mr Logeman evidently assumes in practice that falling tone and decreasing pressure, rising tone and increase in pressure go together; cp. 'Komt...plotzeling een luchtstroom uit de longen, b.v. *door* dat de stem *de hogte inschiet*, als bij een vraag...' (italics mine). There is a hint here of a parolous confusion between the separate ideas of tone and stress. I now proceed to illustrate how Mr Logeman applies this theory. I must however first indicate his conception of the syllabic boundary, as it here plays a rôle. To put it shortly in the convenient terminology of Sievers, he recognises the existence of 'Schallsilben,' when word stress and chromatic accent fall together before the syllabic boundary; of 'Drucksilben,' when both or either come after the boundary: e.g. $\neg | ata$ (Schallsilben), but $| a \vee - ta$ or $- a \vee | ta$ (Drucksilben). In the last case he in practice recognises a 'minimal pause' between the two

¹ In Mr Logeman's notation $\neg$ and $\vee$ mean high and low tone respectively; $|$ before a syllable means that it is stressed. k^o , k' are voiceless and voiced guttural Tenuis, and so on.

syllables. These syllabic conditions he regards as inherent in the nature of language and therefore as holding good for all languages and all times. That the existence of Schallsilben in German and English is dependent on quantitative factors he does not take into account. Nor does he trouble himself to enquire whether there is truth in the assertions of those who attribute to some languages a preference for Drucksilben.

In § 82 the author discusses three sentences in his own language, namely: (1) *Nou ja, dat kun je nu natuurlik alle dagen zien gebeuren.* (2) *Uwe dagen zijn geteld.* (3) *Niet één dag, maar dagen lang....* In (1) and (2) the *g* of *dagen* is said to vary as follows: Speaking of No. 1, 'voor [alə] is er 'n miniem klein oponthoud waarin des noods adem gehaald kan worden, de stem gaat op de [a] sterk de hoogte in, [alə] wordt dus hoog en krachtig ingezet en valt geleidelik al minder en minder van expiratie wordende, tot de [ən] van [gebɔrən]. Bij de [a] van [dagən] is die dus hoger en krachtiger dan op de [ə]. Bij de [a] trillen de stembanden die ook voor de [ə] (hoewel minder) moeten trillen. Er is absoluut géén pause voor de [g], die de stembanden gelegenheid zou geven weer in de rustposities (ongespannen, stemloos!) terug te vallen. Dus is de [g] van [dagən] in 't eerste geval een stemhebbende lenis, 'n stemhebbende media (Lenis and Media apparently once more identical; cp. above p. 558). Nu bespreek ik 't derde geval. Daar in die samenhang ligt de nadruk op de *en* van *dagen*, de [g] wordt bij de tweede silbe gevoeld, er komt een duidelijke, al is 't ook nog zo korte stroomvermindering voor de [g] waardoor de stembanden in de rustposities terug kunnen vallen en de [g] is (als begin media) stemloos. En...kan dus onder die nadruk semi-fortis, of fortis en zelfs tenuis worden.' Two things will be noticed here: (1) The behaviour of the vocal chords is made to depend directly on the expiration. (2) A decrease in expiratory force is made to accomplish two different things: (a) In sentence 1, a continuous decrease does not allow the vocal chords to assume the position of rest, whereas (b) a transitory decrease produces this effect in sentence 3. Hardly anyone, I think, will find with Mr Logeman that the phenomena of voicing and unvoicing are rendered any clearer by this form of explanation.

In the application of this theory Mr Logeman does not fail to fall into contradictory statements. It is obvious that, in the case of what is now known as Verner's Law in English¹, the conditions which led to the voicing of originally voiceless sounds are precisely those which according to his theory ought to have preserved them voiceless, since word stress and musical accent fall together behind the spirant; cp. above. Mr Logeman actually mentions (§ 68) some cases² which belong here, and makes in regard to them the, under the circumstances, somewhat astonishing remark: '*Alles draagt er toe bij om hier een stemhebbende media te voorschijn te roepen*' (italics mine). After this we are not surprised to read in § 137 'Interessant was: [-ua _ zeg | -dy] (i.e. in a case of the same order as that just mentioned, where we should

¹ See Note at end.

² E.g., *anxiety* etc.

expect according to the author's accent theory a voiceless sound, but find a voiced one. Notice the explanation:) voor: Wat zegt U? Man zal opmerken dat wij hier een uit de *t* van [-Zegt- y] ontstane gereduceerde *d*, [-|zegd y] voor ons hebben die onder langzaam stijgend chromaties aksent tot [d] geworden is of liever [d'] gebleven is onder nadruk.' The author's method is evidently to explain each example by itself, quite careless of the eventuality that two examples, which seem to the ordinary observer to be alike, may thus each receive a different explanation. A consequence of this is that the important factor of the relative frequency of occurrence of his examples, and of the relation between the sporadic and the regular transitions in any language is left quite untouched. It is sufficient for the author that an isolated example 'illustreert 't prinsiepe'; no attempt is however made to delimit the sphere of influence of different principles when they come in conflict with each other. Mr Logeman presents his readers indeed with principles in the abstract, but as to when and why they come of necessity into action he leaves us quite in the dark.

It is not necessary to follow the author in the application of this accent theory to various languages, in all of which he finds to his own satisfaction instances of its action. I will therefore at once sum up his results:

(1) When stress and chromatic accent fall together before a stop or spirant, (a) a voiced Media remains voiced in the mid-sound; (b) a voiceless Tenuis becomes a voiced Tenuis and may become a voiced Media.

(2) When stress and chromatic accent do not fall together but on successive syllables and a spirant or stop stands between: (a) a voiced Media becomes unvoiced and may become a Tenuis; (b) a voiceless Tenuis remains voiceless.

(3) When stress and voice fall together after a stop or spirant, the result is the same as in (2).

The worthlessness of these results is clear enough probably from the foregoing. For Mr Logeman they are however scientific verities, and he proceeds in his Appendix to apply them to the explanation of Verner's Law. I do not consider it necessary to follow Mr Logeman through the mazes of his Appendix. It will, I think, be obvious to every one but the author himself, that the accent principle he wishes to apply is the direct opposite of that involved in Verner's Law, just as in the parallel cases in English (see above, p. 560). The case lies as follows: Verner's Law states in its usual formulation that Indo-European voiceless stops are represented in primitive Germanic by voiceless or voiced spirants (which latter of course generally become later voiced stops) according to the position of the original (chromatic) accent. Mr Logeman rejects the necessity of voiceless spirants as 'Zwischenstufen,' and holds that under Verner's Law the original voiceless stops were exchanged at once for voiced stops under the accentual conditions of the Law. This is certainly false, but the critic can afford to give our author plenty of rope at this point. That is to say in Mr Logeman's terminology, the

original Indo-European Tenuis were exchanged under Verner's Law for Mediae. Mr Logeman now wishes to elucidate this state of affairs from modern analogies. He believes he has found such analogies in the modern languages examined in his book. He therefore wishes to apply the examples in which he has discovered a variation between original Tenuis and Media in modern times to the explanation of Verner's Law: in other words he wishes to apply the results just given above for this purpose. A typical example for the law thus formulated is the double form according to Mr Logeman of the Dutch word 'better,' namely $\neg$ bedər and |be-ter. Now to establish an analogy Mr Logeman must know the position of both the stress and the musical accent, since his law is stated in terms of both. But all that Mr Logeman knows or can know for certain is the position of the original musical accent. He is plainly not at liberty to conclude that this was the same as that of the stress, and it would not help him if he could. Obviously therefore the analogy between the historic case and the modern is doomed, to begin with, to be imperfect in this respect. Again in the typical modern example for a *preserved Tenuis*, the musical accent follows it: but it was only when the original position of the musical accent was *before* the consonant, that in Germanic the Tenuis was preserved (still adhering to Mr Logeman's terminology). It is quite obvious therefore that the actual facts given by Verner's Law are not analogous to Mr Logeman's modern examples. He wishes to apply an analogy where none exists. The following reflection makes this even more obvious: if by means of Mr Logeman's generalisation we tried to deduce the originals of Gothic *fadar*, *brōpar* we should come to the conclusion that they were $\neg$ pəter and bhra: $\neg$ ter or |bhra: -ter, not one of which agrees with the actual forms. The absurdities into which Mr Logeman is plunged by his false premisses are almost incredible. But Mr Logeman 'does not mind trouble.' He has the courage 'to take arms against a sea of troubles' and the hopeful disposition which believes that mere opposition will end them. There is no analogy such as Mr Logeman wishes, but not at all dismayed by this, he proceeds to manufacture one. If the given facts do not suit his hypothesis of an analogy they must be changed so as to suit. Therefore Mr Logeman *assumes* that the given accent *changed* to forms which were analogous to his principle. He fixes his attention on the convenient dissyllabic forms and asks us to believe the following complicated, and purely *ad hoc* assumptions: (1) That when the original musical accent was on the first, the stress was on the second syllable and *vice versâ*. (2) That afterwards musical accent and stress fell together on the same syllable, and (3) they fell together on the first syllable when the original musical accent had been on the second, but on the second when the original musical accent had been on the first. Thus for his pair $\neg$ bedər and |be-ter Mr Logeman constructs a quite hypothetical analogous pair $\neg$ pəter and bhra: $\neg$ ter out of absolutely non-analogous pəter and bhrāter. (It must be remarked that Mr Logeman does not use Indo-European forms, probably because he considers them too

hypothetical; but I have introduced pæter and bhráter for the convenience of the philological reader, instead of the Greek forms which he cites.) Comment is superfluous. And yet even supposing that these entirely unsuccessful efforts of Mr Logeman's to construct an analogy out of nothing, had been successful so far as they went—supposing this impossibility for one moment—he would in fact still be as far off from a full analogy as ever, as will appear from the following. The accent principle constructed by Mr Logeman in the first part of his book applies equally to Mediae and Tenuēs, it produces not merely a variation between original Tenuēs and Mediae, but also between original Mediae and Tenuēs. Now Verner's Law only deals with original Tenuēs—there is no trace of a similar variation in the case of original Mediae. Original *b, d, g*, became without exception *p, t, k* in Germanic, whereas according to Mr Logeman's theory we should have expected the Media to be preserved under certain factors of accent, just as in modern Danish, which Mr Logeman claims (§ 275) as a special analogy to this act of the first shifting, the Mediae are, according to him, still preserved when the accent favours it (see above).

It is a pity that Mr Logeman did not accept the well-meant warning of his friend Dr N. on the subject of Verner's Law, which warning he open-heartedly communicates to the public in his foot-notes. In full consciousness of the possession of a 'revolutionary' theory he set out, as he himself hints, to revolutionise the whole science of comparative philology. A revolutionary, however, whose ideas do not succeed, makes himself ridiculous. Those who wish to take Mr Logeman seriously would be well advised not to read his Appendix. So long as Mr Logeman refrains from historical discussions, his varied acquaintance with phonetical literature, and the wide field of observation which he commands in modern languages, make him an entertaining and stimulating writer. Not that Mr Logeman is altogether to be trusted as an observer of living phenomena. How can he who asserts repeatedly that the 'Blählaut' must be inaudible, and that a voiced Tenuis is acoustically the same as a voiceless one,—how can such a writer profess to distinguish by means of his ear, if and when a Tenuis is voiced?

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NOTE. On the parallel between certain phenomena in Modern English and those of Verner's Law, referred to above, p. 560, see my article in the *Modern Language Review*, II, p. 232 ff. I take this opportunity of making a necessary correction. The first to draw attention to 'Verner's Law in English' was the well-known Danish scholar, O. Jespersen (in his *Studier over Engelske Casus*), not Dr Sweet, as I erroneously stated in that article.

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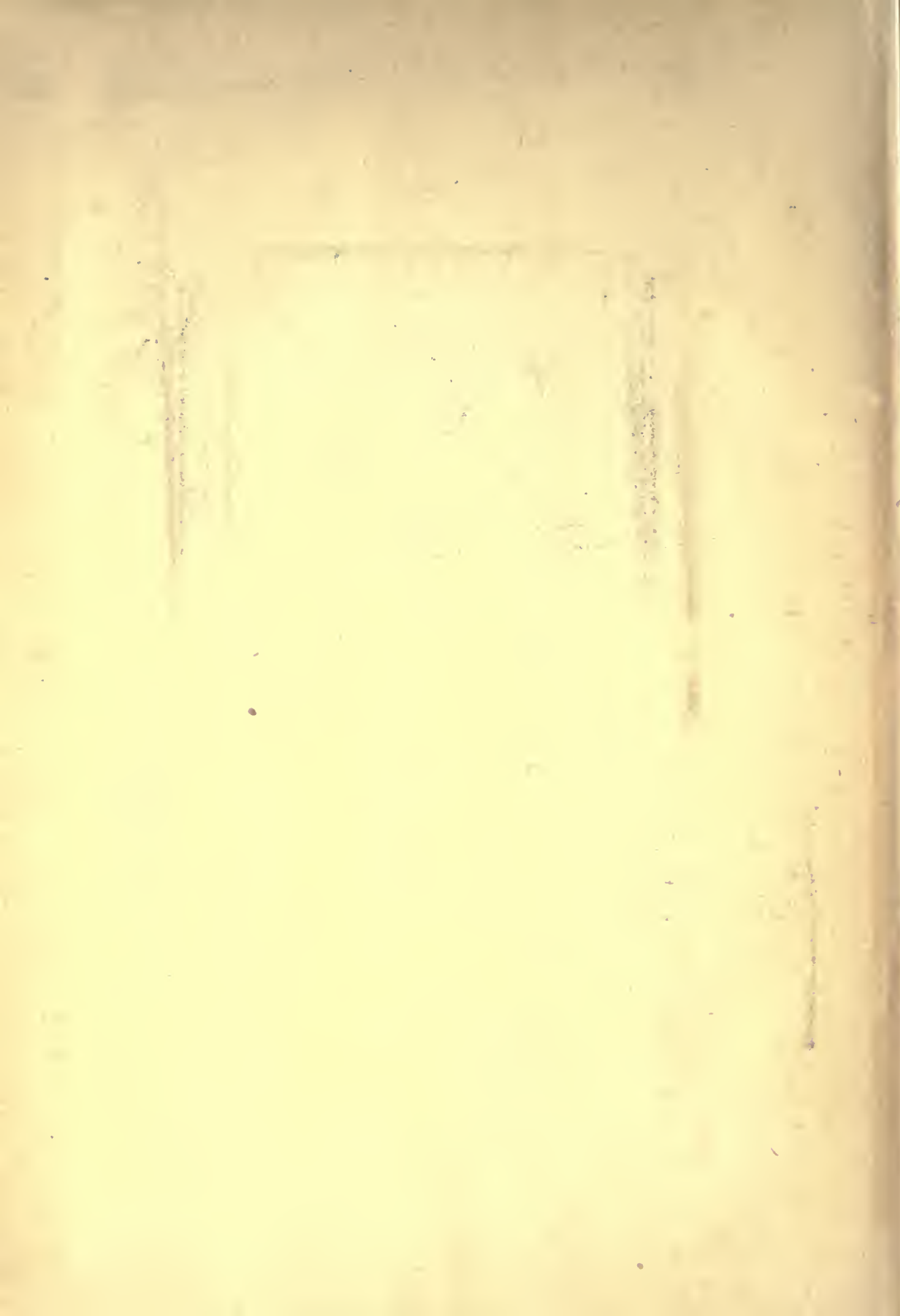
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